

**THE POSTCOLONIAL HERITAGE: NEW LITERACY STUDIES, LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION  
AND THE  
EDUCATION POLICY IN PAKISTAN**

By

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*Author's Declaration*

I, the undersigned **Umair Janoo** hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. To the best of my knowledge this thesis contains no material previously published by any other person except where due acknowledgement has been made. This thesis contains no material which has been accepted as part of the requirements of any other academic degree or non-degree program, in English or in any other language.

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## Abstract

This dissertation presents an analysis of the incoherence in language and education policy that has been exhibited by the Government of Pakistan since the independence of the country in 1947. The idea is explored under the lens of postcolonial studies, specifically New literacy studies which understands literacy as a social process and not a condition. The theoretical framework and scholarly opinion in this sub discipline has been employed to gain further understanding and insight into the reason for the incoherence in policy making in Pakistan which has led to a class divide and multiple forms of literacies. Most state education is conducted in the national language Urdu, but, citizens proficient in English enjoy the most employment opportunities which results in upwards social mobility, whereas, Urdu and regional language users face marginalization. This marginalization is also manifest in higher education in the country as college and university education in Pakistan is conducted in English. This dissertation concludes through carrying out the analysis aforementioned that the Pakistani education system needs to remove inconsistencies and abrupt changes in the education system while making attempts to decolonize the history of the English language in the region and ultimately select one medium of instruction throughout all levels of education in the country to remove the class divide.

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## Contents

Abstract .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	ii
List of Figures: .....	iv
Chapter 1 - Introduction: .....	1
1.1 - Aims of the dissertation: .....	4
1.2 - Methodology: .....	6
Chapter 2 - Literature Review .....	8
2.1 - New Literacy Studies and the Postcolonial lens: .....	8
2.2 - Multiple literacies and the postcolonial state: .....	12
2.3 - The Scholarly Literature on Pakistan: .....	16
Chapter 3 - The Case Study: .....	20
3.1 - The Colonial Legacy – Early Domination of the English Language: .....	20
3.2 - Policy making post-independence 1947- 1989: .....	22
3.3 - Policy changes from 1989 onwards and current national preferences: .....	27
Chapter 4 - Policy Recommendations and Conclusion: .....	33
References: .....	37

## List of Figures:

Figure 1 – New institutions in Pakistan by year of formation.....	28
Figure 2 - Medium of Instruction preference at the primary level.....	30
Figure 3 - Medium of Instruction preference at the secondary level.....	30
Figure 4 - Medium of Instruction preference at the higher education level.....	30
Figure 5 – Medium of Instruction in the surveyed private and public sector education institutions.....	31
Figure 6 – Distribution of Universities by sector in Pakistan 2010-2011.....	32
Figure 7 – Distribution of University enrolment by sector in Pakistan 2010-2011.....	32
Figure 8 - Teacher qualifications in government and private schools in Pakistan.....	34

## Chapter 1 - Introduction:

Pakistan has been a troubled state since its independence in 1947. Among problems of an unstable form of government, terrorism, ethnic conflicts, sectarian violence, military coups, unstable neighbouring states, weak democratic institutions, corruption and a fragmented nation is the major problem of illiteracy that the country is faced with. Pakistan has one of the lowest literacy rates in the region estimated at 58% in the fiscal year 2010-2011 by the economic survey published by the Ministry of Finance (ESOP, 2010-2011). This low literacy rate will hardly be contested by officials or non-official stakeholders alike as it is part of common societal rhetoric to accept that Pakistan has an education crisis. This crisis has manifested itself in low Net Enrolment Rates of 56% in 2010-2011 (ESOP, 2010-2011:8) and every 1 out of 5 children between the ages of 6 and 16 years to be out of school in the year 2012 (ASER National Report Card, 2012:1). The inadequacy of the state education system can be estimated by the fact that every 1 out of 4 children (6-16 years) is getting his or her education in a non-state school (ASER National Report Card, 2012:1).

It is not uncommon for an underdeveloped country to have the problems aforementioned, however, the state in these countries often accept their underperformance and attempts are made to rectify the situation. These attempts are sometimes part of a political stunt and sometimes out of genuine political will, however, in Pakistan it has taken the state an extremely long time to realize the inadequacy of its infrastructure in educating its citizens. It was in 2010 – 63 years after the independence of the country – that Pakistan included the RTE (right to education) in the constitution through an 18<sup>th</sup> amendment (ASER Pakistan RTE, 2012). The article 25 A was included which gave the right to free and competitive education to all citizens of Pakistan until 16 years of age. Education in Pakistan has not been a priority for the governments that have come into power since its independence (Gadzar,

2010 et.al); however, it has always been a hotly contested part of the political debates and electoral manifestos of various political forces. After securing office, however, whether it was a democratic government or a dictatorial regime, the budgetary allocation for education has never gone above 2.2% of GDP (Siddiq, 2007:163). The commitment towards education might be there on paper, however, in terms of taking practical measures which are coherent, sustainable and beneficial the Pakistani state has exhibited incompetence and failure.

Most academic work on education policy making in Pakistan attests to it being hasty, misinformed, incoherent and ultimately ineffective (Hoodbhoy, 1998; Jalil, 1998; Memon, Joubish and Khurram, 2010; Rahman, 2010; Shamim, 2008 and Qureshi, 2012). However, the various types of analyses cite different reasons for the inadequate provision of education facilities for the rural and urban Pakistani citizen. These reasons are corruption, lack of political will, vast geographical terrain in rural areas, overpopulation in urban areas, lack of trained personnel and the presence of many ethnicities and cultures making it difficult to educate the country with a standardized national curriculum, however, a reason which is common in seminal academic works on Pakistan is the problem of the languages selected as a medium of instruction and the class divide it seems to create (Rahman, 1997,2001,2004; Mansoor,2004; Shamim, 2008). Although the national language of Pakistan is Urdu, the problem of multiple languages being used by different ethnicities in different provinces with cultural and sentimental ties with these languages makes the choice of a common medium of instruction a sensitive issue. The area of South Asia has been very rich in languages with estimates of more than 24 languages being used in Pakistan alone (Mansoor, 2004). In such an environment what makes the situation more complex is the presence of the dominance of English and the national preference for it in education as English is the language of prestige, upward social mobility and international competitiveness as understood by a majority of Pakistani citizens (Rahman, 1997; Rahman, 2001).



Pakistan is a postcolonial state and the presence of English in the government institutions, law, elite educational institutions and all matters pertaining to the bureaucracy or the armed forces give it an elitist position in the country. Rahman (1997) notes that it was due to pressurization from the Anglicists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century namely Lord Macaulay and Lord Traveleyan that the medium of instruction in British operated top tier schools in undivided India was changed to English. The idea of the British Empire was to create a class of anglicised Indians who could act as intermediaries between the local native population and the colonial masters. Several charters and education dispatches after 1835 also reinforced the usage of English which the modern day users of English in Pakistan enjoy in the form of a cultural and educational superiority.

Pakistan did not inherit a substantially dense or well developed educational network at the time of its creation; however, the few schools and colleges that were present at the time of its creation used English as the medium of instruction even though Urdu was declared the national language. In various parts of Pakistan people speak Pushto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balauchi, Hindko, and Seriaki among others and these regional languages have deep cultural roots with those who speak them. Therefore the imposition of English and later Urdu on the entire population has created a rift in the nation building process in the country and has seemed to establish a neo colonial relationship between the federal government and the provinces after the British left. The federal government did not acknowledge the preferences of these people to want their own vernacular as their medium of instruction as it had logistical and ideological problems attached to it. However, 66 years after the creation of Pakistan, a class divide has seemingly been established with English speakers at the top, followed by people proficient in Urdu and the people who are proficient in regional languages at the bottom (Rahman, 2001, Mansoor, 2004). This was made possible by the colonial heritage, its continued presence but in addition to the Pakistani state in an attempt to build a Pakistani

nation using Urdu and some regional languages as a medium of instruction in schools all over the country with English being used as the medium in elite and non-elite private schools. The idea of English speakers as most literate with Urdu speakers as functionally literate and regional language users being minimally literate or even illiterate has seemed to establish itself in the consciousness of the Pakistani citizen. This is a grave problem for the future of education in the country and the wellbeing of its citizens.

