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The Virtual *Jirga*: The 2009 Education Policy and the Medium of Instruction Debate in Pakistan__ Who is Participating and What Are the Implications for Balochistan?

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Abstract

Since the independence of Pakistan in 1947 almost every education policy was accompanied by the key question of, "Which language do we choose for instruction and why?" In 2009, after lengthy discussions commencing in 2005, the Government of Pakistan enacted a new National Education Policy (NEP), which proposed that the issue of the medium of instruction (MoI) would be addressed by the federal government with the help of provinces. As soon as the NEP came into force, a strong debate in public and social media began among teachers, students, politicians, educationists, linguists, and journalists, among others, regarding the implications of the policy and its statements. This research explores the debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI through views expressed publicly through digital media in the course of a one-year snap-shot. The study aims to contextualise the participants of the debate and their views in terms of the implications of the NEP policy for MoI in Balochistan Province, the least literate, ethnically marginalised area of Pakistan, which harbours one of the most confrontational separatist movements in recent times. The thesis explores the extent to which the concept of the Jirga, the traditional forum for managing conflicts in the region by engaging in public negotiations and discussions , to solve issues within the community could be applied in the context of participation in debate conducted on-line as a 'virtual Jirga' .

The research is exploratory and hypothesis generating in nature and a documentary analysis strategy was used to explore contributions to public debate of the impact of NEP on MoI within one year via the Internet. 37 texts were collected and analysed using Wordle and Wordsmith computer software to find frequently used words in the dialogue, identify themes and examine the rhetorical forms in which they were expressed. The corpus of 46,316 words proved to be a rich source for gaining insight into what was being said, by whom and where thus enabling tendencies in the association of issues such as ethnicity, class, regionalism, class and educational background to be mapped. The impressions from this snapshot were subject to further examination in the light of the review of literature and perspectives from Critical Policy Sociology theory and Social Constructionism were employed. The resulting conceptual framework, drawn from linguistics and policy study and referencing traditional forms of debating controversial issues, was found to be a useful means of inquiry at a 'distance' as whilst not directly involving the participants their voices can be 'heard'. What was in part a pragmatic decision given the situation of the researcher also had the benefit of working with a medium conducive to reflection on contributions less reactive than might otherwise be the case where debate on the question of MoI can often shed more heat than light. Digital technology and the internet are part of a rapidly growing trend of use in academia for communication and as research tools; this thesis combines the use of such tools with a study of their use and as such contributes to a growing body of scholarship. As with any tool, however, there are limitations as well as affordances, the researcher recognises that the findings cannot be generalised and the use of other data collection methods, such as interviews, or a larger sample of texts gathered over a longer time-scale could lead to different conclusions. However, every effort has been made to make the process of the planning, conduct and analysis of the research transparent and open to critique as is set out through the use of the metaphor of uncovering layers in an onion. .

The identification of themes including the English as MoI supporters tendency to favour neo-liberal views on education, , the Urdu as MoI supporters having a propensity to Islamism, the mother- tongue supporters inclining towards regionalism and those in favour of the uniform MoI having a partiality to a uniform single-tier education system offer confirmation of trends identified in existing research. The analysis of the corpus also indicates a degree of tension as participants want to promote quality education for the progress of the country based on research- based policy but are suspicions of the motives of other groups who might be on the 'winning side'. In summary, the findings suggested that participants in the debate from all groups were positive about the importance and promotion of quality education in the country, but have reservations on the education system as being divisive and unproductive. The study concludes that the internet could offer a way forward by supporting a style of debate based on the Jirga, a Virtual Jirga, stress the referred language, i.e. English, and contributes to knowledge creation by proposing that the traditional philosophies of Pakistan can be revisited and some ideal within those practices used to move towards a harmonious society.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Dedication

To the innocence of my mother and the deprivation of my people: Neither of them could attend school due to education being used as a battle- field by the opportunists of neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism.

Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that the doctoral thesis entitled, *The Virtual Jirga: The 2009 Education Policy and the Medium of Instruction Debate__ Who is Participating and What Are the Implications for Balochistan?*, is the result of my original and independent research, and that all sources used have been duly acknowledged. I further declare that this thesis has not been submitted to this or other university for the same or similar award and nor is it being concurrently submitted for any other award.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AEPAM	Academy of Educational Planning and Management
BA	Bachelor of Arts
BEMIS	Balochistan Education Management Information System
BSc	Bachelor of Science
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
Edu. Pol.	Education Policy
ECE	Early Childhood Education
EFA	Education For All
ESR	Education Sector Reforms
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoB	Government of Balochistan
GoP	Government of Pakistan
GSDRC	Government and Social Development Research Centre
HEC	Higher Education Commission
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MA	Master of Arts
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoI	Medium of Instruction
MSc	Master of Science
NEC	National Education Collaborative
NEP	National Education Policy
NGOs	Non Government Organisations
NIPS	National Institute of Population Studies
PEC	Pakistan Education Statistics
PBD	Provincial Budget Documents
PSLSM	Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1   Background to the Problem

Education plays an important role in the promotion of the ideology, personal development and economic prosperity of a nation. Soon after the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (the first Governor General of Pakistan) announced First Education Conference (1947), and declared education as the top priority. To achieve this goal a number of educational institutions were established across the country from 1947 and onward. In the year 1958, Ayub Khan, an Army General came to power and planned to achieve progress and modernize the society through public policies. For this purpose as argued by Ansari (2011), legal and social changes in the policies were introduced. One of the major changes in the education sector was the introduction of elite private educational institutions, which according to the government of Pakistan (1959) were established for the promotion of quality education and economic prosperity of the country. Since then almost each regime reformed the existing education policies to enable them to deal with the challenges on the ground. These reforms influenced the enrolment rate, overall literacy level, number of educational institutions, and facilitation and allocation of budget.

It seems like the importance of education was realised by all regimes, because since independence, each government came with an education policy aiming at the development of a state inspired by the ideology of Islam and able to meet the everyday challenges (Govt. of Pak. 1947; 59; 73; 77; 89; 98; 2009). These policies more or less enhanced the well-being of the people and the economy of the country but they were accompanied by pressing challenges which included expanding enrolment in educational institutions, socially- and economically- based divisive education, poor quality instructions, and an environment not conducive to teaching and learning. Among these challenges, the Medium of Instruction (MoI) is one which has received more attention and focus ever-since then. The rationale here is related to the fact that language is significant for identity, cultural promotion, access to quality education, the job market and international communication (Whitehead 1995; and Shamim, 2008).

Fundamentally, Pakistan has five major and 58 minor languages (Rahman, 1997, 2002) which makes multilingualism a social reality (Siddiqui, 2010; Khalique, 2006) as indicated

in Figure 1.1 which shows the major languages spoken in Pakistan and their users nationwide.
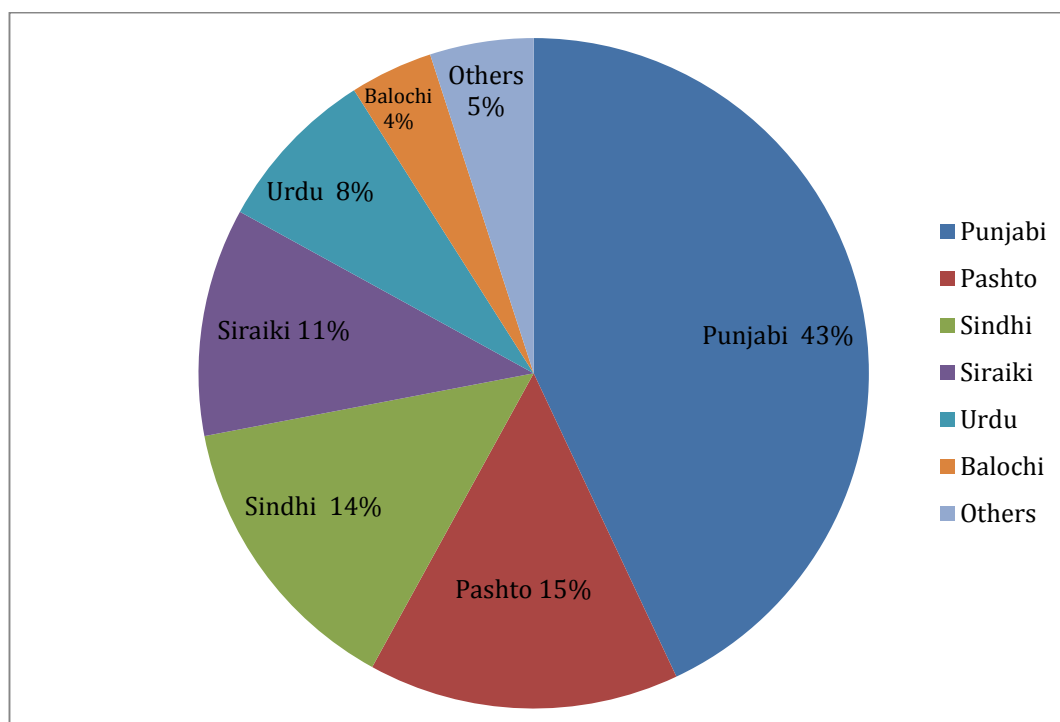
Figure 1.1. The per cent of users of major languages of Pakistan