### 1.1 - Aims of the dissertation:

A deconstruction of the problem of language of instruction and its effects in postcolonial states has been done from the lens of postcolonial studies by a few scholars; however, almost no ethnographic or sociolinguistic work has been carried out to explore the situation in depth. The first sociolinguist of Pakistan Sabiha Mansoor published a book titled *Language Planning in Higher Education: A Case Study of Pakistan* (2005) but that too mainly dealt with just Higher Education in the country as the title suggests. A novel approach would be to apply the New Literacy Studies approaches developed in the works of Giroux (1992), Spivak (1999), Hickling-Hudon (2006) and Brydon (2010) among others to the case in Pakistan to gain further insight into why the government has showed incoherence in the matters of language planning and what it means to be considered illiterate in Pakistan even while having proficiency in one of the marginalized regional languages. This is clearly resultant due to the underdevelopment of the regional languages, however, the relationship that the dominance of English and Urdu share with this underdevelopment is worthy of inquiry. With the discovery of such reasons will Pakistan be able to address them and consequently address the problem of a suitable language of instruction in its education sector. Literacy has expanded as a field, from being focused on 'school' literacy to a much more situated and plural account of language and literacy practices across diverse domains of practice. The expansion and plurality of literacy to literacies is now an accepted move to signal the complexity of the field.

This has led to a plethora of approaches, for example, ecological approaches, multimodal approaches, aesthetic and material cultural studies approaches. With a variety of approaches available the most novel being propagated under New Literacy Studies, an application of this theoretical framework to the case of Pakistan would have considerable academic utility and important policy insights for the country's education sector.

This dissertation aims at analysing the problem of incoherence in language planning in Pakistan's education sector with an aim of shedding light in the questions of a) what are the dimensions of the concept of literacy in postcolonial literature, specifically new literacy studies and its relationship to the language of instruction used in formal education? b) What are the reasons that led to Urdu being used as a language of instruction in Pakistan at the primary and secondary schooling level but English being used at the college and university level? c) How far can the New literacy studies approach to literacy be applied to the case of Pakistan and what important policy implications and recommendations can be extracted from this application for bringing equality in development of different languages and improving the life chances of the different stake holders involved?

In order to address the questions posed above, after the introductory section touching upon the challenges of discrepancy and favouritism in the Pakistani education system, the methodology which will be employed in this dissertation will be discussed. This section will be followed by a literature review section which will aim at elucidating the major scholarly debates and ideas in postcolonial literature and new literacy studies followed by the corresponding works on the case of Pakistan. After a strong theoretical background has been established, the dissertation will proceed with a case study section discussing the class divide that has come into formation due to the difference in medium of instruction used in public and private education in Pakistan. An evaluation will constantly be carried out in the case study

section to judge the outcome of the application of the postcolonial understanding of why language policy is important and the repercussions that its poor design can cause will be presented. Finally a chapter on policy implication and recommendation is given followed by a conclusion.

## 1.2 - Methodology:

This dissertation will mainly consist of the review of secondary sources and literature to attempt the analysis described above and to draw the related policy implications. To discuss the theoretical aspect of this project, seminal works in postcolonial studies and the sub group of new literacy studies will be reviewed. To demarcate the boundaries of the concept of 'literacy' and its relationship with the language of instruction used in formal education has become a large overarching discipline with many sub forms of inquiry. Traditionally literacy as understood as simply the skills of reading and writing, however, scholarly works by Freire (1972; 1973; 1985), Freebody (1997) and Giroux (1992) have challenged this simplistic understanding. The function of linguistic expressions, oral transmission of knowledge and the content of texts has a deep nexus with the language being used. Languages have ideologies embedded within them which tend to manifest themselves in educational settings and wider societal values. However, New literacy studies being the most novel sub strand within this discipline, understands literacy as a social practise rather than a condition that citizens in a state attain. Therefore the seminal literature which understands literacy in this manner has been reviewed including the works of Jewitt (2006), Street (1984), Rogers et.al (2009).

To draw the relationship of the concept of literacy within this postcolonial context in the case of Pakistan and to illustrate the internalized concept of superiority that is attached with English users and the subsequent illiteracy associated with regional language users, the works of Rahman (1997, 2001, 2004), Kanu (2006), Mansoor (2004) and Shamim (2008) have been

reviewed. To provide a factual basis and empirical data, the reports produced by the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Education, AEPAM (Academy of Educational Planning and Management), ASER (Annual Status of Education Report) among other sources have been consulted. General works of the Pakistani education system namely Jimenez and Tan (1985), Hoodbhoy (1998), Jalil (1998) and Andrabi, Das and Khawaja (2002) have also been referred to.

There are several limitations that were faced during the production of this project. Firstly, Pakistan is an under researched area in terms of education. The position that the country occupies in the geopolitical situation of the region makes it worthy of being analysed as a case in political science, terrorism studies, security studies and the similar disciplines, however, due to the lack of local scholarship on education and the unstable political situation in the country education research has faced many barriers. Official reports and statistics often have conflicting figures, and unofficial documents also have substantial differences which were discovered during the production of this dissertation. Every attempt has been made to crosscheck every official statistics that has been presented and to use the sources which were considered most reliable as well as those used by esteemed academics who have worked on Pakistan.

## Chapter 2 - Literature Review

### 2.1 - New Literacy Studies and the Postcolonial lens:

The reconceptualization of education has been part of the debate initiated under the banner of New Literacy Studies. Alternative definitions of education, what it means to educate and by extension; the deliverance or propagation of literacy has been a problem under the scholarly microscope. To attain a better understanding of the issues of English language dominance, curriculum design, school environments in mainstream education with claims of universality of better information, objectivity and ‘knowledge’ in general the lenses of postcolonial critiques, critical theory are adopted. The use for proposition or critique of these approaches have been made by scholars to focus on different aspects of the multifaceted problem of literacy and what it means to be literate in the postcolonial world. Street (2003) reviewed the major developments in the field of new literacy studies and the literature that had been developed under their research questions. This review is carried out under the idea of viewing literacy not merely as the ‘acquisition of skills’ but as a ‘social practice’ (p. 77). The premise of literacy studies being grounded in this approach also paves way for the existence of pluralistic conceptions of literacy and these ‘literacies’ (Giroux, 1992) are subjected to the same power struggle between the dominant and the marginalized that is observable in other ideological wars. This dominant group in the Pakistani case has been observed to be the users of the English language and the consumers of private education, whereas the students enrolled in state education have been substantially marginalized.

Street (2003) discusses that the research focus in new literacy studies challenges the view that literacy is a concept which has a universally accepted and applicable definition. In reality they argue that literacy is also a concept which has to be understood within a cultural context. The dichotomy that Street (2003) creates is between the ideological approaches to literacy where a

western centric approach to literacy is imposed on a particular culture where it has not necessarily come about organically. The other end of the dichotomy is the autonomous model of literacy which offers a more culturally sensitive view and is context accommodating (p. 77). This understanding raises several epistemological and ontological questions and concerns for the implications on the education system. However, Street (2003) also gives a balanced account by discussing the critiques extended towards new literacy coming from Brandt and Clinton (2002) about the overemphasis on the local context enough to romanticize the concept, however, Hull and Schultz (2002) had already applied the tenets of the idea of new literacy to an extent that illustrates that new literacy should not be seen as a narrative devoid of any ability to have generalizability. The interest does not lie only in the local context, but in the ‘emerging experiences’ (Street, 2003:83) that students have with the idea of literacy itself.

Brydon (2010) develops the argument further by elucidating the ‘regrounding’ (p. 17) that the postcolonial critique seeks to achieve about the epistemological and ontological questions that relate to literacy. The argument is developed under the concept that education should be viewed as a public good however, disagreements relating to the nature of what a ‘good’ actually means is the angle where the debates are intertwined. The central concern is with the idea of ‘interdisciplinarity’ and the postcolonial approach towards it (p. 17). Another important concern that Brydon (2010) raises is the dominance of the English language in all forms of communication – scientific or otherwise which is central to this dissertation and the case of Pakistan. This dominance seems to create an ideological semi permeable membrane which allows only those considered literate and functional in English towards the milestone of literacy. The imparting of these skills has become big business and thus has important underpinnings that can trace out the interests of western education. Overall the argument of Street (2003) calling for an overall redefinition of the idea of literacy is also employed by

Brydon (2003) in addition to the taxonomy of the levels of literacy explained by Wells (2008) and Contenta (1993).

The resulting deficiencies in the type of ‘knowledge’ that would follow an isolated ‘informational’ approach to education is also the focus of Spivak’s (1999) argument. The resulting condition has been termed ‘sanctioned ignorance’ (p.337) through which the information and knowledge which is context rich about the recipients of that knowledge is removed from the education equation with the justification of it being ‘not worth knowing’ (Brydon, 2003:21). This idea has applicability in the case of regional languages in Pakistan namely Hindko, Seraiki, Punjabi, Baluchi and others which have not been part of any formal curriculum in the country. This form of ignorance is not necessarily the same as the meaning the term has in its classic sense with the solution as proposed by Spivak (1999) being the establishment of a ‘transnational literacy’. Although the debate proposed by Spivak is concerned with centrism on from an American or European standpoint, however, this idea of transnational literacy is not necessarily the same as an overarching hyper-globalized paradigmatic shift in education but the sprouting out of localized contexts of knowledge which are included in the doctrine of knowledge and considered worthy of study independent of the power relations at play.

Crossley and Tickly (2004) also focus on the postcolonial heritage that is present in most education systems that educational comparativists select to study. Extrapolating from this presence of colonial influence they further argue that the present education system of the world would not have been formed the way it currently is if the colonial masters had not successfully propagated the western centric view which they did, that has ultimately seeped into all forms of modern education with strong path dependence. This dependence is evident in the dominance of the English language as discussed earlier and the curriculum design, way



of scientific inquiry and experimentation, scholarly practices and the production and arrangement of the academy in the world. The ‘epistemological’ (p. 149) basis of the way people in modern academies think is shaped by the western centric view is what Crossley and Tickly (2004) bolster their arguments with. They further state that the postcolonial framework can be used to view social constructs such as gender roles, slavery, race and class, however, the area where the utility of a postcolonial analysis almost illustrates itself is the cusp between culture and education. Building on this line of inquiry, Crossley and Tickly (2004) further state that the ideal type of postcolonial literature is the formation of a ‘critical multiculturalism’ (p. 151) which is crosscutting with the ideas that Spivak (1999) also employs. It is through this critical mindset that the apparent racial inferiority that the colonized subjects are dealing with in manifest and latent ways can be subjugated to pave way for the articulation of localized knowledge and contexts (Crossley and Tickly, 2004:151). This superiority is present in rhetoric relating to culture and race dealing with colonized countries but is also evident in transnational educational systems such as the British GCSE or CIE examination boards which conduct examinations in most former British colonies including Pakistan.

The work of Giroux (1992) as mentioned above has great underpinnings for the perspective that this review is aimed at exploring. Discussing the concept of ‘racial democracy’ Giroux (1992) argues that literacy is not a condition that is reached but in essence it becomes

“An enabling condition for forms of citizenship in which members of dominant and subordinate groups are offered subject-positions that address what it means to live in a society in which they have the opportunity to shape history in emancipatory terms rather than be the subject or object of its oppressive and colonizing practices.” (Giroux, 1992:1)

Therefore the idea of being literate is much more complicated than the meaning it implies in the colloquial usage of the term. In addition to skills of reading and writing it implies the more intriguing questions of what to read? And what to write? And most importantly which

language should be used to enable this reading and writing? Giroux (1992) therefore argues that to be called ‘literate’ then means to “undertake a dialogue with the multiple languages, discourses, and texts of others who speak from different histories, locations, and experiences” (p. 2) not just a dominant one.

The logical basis laid down by Giroux (1992) aforementioned, paves way for the argument that education institutions are not neutral institutions in spite of the claims of neutrality and hotbeds of objective knowledge impartment that are made continuously. A cultural power play is at work latently if not manifest at all points with the ‘inclusion and exclusion’ which help in the derivation of ‘moral truths’ (p. 7). This power play is evident in the case of Pakistan which will be discussed in the following section.

## **2.2 - Multiple literacies and the postcolonial state:**

An academic aforementioned whose work served as an inspiration for the practitioners of new literacy and the critical formation of newer forms of curricula, was Freire (1972). McLaren (1993) carries out an in-depth analysis on his work and makes the argument that the pedagogical form of knowledge transfer has or even will ‘produce specific forma of practical competency’ (p. 7). The reasons that McLaren (1993) gives for this occurrence is mainly the way in which the inscription of knowledge takes place, linguistic intricacies and the creation of narratives for the apparent transfer of knowledge. To counter such forms of privileged ideological solidarity that is being propagated in schools, the Freireian method of teaching can be emancipatory measure which can ensure the formation of “critical practice that can interrogate, destabilize, and disorganize dominant strategies of power and power/ knowledge relations and that in doing so teachers may envisage a means of enlisting pedagogy in the construction of a radical and plural democracy” (p. 8). The work of Freire (1985) differs from the mainstream opinions that have been produced in this line of reasoning according to

McLaren (1993) in that Freire (1985) starts the analysis not by viewing oppressed groups in society be it postcolonial societies or otherwise, to be simply included in the plurality of experiences, but as groups who offer a legitimate body of knowledge to be taught and understood.

The journey towards the establishment of a transnational literacy and the development of a critical research methodology is what Lee (2011) also discusses. Building on the work of Spivak (1999) and Brydon (2010) Lee (2011) focuses on the process of decolonization of the education process beginning with the decolonization of the classroom. A major point discussed at length is the idea of the rejuvenation of the comparative literature in education through which the focus can move beyond the dominance of Eurocentric curricula and literature to foster a better and in-depth understanding of the “national literatures of the global South but also of the writing of countless indigenous languages in the world that were programmed to vanish when the maps were made” (p. 3). The challenging and breaking of the mold of western academia which is present in postcolonial states in hyper forms needs to be carried out if novelty in opinions and forms of expression is to be harnessed. To elucidate this point Spivak (1999) had focused on writers from the Indian subcontinent including Pakistan, the extent of new ideas surely does not stop there. Lee (2011) adds to the idea by stating that transnational literacy can successfully promote a nexus between engagements ranging from textual and literary to social levels, however, there is a pitfall of misinformation, out of context understanding and distorted culturalism which need to be avoided by adhering to a high ethical code. This ethical code and the avoidance of the aforementioned pitfall is illustrated by Brydon’s (2010) concept of ‘postcolonial pedagogy’ and ‘cross-talk’ (Lee, 2011:6). Thorough the consideration of such concepts while carrying out pedagogical duties by the critically informed teacher can the ‘transnational literacy’ truly stand a chance of being

established with a strong dialectical base. The ideas although complex have strong theoretical underpinnings for practical implementation in classrooms.