Source: Pakistan National Census Report, 2001

As it can be noted here, Punjabi, which is the mother tongue of 43% of speakers, is the major language of Pakistan. The language is mainly spoken by the people living in the East of Punjab province (Shackle, 1970). Pashto is the mother tongue of the second largest population (i.e. 15%) in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province; and in Southern Balochistan, it takes second position. Sindhi, which numbers 14% of speakers, is another major language largely spoken by the majority of the people living in rural areas of Sind province, and stands in third place. Sariki, spoken by 11% as a mother tongue in the South of Punjab takes the fourth position, whereas Urdu, the national language of Pakistan is fifth and is spoken as a mother tongue by only 8% of the total population. It is also the mother tongue of the majority of the people based in the city of Karachi, in the province of Sind. Finally, Balochi, which is a major language and the mother tongue of 4%, is spoken by a population largely based in Balochistan province.

This brief linguistic profile leaves several questions unanswered. For example, why wasn't Punjabi selected as MoI? What is the status of these major languages in the NEP 2009 while selecting MoI? What are the links between MoI and access to education? What is the attitude of the people towards these languages? Do these languages have any impact as MoI at

national and regional level? What positions do these languages occupy in Pakistan and in the provinces, especially Balochistan? To consider these questions, it is important to know first of all the linguistic background of Pakistan from a historical perspective (see section 2.1.2).

H e n c e , Pakistan, like many other multilingual nations in the world is faced with an intricate linguistic situation echoing the colonial experience, religious connections, the multidimensional socio-linguistic make-up of the population, and the desire to function in the international market. This complex situation has created genuine linguistic challenges for teachers, politicians, linguists and policy- makers among others; in a word, all people who have an interest in language matters in the country. But the relationship between different languages and their place in education has continuously evolved with the effects of the religious ideologies, the influence of power structures and socio-political changes. These processes often posed a threat for access to education, promotion of the regional languages, solidarity of the Pakistani nation, economic growth and a question mark on the selection of which language should assume the status MoI.

Basically, the English language has remained an important part of education in Pakistan, followed by Urdu and regional languages. In 1954, General Ayub Khan established a number of Army Cadet Colleges and later in 1958 promoted a chain of elite private schools and colleges around the country. In all such schools English was declared as MoI for the sake of quality education and to meet the international demands while in the public sector institutions Urdu was serving as MoI. In the meantime, in some rural schools and madrassas the mother- tongue of Arabic was the MoI. Due to this varied MoI in range of school types concerns have been raised on the formation and the reliability of the education policies. For example, the ethnic nationalists claimed that Urdu as *Punjabi muhajir* coalition would endanger the local languages because Urdu is the mother tongue of only 8% people of the total population, but enjoys the status of MoI and national language while Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi are spoken by 15%, 14% and 11% respectively (see figure 2.2 for details) and do not hold any status. The decision- makers in Pakistan considered English as a 'global language' (Crystal, 2003), whereas the Islamists argued that it was a vehicle of the British Empire to promote Western culture (Haqqani, 2004). Additionally, the Bengalis opposed Urdu as imperialism by the elites because Bengali was spoken by the majority (Bengali was one among the major languages and was spoken in the East of Pakistan. East Pakistan acquired independence in 1971 from Pakistan and became a separate country called Bangladesh).