Chou (2012) traces out the education reforms that have taken place in Hong Kong and Macau and how the effect of colonial legacies is apparent in these reforms. Both areas being constituted as postcolonial states, the kind of education reforms differ in nature. In Macau, the government due to weak institutions lacks the political power to carry out an interventionist program of reforms, where the binary situation is observed in Hong Kong where the government has traditionally been much more active and strict about the education policy. Another example that draws upon the predicaments in a postcolonial state in the education sector is the work of Hickling-Hudson (2006) where the case studies of Australia and Caribbean have been discussed. The author discusses how the process of decolonization when carried out in the education system seems to reflect racial and power relations prevalent in that society. Both scholarly works show the role of the state in facilitating the decolonization process within the classroom and outside it which was missing from the case of Pakistan.

Critically analyzing the concept transnational literacy, Kanu (2005) notes that the transnational knowledge transfer to developing countries is what O'Donoghue (1994) describes as the exchange of intellectual property and the standards that need to be observed when deciding on policy matters even in governance. Keeping in view the concept of the functional literacy coined by Freire (1972), the idea is again called into the analysis by Kanu (2005) when the observation is discussed that there has been a sizable quantitative expansion in terms of education and its provision to students around the world, but in the constricted view of literacy, the reproduction of dominant cultures and ideologies has also increased. However, some countries are still not even able to provide a functional literacy to their citizens, an example being Pakistan which Kanu (2005) discusses as a case study. Pakistan

has suffered an extreme crisis in its education sector and the body of knowledge which is part of the local context has been even more marginalized than the body of literature that has been adopted from the west but is imparted by the local matriculate system. Due to this systematic marginalization the most prestigious form of education that is imparted in Pakistan is the Cambridge or London Board examinations that students prepare for while enrolled at private schools. This is the epitome of postcolonial heritage in the Pakistani context. In relation Kanu (2005) notes that since the Pakistani education system is still in its development phase and things have not completely settle, therefore if due to critical research the idea of the local knowledge being “a living body of knowledge open to multiple interpretations that greatly broadens the context of our understanding” (Horn, 1999:29). Therefore if a localized set of curriculum was to be designed keeping in consideration the differences in histories and meanings from every part of the country, it could lead the education sector one step closer to the ideal type of the transnational literacy.

The contributions made by the works reviewed here have been major to New Literacy Studies. The practical engagement of these ideas with practitioners needs to be solidified with successful implementations and rejuvenated education systems established. The contestation of what counts as ‘literacy’ and ‘numeracy’ (Street, 2003:87) will be matter of contestation until the idea of transnational yet local literacies are established instead of imposed realities and dominant cultures. The importance of achieving this has been summarized by Giroux (1992) as “Educating for difference, democracy, and ethical responsibility is not about creating passive citizens. It is about providing students with the knowledge, capacities, and opportunities to be noisy, irreverent, and vibrant...” (p.8) Therefore the deserving students of today should not be subjected to a totalized view of culture, literacy and citizenship but they deserve ideas which prepares them to identify the system which nurtures their intellect while at the same time having the ability to have a reflexive relationship with it.

## 2.3 - The Scholarly Literature on Pakistan:

Kanu (2006) is a direct application of the classic postcolonial studies lens to the case of Pakistan to gain understanding on the way the education system was reformulated post-independence and the manner in which it has evolved. However, academic studies purely from a policy analysis viewpoint and to gauge the economic returns to education have been conducted by Jimenez and Tan (1985 and 1987) and more recently Khalid and Khan (2006) provide a general background and chronological analysis on the education system in Pakistan. After the completion of fifty years of the Pakistan state, Hoodbhoy (1998) presents a collection of several articles which discuss teacher resources, primary secondary and higher education with a focus on policy making which was relevant for this dissertation and is employed in the analysis. Andrabi, Das and Khawaja (2002), Memon, Joubish and Khurram (2010) and Gazdar (2010) were recent works which focus on private education or present a critique on the progression that the Pakistani public education student has to cope with.

As mentioned in the introductory section, there is a dearth of academic literature in relation to education in Pakistan but the works which have been produced through collaborations of foreign universities with local institutions have been of a high quality. Academics such as Ali, Tariq and Topping (2012), Banda (2007) and Powell (2002) have been able to carry out academic surveys and other comparative research in postcolonial states specifically Pakistan. These works provide the general background and attest to the applicability of the postcolonial lens, namely New Literacy Studies on the case of Pakistan which has been attempted in this dissertation. Powell (2002) bases his arguments on the observation also shared by Dua (1990) that a minimal level of linguistic rationalization had taken place in the British colonies, specifically South Asia as it was difficult due to logistical reasons and the sheer multilingual societies that existed before the advent of the British. This was the exact problem faced in the

postcolonial era as well which is evident in the arbitrary language policy adopted in Pakistan by every passing regime. Banda (2007), however states directly that colonial powers promoted the English language simply to cut costs as it was easier to form a class of native Indians who would act as officers rather than call people from other parts of the empire for administrative purposes. He further discusses that the superiority of the English language in Pakistan and India, would be a remnant of this policy to increase the marginal exploitative return of the colonial masters from the subcontinent. Banda (2007) reviews the work of Rassool et.al (2007) who ultimately claims that stark similarity in the language policy of colonial and postcolonial times also observed by Powell (2002).

The area of language policy and the discrepancies in the selection of a medium of instruction, testing and accreditation have been researched primarily by Rahman (1997, 2001, 2004), Mansoor (2004) and Shamim (2008). These seminal and original works in analyzing the language policy discuss how the dominance and unfair imposition of language which was English under colonial times and Urdu post-independence has been a long trend in, and, outcome of the power struggle in the subcontinent. These arguments and the evidence that has been presented by these authors provides the platform on which the through the New literacy studies lens this dissertation analyses the importance of regional languages, the reasons for their marginalization and the reconceptualization of literacy in Pakistan. Shamim (2008) builds upon the fact the post-independence Urdu, which was declared as the national language of Pakistan is only the native language of 8% of the population in 2008 (p 235). This statistical evidence and the analyses show that the two dominant languages in terms of literacy and employment are both alien to a vast majority of the population of the country. The popularization of Urdu was carried out during the regime of Zia ul Haq in the 1970s and 1980s; however, the regimes before and after these two decades have manifestly or latently preferred English more than any other language.

Ali, Tariq and Topping (2012) add to the analyses by focusing on university education in Pakistan. The authors state that most universities in Pakistan follow an outdated colonial style of education with a non-reflexive relationship between the students and teachers in these institutions. Although of a substandard quality, English is the prevalent medium of instruction. The gap in the language policy is further elucidated by the work of these authors as most universities have the autonomy to design and offer the courses as their respective board suggests, however, most universities ultimately opt for courses in English which are offered in major state universities in the country. Official and unofficial work on the Pakistani education system attests to the reality that the curriculum that is being taught in the universities is not meeting the needs of the student who wishes to become internationally competitive, the language of instruction being one of the reasons for this inadequacy (Malik, 2006; Siddiqui, 2006).

Lingard and Ali (2009), Qureshi (2012) and Karim and Shaikh (2012) focus on different aspects of the dominance of the English language education in the public and private sector in Pakistan. The research question that this dissertation aims at addressing includes an inquiry into the reasons for the dominance of English and the consequent class divide; therefore these provide the analysis with factual data from first hand and secondary surveys, as well as important policy recommendations which this project builds upon. Qureshi (2012) notes that the problems of languages have been understood to be a primary problem in postcolonial societies by many scholars such as Rahim and Ratwattee (2004) and Hamid (2011). These scholarly works deal with other countries such as Sri Lanka and Bangladesh as well; however, Pakistan is a society where the problem manifests itself on every rung of society i.e. the divide between English and Urdu users and then the divide between Urdu and regional language users. What complicates the situation according to Qureshi (2012) is the abrupt change that the Pakistani student faces while progressing in the education system (p. 355).



This change is faced by potentially 65.3% (Mansoor, 2004) of the student population who receive educational instruction in Urdu and who would want to progress to university where the dominant medium of instruction is English.

Powell (2002) discusses the report cited in Hoodbhoy (1998) which shows that non-school going children in Pakistan have showed exceptional abilities in arithmetic tasks in comparison to children who attend school which shows the inadequacy of the curriculum and the subsequent disenfranchisement of the masses in terms of educational opportunity. Many reports presented by Rehman (2004) and the survey by ASER (2012) state that the qualifications of the teaching staff in public and private institutions is not very different, however, the caliber of the students has a stark difference, with public school students showing lesser abilities in some respects than non-school attending children. In such a situation, a coherent language policy which addresses the needs of the students from all parts of the country and is regionally sensitive yet displays uniformity needs to be adopted. Some seminal scholarly work on Pakistan has been reviewed in this section; however, a majority of the literature in the Pakistani education system will come into focus in the following section where the nexus between the new literacy studies premise and the language of instruction policy in Pakistan will be illustrated.

## Chapter 3 - The Case Study:

### 3.1 - The Colonial Legacy – Early Domination of the English Language:

The education policy in colonial India according to Allender (2009) implemented certain policy measures which were borrowed from the home country but had been modified to fit local conditions. The policy of the British to create a class of local Englishmen to serve as officers and administrators for the crown was reflected within the nationalist narrative after the independence of the country in policies such as education only for a certain type of ‘talented’ (Allender, 2009:741) underprivileged people, or exclusively for the elites. These elites were people who were either affluent or belonged to the armed forces, bureaucracy or the selected few families of the subcontinent who had received education in one of the British run elite education institutions. This division of society which was created during colonial times to create a specific superiority to be attached with the English language, while the vernacular of the area would be considered unfit for educational purposes (Mansoor, 2003) even by its native speakers.

Banda (2007) reflects on the work of Rassool et.al (2007) who further elucidates the intentions of the colonial powers to have a visible rift in the language policy to suit exploitative interests. The minimal education to natives in English with the majority being in their vernacular only prepared them for low skilled jobs with the more prestigious positions being accessible to the selected few. These power relations surrounding the issue of language according to Rassool et.al (2007) is visible not just in English but between French and African languages as well. However, even after the discovery of underlying social inequalities due to preferentialism in language, the hegemonic presence is often observed to be natural and is reproduced after the independence of the colonies. Banda (2007) argues “...years after independence, language in education policy and planning still remain grounded in mental

subordination to colonial cultures, and the omnipotence of the dictates of the Western metropolises” (p 238). After the discussion of the historical dominance of English from the colonial era and the present level of the dominance of English, the historical reasons for making Urdu the national language of Pakistan will be discussed. Reflections and application of the literature and ideas of New Literacy Studies and postcolonial scholarly ideas will be made simultaneously. This will be followed by a section presenting empirical quantitative data and national preferences in the education system in Pakistan.

As discussed in the review section, the dichotomy that Street (2003) creates between the autonomous approach to literacy and the ideological form, Pakistan would be categorized as an ideological entry. The process of cultural sensitivity which could have been promoted by the deeper understanding and development of local languages was actively marginalized by the colonial masters; however, what does not follow logically is the continuation of such policies after a long and gruesome nationalist movement which led to Pakistan and India. Alavi (1989) in relation to this notes that after the creation of the country, the nationalist spirit was maligned by ethnic and linguistic boundaries which took the form of sub nationalist movements quite rapidly. Powell (2002) in relation to Pakistan similarly notes that during colonial times the introduction of vernacular education was to reinforce the position of the elites in without letting the process of ‘Anglicisation’ (p 270) to overstretch, however, the promotion of English was done with the aim of creating an impression of superiority and mystification for the uneducated native. The problem which the Pakistani state actively created which led to the English being the language of elites and the key to better life chances in the country, was the non-commitment towards the development of local languages or even reconceptualising and decolonizing the English language.

The central premise that New Literacy Studies scholars base their arguments on is to view literacy as a social practise and a continuous process rather than a condition reached. In this conception the condition of being 'illiterate' is ruled out, with varying degrees and types of literacy. However, the colonial experience in the Indian subcontinent clearly illustrates the creation of a socio-political environment to keep a majority of the natives in an oppressed condition without the awareness of it. However, as the following discussion will illustrate, little effort has been made to change this power dynamic to result in the emancipation and empowerment of local citizens. The hierarchy of languages in Pakistan with varying degrees of superiority resulting in English at the top, followed by Urdu and the marginalized regional languages at the bottom making them synonymous with illiteracy, has impeded the formation of a 'functional literacy' (Freire, 1972) with an environment of 'sanctioned ignorance' (Spivak, 1999) to maintain the position of the elites.

### 3.2 - Policy making post-independence 1947- 1989:

Policy making in Pakistan has been highly politicized and has taken many radical ideological turns due to nationalist, ethnic and economic interests. Rahman (2004) reflects on the work of Bengali (1999) who describes the process of policy making in Pakistan as "setting targets, bemoaning the failure to achieve the same, and setting new targets with unqualified optimism has been a continuing game policy makers have played *ad nauseam* and at great public expense over the last 50 years' (p 308). Lingard and Ali similarly describe the process of education policy making in Pakistan as a continuous exercise of 'target revision' (p 241). This failure to make robust policies is most elucidated at the first review of the incoherent language policy history of Pakistan which furthered the dominance of English and marginalized the other languages in Pakistan resulting in a decline of literacy as understood conventionally. Rahman (2004) notes that among the most important policy documents related to education in Pakistan were The New Education Policy 1959, The Education Policy

between the years 1972 and 1980 and the white paper on education policy followed between 1998 till 2010. Khalid and Khan (2006) however, note that a total of eight starkly different policies have been followed in Pakistan but the issue of language policy and medium of instruction has been almost equally controversial or ignored in these policy documents.

The medium of instruction is the best state apparatus to ensure the dominance and propagation one language. The cultural practises and socio-linguistic legacy of the language is inculcated into generations of citizens through exposure to a language at an early age. Shamim (2008) reflects on the work of Tollefson and Tsui (2004) who state that the medium of instruction more importantly decides which linguistic groups will have access to better employment and upwards social mobility while which groups will face disenfranchisement (p 242). Although it can often be a source of conflict, language of instruction in education has the potency and potential to reconceptualise historical accounts and create a façade over power relations in a society.

Wells (2008) and Brydon (2010) as discussed in the literature review sections work on the assumption that education was a selective public good in postcolonial states. The disparity in education that was deliberately created by the colonists to keep the masses from attaining the same level of educational literacy was the first colonial element which should have been removed as decolonization occurred. However, there is extreme disparity in school and education opportunities in Pakistan for students attending public education. The classic argument for using English medium education recently is different from the cultural dominance of the colonial era. UNICEF (2000) report discusses the supporting infrastructure which also needs to be constructed such as teaching staff, teacher training programmes and ideological willingness to study in a particular language before decisions regarding the medium of instruction are taken. However, the haphazard policy making in Pakistan at the

time of its independence shows otherwise. As discussed earlier the current education system in Pakistan is a remnant of the British policy of maintaining two education systems, one in English reserved for the elites and the other vernacular system for the masses. Rahman (1996) notes that most elite private schools in Pakistan have continued to retain English as their medium of instruction. Shamim and Allen (2000) further add that Urdu which was declared the national language of the country at upon its independence is taught only as a secondary language, with the student's proficiency in that language being one equivalent to that of a foreign language. This points to an elite class of students in who are more proficient in a foreign language i.e. English than their own language. However, the selection of Urdu as the national language had its own controversies attached to it.