In a way the MoI policies have always seen strong resistance from all those groups whose language was not chosen for teaching and learning purposes by the state. This resistance is mainly because of the educational importance of choice of MoI, which helps in accessing education, child enrolment and securing good jobs (Jahani, 2005; Rahman, 1997; Huizinga, 1994; Abbas, 1993). This makes it clear that MoI in Pakistan is not limited to classroom and schools only, rather it influences the political, economic, ideological, social and cultural aspects of the people in the state. This thesis does not include a study of all these aspects, but rather the impact of National Education Policy (NEP) on them will be elaborated briefly. This notion has made the issue a serious and debatable one for most of Pakistan's history. This is why choice of MoI has always remained of high importance in the making of education policy.

In 2009, the Pakistan government published a new NEP and a proposed MoI policy after a lengthy discussion process that started in 2005. The main features of this policy are made up of statements regarding the development of school language policies and action plans as well as proposals to create opportunity for children from low economic strata to acquire education. It also emphasises the use of regional languages and proposes that provinces should be given choice in selecting MOI. The policy also prescribes the use of English as MoI in the teaching of Science and Mathematics subjects. The implication here is that the government has given choice to the provinces, but at the same time imposed English as a MoI in certain subjects. This is perceived to be a contradiction by many. As soon as the NEP was announced, a strong debate began in public and social media among different groups and provinces in the country regarding this and a few other contradictions with the NEP. Thus, this research explores the current debate on the National Education Policy (NEP) 2009. To demonstrate, this thesis describes the issue of MoI with reference to the province of Balochistan. The reasons behind choosing Balochistan as the focal area of this investigation are multiple. First, this province is where the researcher hails from, and secondly, Balochistan is the most deprived and lowest in literacy among all provinces (provincial ECE, 2011-15) and thirdly, although the majority of the people speak Balochi and Pashto as their mother tongue, Urdu is MoI in all public schools. This as Jahani (2005) and Huizinga (1994) claim is one of the reasons why some ethnic sentiments demand separation from Pakistan.

To undertake a research project of this nature, the thesis sought to cover data from a large number of views so as to explore participating views in the public debate about MoI. This entails describing a one- year snapshot, which starts after the announcement date of the policy. To do this, the study incorporates a range of documentary texts from online media in

order to analyse the debate on NEP, 2009 with a special reference to MoI. The texts have been selected from newspapers, magazines, blogs and social forums. It is certain that other relevant topics and categories could have been included in the present research, because to understand the policy debate on medium of instruction in Pakistan in the context of language policy requires one to deal with a range of other socio- economic categories. However, due to limited time and space, the thesis has focused on the debate that came out of the publication of NEP, the important issues within the debate and the impact of the policy on Balochistan province.

1.2 The *Jirga:* Concept and History

Historically, conflict and debate over issues has a long history in Pakistani communities. Similarly those communities have instituted ways of resolving their differences. This way, in the rural areas, as stated by Taizi (2007) and Wardak (2003), both the conflicts and resolutions are profoundly linked with the culture of the populace. In Pakistani contexts this tradition then goes back to the concept of local gatherings famous for *Jirga*. *Jirga* is a Pashto language word which is a century old. It means 'the gathering of a few' (*Pashto Descriptive Dictionary,* 1978 cited in Wardak, p1272, 2003), and is a form used for managing conflicts in the rural areas of Pakistan, particularly Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. The use of Jirga is also prominent practice in Afghanistan (Rafi, 2002; Buchholz, 2007) particularly in the Pashtun dominated regions. Its prominence in the Pashtun community is because it is highly accepted tradition (Roashan, 2007; Taizi, 2007; Wardak, 2003; Rafi, 2001). Basically this model is well known for conflict resolution in which issues between individuals and communities are solved by consensus. In other words this model is a strategic exchange between people to address an issue through verbal communication. To reach to this point all the stakeholders needs to take part in the debates and discussions concerning the matter. The process thus leads the gathering to a certain level of formal communication, ensuring solution to a problem.

Originally, Jirga is made up of the male members of the community, who sit in a circle, occupy space at random and speak about problems of great importance. In practice, it is a body comprised of elderly and influential men of the region for the resolution of disputes through negotiation. Due to their place and acceptance in the traditions of society, the political administration does not challenge such a model, but rather uses it for maintaining justice. See the picture below for illustrations of the Jirga in progress.