Giroux (1992) as reviewed earlier describes the capacity and process of literacy comprising of more than functionality in language, extending out to proficiency in 'multiple languages, discourses, and texts of others who speak from different histories, locations and experiences' (p 2). This points to a subaltern inclusiveness of the native cultural practises which should be a priority for governments in postcolonial states. However, the selection of Urdu as the national language also had its own political and socio-economic reasons attached to it. Urdu was the native tongue of the people who migrated from India to the newly formed state of Pakistan called the *Mohajirs* or migrants. They were the educated class of people in 1947 that mainly settled in the southern cities of Karachi and Hyderabad upon arrival in Pakistan and took up major positions in the civil service because of their rich educational background. This led to the dominant socio-economic position in society which has led to many ethnic conflicts between this group and the native population of the areas which came under Pakistan who speak mainly Punjabi, Sindhi, Baluchi and Pushtu – not Urdu. Mansoor (2004) states Urdu is the native language of only 7.57% of the population according to the 1998 census (p 334) whereas Shamim (2008) estimates it at 8%, which shows that numerically it is a minority

language even today, whereas the percentage share of speakers at the time independence was lower than present day. The reasons why it was declared to be the national language was the association of Urdu with Islam and Muslims in pre-partition India. Therefore, the formation and solidification of a Muslim identity and the Pakistani identity were the main reasons for the propagation of Urdu in Pakistan (Shamim, 2008). However, Mansoor (2004) still maintains that English continues to be the language of the powerful upper echelons of Pakistani society and the commitment to Urdu is just present in political rhetoric. The commitment to Urdu is strong despite the problems that its spread caused in the former East Pakistan which is not Bangladesh, as that part was largely home to one uniform ethnicity who spoke Bangla and the speakers were more in number than any other groups in Pakistan in 1947. This power struggle led to the secession of Bangladesh in 1971; however, what is important is that language was a major issue for that separatist movement.

Immediately after independence, Pakistan was faced with political turmoil in the establishment of democratic governments, which led to the military government of Ayub Khan in the 1950s. Ayub Khan's government preferred English as the medium of instruction for elite schools with Urdu being used for non-native speakers all over the country. This led to some early grievances against Urdu, but due to the religious association of Urdu with Islam, those were limited. However, the dual education policy of the British continued with the masses having little access to English while the elites continued to acquire power and better potential for success through advanced proficiency in English. Reflecting on the ideas of New Literacy theorists Spivak (1999) and Crossley and Tickly (2004) the localized knowledge, culture and practises which included Islam as a major ideological force seemed to be maligned and marginalized by the active separation of education between English and Urdu mediums. The ideology of Pakistan which was pushed through by the elites towards fruition and was largely centred on Islam and Muslims seemed to be ignored largely by the

same elites who preferred English rather than Urdu. This created a dual literacy in the country which is elucidated by the New Literacy lens. One literacy was superior as it had the skill level in English which was unmatched by the public school student, whereas the other literacy was in Urdu and created barriers for the state school student in higher education.

As early as 1959, the policy incoherence between the public/private school system and higher education system of the country in terms of language policy became apparent. The Sharif Commission in 1959 propagated the use of English as the language of instruction at the higher education level, but the use of Urdu at the primary and secondary level. This marked the beginning of the elite student and mass student divide which resulted in two classes of people. An attempt was made to reverse the decision by the Bhutto regime in the 1970s with a large scale nationalization of the education system and the provincial devolution of authority to develop local languages; however, it was to almost no avail as the precedent of English superiority had been established. After the fall of the Bhutto government, the military government of Zia ul Haq in 1979 also attempted to Islamize the educational curriculum by making Urdu the compulsory language of instruction and examination, but again only at the school level. The decision was reversed by 1989. Both these governments failed to account for the large private sector education which was growing due to the rampant ideological changes and the instability that the government displayed in the public sector education. Figure 1 clearly shows the exponential growth in the formation of private institutions in Pakistan in comparison with the public sector and madrasahs. This growth continued throughout the years even when Pakistan entered a democratic era in 1989 and the government of Benazir Bhutto announced the re-introduction of English to be taught as a subject from Grade 1 onwards, however, Pakistan had lost substantial teacher resource during this period and as well as a grip on English language teaching expertise (Shamim, 2008; Memom, Joubish and Khurram, 2010). Crossley and Tickly (2004) from the New Literacy

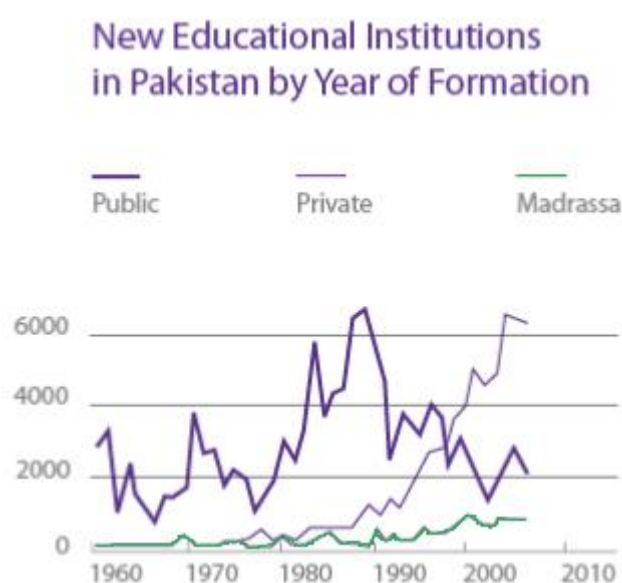


Perspective discuss the importance of localized curriculum and the successful decoupling of English or any colonial language from the colonial superiority that it entailed to provide a residue of language functionality without the dominance of the colonial mind-set attached to it. The governments aforementioned grappled with the question of medium of instruction without any effort to create a new approach to English or Urdu teaching which would provide an egalitarian platform for both languages to flourish. The curriculum taught in private schools which prepare students for the GCSE and CIE examinations are designed in Britain with almost no local knowledge of the countries that they are taught in. One of the priorities of the education policy should have been to develop and continuously update a rich local curriculum which state schools would offer with possible additions and modifications for private schools instead of focusing on the matter of language alone.

### **3.3 - Policy changes from 1989 onwards and current national preferences:**

In 1998 another white paper on Education was published by the democratic government which was overthrown by the coup d'état staged by Pervez Musharraf. The new military government did not make any substantial changes to the white paper policies. The paper suggested the continuance of the policy of using English as the medium of instruction at the college and university level, but the use of Urdu at the school level (Lingard and Ali, 2009). The paper suggested introducing English for the teaching of science and mathematics in some schools on an experimental basis, however, Shamim (2008) discusses the negative consequences of using English in the classroom which have been documented in the studies of Brock-Utne (2000) and Tollefson and Tsui (2004). The first critique that was extended towards this policy which was not very different from the language policy followed previously came from several empirical studies conducted between 2003 and 2012 in the country. Although the Musharraf government had a pro English understanding for the design and implementation of education policy in comparison with previous governments, very little

was done to improve the accessibility of English to the majority of public education students in the country.

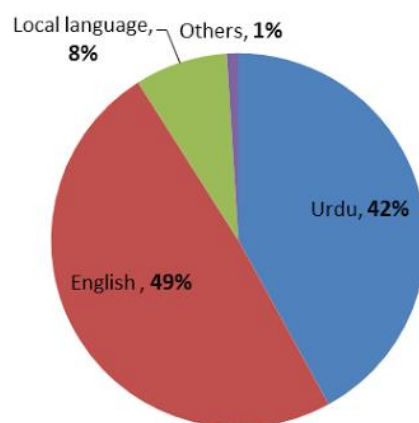


**Figure 1: Source Andrabi, Das and Khawaja, 2010 (IGC Policy Brief)**

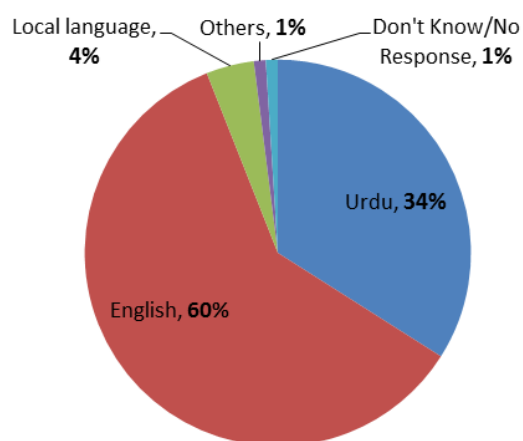
Karim and Shaikh (2012) discuss the results of the study presented by Mansoor (2005) which indicate an unprecedented majority of students, teachers and parents having a clear preference for English medium education where the language is a compulsory requirement and a medium of instruction. The study yielded 91% students, 88% teachers and 97% of the parents indicated this preference (p 313). A contrasting view is presented by Khubchandani (2003) who presents a plethora of evidence which supports the historical yet rhetorical stance of the Pakistani government to empower the vernacular and decouple the historical narrative of the country with the colonial past. But, the clear preference in favour of English creates a situation where policy making for the country's authorities becomes challenging. Another

survey conducted by Gallup Pakistan showed a sizable majority having preference for English to be used at the primary, secondary and higher education level. The results of the survey have been illustrated in Figures 2, 3 and 4 respectively. The figures were as high as 49% in favour of English for primary education, 60% for English and secondary education and 65% for English in higher education (Gilani Research foundation and Gallup Pakistan, 2013). This result clearly contradicts the state's policy of promoting Urdu at the lower levels of education, but at the same time employing English in colleges and universities.

ASER Pakistan also conducted a large scale survey published in 2012, which shows results that are different than the two surveys aforementioned. The results presented in figure 5 show a clear preference for Urdu instead of English, however, it also break down the use of English in state and private schools in the country. Due to the common usage of English at the private school level, the students have better chances of enrolling in one of the only 135 higher education institutions in the country (Higher Education Commission, 2013). As indicated in figure 5, some schools in the province of Punjab have changed the medium of instruction to English, it is still a small minority that has access to it and consequently better higher education opportunities. Figure 6 shows the distribution of universities by sector which is 44% falling in the private and 56% percentage falling under the purview of the public domain. Compared with the university wide enrolment in the year 2010-2011 illustrated in figure 7, it can be observed that 86% of enrolment is in the public sector universities, therefore calling for more need of improving the public sector education system and introducing uniformity in the medium of instruction.



**Figure 2 Medium of Instruction preference at the primary level - Source: Gilani Research foundation and Gallup Pakistan, 2013**



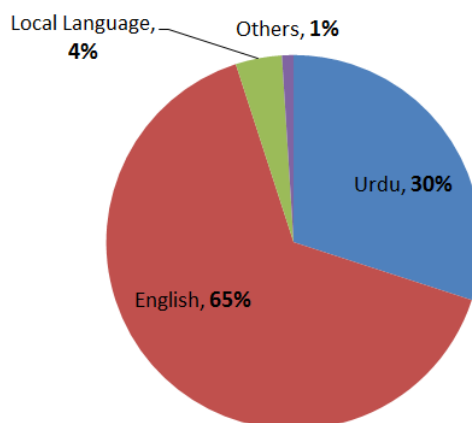
Primary Education: Urban Respondents 61% preferred English, Rural Respondents 43%.

Secondary Education: urban respondents preferring English 75%, rural respondents 53%

Higher Education: urban respondents choosing English 77%, rural respondents 53%

Source: Gilani Foundation and Gallup Pakistan, 2013

**Figure 3 MoI preference at secondary level - Source: Gilani Research foundation and Gallup Pakistan, 2013**



**Figure 4 Medium of Instruction preference at the Higher Education Level - Source: Gilani Research foundation and Gallup Pakistan, 2013**

### **Medium of Instruction in the surveyed Public and Private sector education institutions**

<b>Region</b>	<b>Preferred Medium</b>	<b>Home Language</b>	<b>Medium of Instruction in Government Schools</b>	<b>Medium of Instruction in Private Schools</b>
Balochistan	Urdu 69%	Balochi 44% and Pushto 34%	Urdu 100%	Urdu 49% and English 51%
Azad Jammu and Kashmir	Urdu 70%	Hindko 34% and Pahari 21%, Urdu 15%	Urdu 97% and English 3%	Urdu 32% and English 68%
FATA	Home Language 60%	Pushto 99%	Urdu 80%, English 2% and Pushto 17%	Urdu 12%, English 86% and Pashto 2%
Gilgit Baltistan	Urdu 54%	Shina 47% and Urdu 1%	Urdu 68% and English 32%	Urdu 16% and English 84%
Islamabad Capital Territory	English 49% Urdu 46%	Urdu 47% and Punjabi 28%	Urdu 97% and English 3%	Urdu 32% and English 68%
Khyber Pukhtunkhwa	Home Language 45% Urdu 39%	Pushto 77% and Hindko 11%	Urdu 66%, English 3% and Pushto 30%	Urdu 23%, English 70% and Pushto 7%
Punjab	Urdu 56% English 31%	Punjabi 65% and Seraiki 21%	Urdu 50% and English 50%	Urdu 35% and English 65%
Sindh	Home Language 90%	Sindhi 86% and Urdu 1%	Urdu 2%, English 1% and Sindhi 97%	Urdu 59%, English 35% and Sindhi 6%

**Figure 5 ASER Pakistan (National Report Card), 2012, page 75**

The selection of Urdu as the national language even though it was the native language of a small minority for the purposes of Islamization and nation building, the continuance of a disparity in elite English and mass education in other languages is apparent by the evidence discussed above. This was resultant in addition to the failure of subsequent Pakistani federal and provincial governments to form coherence in the system while meeting the demands and challenges. Keeping into consideration the historical context with the policy challenges in the current regime, some specific policy recommendations with lessons from the application of

the New Literacy studies conception of language policy are presented in the following section with a conclusion.