Figure 1.2. The image of a Jirga debating on an issue
Source: Daily the Nation, 2005

As can be seen in the image such model has no hierarchical position and does not hold any president, secretary or a convener. The publicly active people or the members of the conflicting parties sit in the front while the less- active and less visible in public life at the back. Ordinary people are allowed to listen, but are not allowed to involve themselves in the discussion. The presence of ordinary people, as Wardak (2003) explains, is to remind the Jirga members of their presence. This way the decision- making process becomes more transparent, widely- acceptable and democratic. Thus the elders of the community who are selected on the basis of their leadership skills or social status or the chief of the area who has status through their ancestors or sometime through the socio-economic status of a person act as judges and the participants as jurists.

In terms of the proceedings, the disputant parties present arguments and witnesses. They do not debate with each other directly; rather, all the parties need to address the members of the body. This body has the authority to conduct and control the debate without any offence taken. After hearing all the parties, the members examine the debate and the witnesses to discover the facts. After inquiries, the members of the body make efforts to find an unbiased solution to the issues, keeping in mind the traditional, religious, socio–economic, and geo-political circumstances (Rafi, 2002; Roashan, 2007; Wardak, 2003). Though the practice of Jirga is not uniform throughout, however, the above description relates to a fairly ideal form of practice.

With the emergence of globalization and the introduction of public and social media the existence of 'Jirga' is considered gender-biased, less-democratic and an old custom which mainly deals with small issues at local or regional levels.

1.3 Media as a Virtual *Jirga*

Educated folks and people living in urban areas these days have moved from debating issues in traditional ways to discussing and debating it on public and social media. It is because social media has become an agent of awareness used for the solution of social issues to create a civic forum for debate (Girard, 2012; Hafiz, 2007). This way it became an opportunity for the excluded groups and as stated in the Government and Social Development Research Centre (2012), enables people to have their opinions. In the Pakistani context social media provide a platform for people, including a large number of diverse participants, which might be as influential as *Jirga*. The extensive use, recognition and importance of public debates on media can easily be judged by the example of almost all Pakistani media channels that have talk shows on daily basis with anchor as the Jirga leader, the guests (mostly from the political parties explaining their viewpoints) as the conflicting parties while the masses as the audience. The widespread use of media to present a view can also be judged by one of the texts from the data '*give Pashtu official status*', which is commented on (for and against) 102 times by different respondents.

Therefore, it could be suggested that with the far-reaching spread of technology Jirga has reformed and became 'Virtual' where media is playing its role as a judge while the public are the jurists. This is perhaps because as stated by Hodkinson (2011) the forum of social media is at the centre of peoples' everyday lives. It connects people, entertains, and provides a chance to debate and to allow them to share their views. Media is, therefore, an opportunity-creator for ordinary persons, which helps in understanding their issues. Livingston and Lunt (1994) confirm this argument by stating that the enlarging scope of media and its access is deeply integrated into everyday life and affects our understanding. In Pakistani contexts too, media plays a vital role, which can be traced as stated by International Media Support Report (2009) before the separation of the subcontinent. But the media at that time was not aligned and organised. After the independence of Pakistan, the media sector has progressed and became enlarged, organised and more nationalist (Mezzera and Sial, 2010). Noticeably, in recent days Pakistan media is thought the only platform, which gives voice to the views and issues of common people. Generally in Pakistani contexts media

can be divided into public media and social media. A detailed elaboration of the two follows hereunder.

1.3.1 Public Media

As technology has developed, communication has been based on 'mass media', meaning largely television, radio and the printing press. Although this type of media is a significant tool used for the transformation of public communication, but it only allows a one-way message (i.e. from one-to-many). Similarly, public media has a long history in Pakistan; newspapers especially were the major source of information and awareness during the independence movement (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). Although the newspapers then were not as high in circulation and printed in as many languages as they are in the present day, they were still thought to be the prominent source of propagated information. The public media under Muslims was used for creating a mind-set so as to prepare the people for a separate country. This role of media is confirmed by Schlesinger (1991), who sees it as a perception-setter. After the independence of Pakistan this cause has turned to a nationalist one and in the present day to a business-oriented viewpoint (Mezzera & Sial, 2010; Azam, 2008). With all these alterations public media in Pakistan has become much freer, larger in audience, wider in scope and a well-known source of mobilisation for people.

Currently, the popularity of public media can be judged by the number of newspapers published in Pakistan i.e. 142 newspapers, published in 11 different languages and with an estimated circulation of 4 million copies daily (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). These number reveal the readership and probably the fact that newspapers are accessible almost in all areas of Pakistan. Although the range of languages represents a diverse selection, Urdu and Sindhi language newspapers are the most popular and largely-distributed (Mezzera & Sial, 2010).