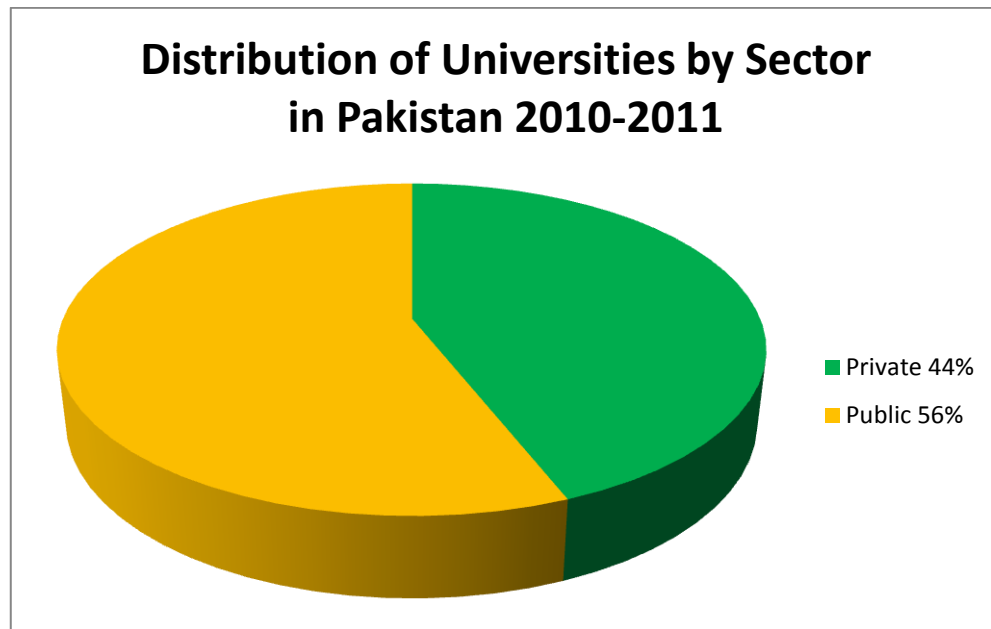


Figure 6 Source: AEPAM 2010-2011

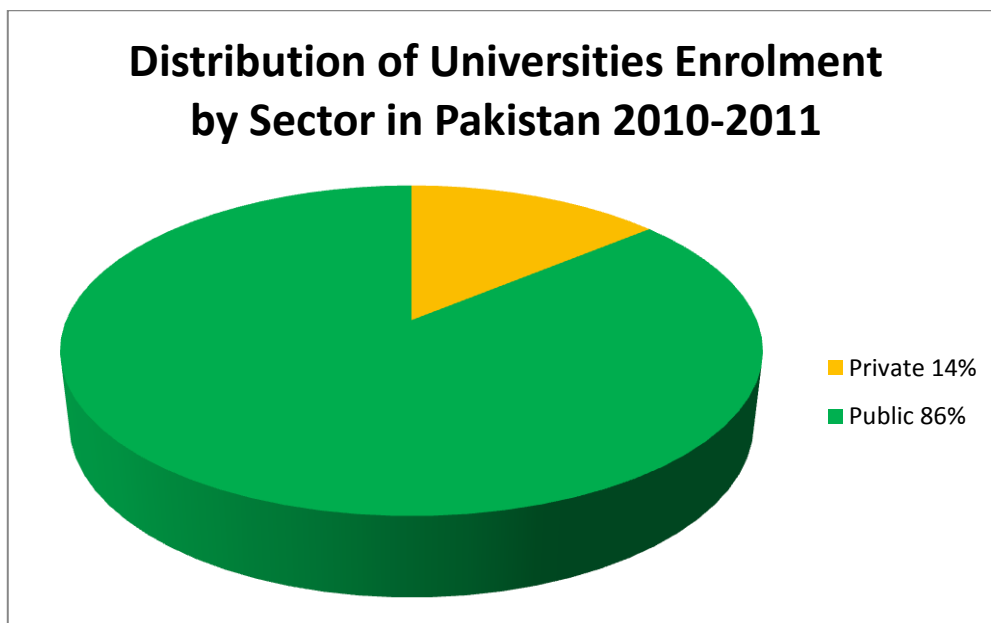


Figure 7 Source: AEPAM 2010-2011

## Chapter 4 - Policy Recommendations and Conclusion:

If any successful policy measure is designed to remove the disparity in mass education and private education due to language of instruction it needs to firstly, decouple English from its colonial elements and established superiority in Pakistan. Secondly, a simultaneous effort needs to be made to raise the level of regional languages and Urdu by establishing language centres in higher education institutions where more literature and translational work can be produced in these languages. Thirdly, Bilingualism or multilingual capabilities need to be viewed favourably; however, all languages cannot receive the status of the medium of instruction on a national scale therefore a decision needs to be made on a provincial and national level for the selection of a common medium of instruction for state education. This needs to be coupled with in-service training programs in English for teachers and administrators. The preferences in favour of English which were discussed in the previous section show the national opinion about the language being the lingua franca of modern society and the new Latin of the scientific and technological world. Holding onto national cultural symbols such as Urdu or regional languages is important to protect the heritage of the various ethnicities living in Pakistan, however, uniformity and expert proficiency at least in a single language is required to achieve an improved quality of education and an effective type of literacy which moves beyond introductory proficiency in multiple languages. Lastly, the idea needs to gain acceptance that the type of bilingual education being imparted on the state level with one class dedicated to English and the rest in Urdu is not functioning efficiently. Therefore, adequate resources need to be dedicated to designing a new curriculum made at par with the curriculum taught in private schools. This will ensure a move towards state education and will regain the trust of the citizenry which should be a priority for a committed government.

Detailed working plans will be required to be drawn up for each step describe above and the establishment of English as the medium of instruction with a variety of core and optional subjects being offered in Urdu. This policy measure with the supplementary measures aforementioned will steer the education system in Pakistan into a direction of self-correction, self-improvement and a general reflexive nature with its stake holders. A general argument that will be made against the increased use of English is the unavailability of teacher resources in the country to support this increase, however, the statistics related to teacher qualifications summarised in figure 8 indicate the nature of teacher qualifications in state and private schools being at par. This attests to the availability of teacher resources but the poor allocation of these resources with minimal checks and balances to be at play. Hoodbhoy (1998), Rahman (2004), Shamim (2008) and several other scholarly works reviewed in this dissertation have pointed out the poor management of state schools, with weak political commitment and an incoherent system including the language policy. An overhaul of the system can begin with the state creating a similar education policy across the board from primary school up until the university level.

<b>Teacher Qualification</b>	<b>General - % of Teachers</b>	<b>General - % of Teachers</b>	<b>Teacher Qualification</b>	<b>Professional - % of Teachers</b>	<b>Professional - % of Teachers</b>
<b>General</b>	<b>Government Schools</b>	<b>Private Schools</b>	<b>Professional</b>	<b>Government Schools</b>	<b>Private Schools</b>
<b>Matriculation</b>	13.3	10.6	<b>PTC</b>	28.2	24.0
<b>FA</b>	18.4	28.6	<b>CT</b>	16.1	18.7
<b>BA</b>	33.1	39.1	<b>B-Ed</b>	36.1	43.5
<b>MA or above</b>	34.3	21.0	<b>M-Ed or above</b>	16.1	9.6
<b>Others</b>	1.0	0.6	<b>Others</b>	3.5	4.2

**Figure 8 Teacher qualifications in government and private schools in Pakistan - Source: ASER Pakistan, 2012, p 77**



Shamim (2008) notes that within the public and private sector the teachers are not very good at English or Urdu which leads to encouragement of “rote learning of answers; for example, essays are dictated to the students for examination purposes” (p 243). The problems need to be addressed; however, a uniform language policy may apply pressure on the teaching staff to increase efficiency. With the proposed in-service training programs a slow yet sustainable increase in the quality of education may be achieved overall.

On a provincial and federal level, regional languages need to be preserved and given a place in the academic arena. University departments for these languages need to be established to preserve these vernaculars. However, their study needs to be made optional for students as more urbanization occurs and intra state mobility increases, many ethnicities live in province who native language is not the ones being offered at the school level for example *Mohajirs* living in interior Sindh where Sindhi medium schools are operating or Punjabi speaking people living in KPK province where Pushtu medium schools are currently active. Forcing an ethnicity to become proficient in a regional language might raise grievances which could pose challenges for the proposed uniformity that needs to be established in the policy formation and execution process. Karim and Shaikh (2012) similarly state that English language teaching should be monitored by federal and provincial committees with the aim of devising a curriculum to be applicable in all public and private institutions (p 113). Mansoor (2004) and Shamim (2008) also propose the policy of informed bilingualism with a focus on English language teaching without the exclusivity that is attached to the language in Pakistan. In the opinion of these scholars, it is not the language itself which reflects colonial elements, but the policy of limiting it to the private and elite sector in education and employment which reflects neo colonial policies by native governments. This disparity which leads to two different literacies needs to be abolished. The abolishment might be achieved with the beginning of uniformity with cultural sensitivity on a provincial level.

The incoherence in language and education policy in Pakistan has given rise to several types of literacies with English literacy holding the most potency for employment and better life chances. This can be observed by viewing literacy as a social process through the New Literacy Studies lens as was illustrated in this dissertation. A uniform stance on the medium of instruction throughout state education in Pakistan will prove to be a major step in making the quality and deliverance of education better in the country. However, strong political will and sustainable policy design with appropriate resource allocations also need to accompany the policy recommendations that have been presented here. With a social value attached to regional languages and Urdu and a heightened proficiency in English, Pakistani students can gain advantages on a national and international level while maintaining the cultural ties with the Pakistani national and provincial identity.

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