According to Azam (2008) and GSDRC (2012) public media is never neutral. That is probably why the mass media in Pakistan is also divided into three major groups famous for their diverse ideas, i.e. the Jang group, the Dawn group of newspapers and Nawa-e-Waqt group.

Table 1.1: Overview of the news media groups of Pakistan

Print and Electronic Media	Jang Group	Nawa-i-Waqt Group	Dawn Group
Dailies (Newspapers)	Daily Jang Daily Awam Daily Awaz The News Daily Waqt Pakistan Times Daily News	Daily Nawa-i-Waqt The Nation	Daily Dawn Star
Weeklies (Magazines)	Akhbar-e-Jahan Mag Weekly The NEWS on Sunday Jang Sunday Magazine	Nida-i-Millat Weekly Family Sunday Plus Weekly Money Plus	
Monthlies (Magazines)		Monthly Phool	Herald Aurora
TV Channels	Geo News Geo Entertainment Aag TV Geo Super	Waqt TV	Dawn News

Source: Adopted from Mezzera & Sial (2010)

The Jang group which is thought to be the largest media group tends to have a moderate-conservative perspective. The Dawn group of newspapers is considered to be a liberal and secular institution with moderate views, while *Nawa-e-Waqt* is famous for its cons ervative religious thoughts and sees Pakistan as an Islamic state (Mezzera and Sial, 2010; International Media Support Report, 2009).

Apart from print media, electronic media in Pakistan has also proliferated rapidly in recent times. There are in total 49 TV channels in Pakistan, i.e. 15 news channels, 32 entertainment and two religious (Mezzera & Sial, 2010). In another place Michaelsen (2011) explains that by the end of 2009 the government had issued 70 private TV channel licences. Beside this, radio is also a vibrant media in Pakistan which according to Mezerra and Sial (2010) has 40 FM stations while Michaelsen (2011) reports that there are more than 100. It is important to mention that the radio and television channels in regional languages reach people living in rural areas, using Urdu for the middle class and English for the urban elites (Azam, 2008). Akin to the other institutions and organisations of Pakistan, public media is also divided linguistically to appeal to a particular group of people, i.e. those using English, Urdu and regional languages.

Generally English media covers the elites and urban readership. Such newspapers are small in circulation but have a significant influence (Azam, 2008). They are thought more professional, less sensational and of a higher quality in terms of selection of the subject matter (Michaelsen, 2011). They are mostly published in major cities of Pakistan i.e. Islamabad, Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta. English media is more liberal and democratic compared to its Urdu counterparts and is of great impact among the policy makers, the politicians and the upper strata of society (Mezerra and Sial, 2010).

The Urdu media on the other hand represents the general public across Pakistan. This media, famous for its politically sensitive terminologies, has the largest readership (Azam, 2008). Newspapers in this language are published from almost every district head-quarters (sub-part of a province) of all four provinces of the country. They by and large support religious and conservative views (International Media Support, 2009; Mezerra and Sial, 2010; Rana, 2008).

Finally the media in regional languages is limited to rural areas or a specific region. This is the least prominent media in Pakistan with smallest readership and circulation. Newspapers in regional languages are almost representing ethnic groups and their agendas. Apart from Sindh province, where in urban Sind Urdu is the provincial language while in the rural areas Sindhi language is the provincial language (International Media Support, 2009; Mezerra and Sial, 2010).

1.3.2 Social Media

But the arrival of Internet, mobile communication and digital media changed the communication system in such a way that people can easily network and connect locally and globally. Therefore social media can be discussed as exclusively modern phenomena (Curran, 2002), probably because it is backed by modern technology, which is transmitted to mass audiences and caters to the flow of messages from many-to-many. By contrast in the traditional Jirga system interactions are only possible face-to-face. Consequently with the spread of technologies the public sphere has broadened and gradually shifted from individual and institutional realms to new and completely new ways of communication (Girard, 2012). In other words, as stated by Castells (2008), it has given independence to the public by becoming the medium of debate.

After the emergence of social media as a debating platform, people are keen to share their thoughts freely and let the world know of their opinion on a particular issue. This is probably because people find it easy to debate in this forum because of the lack of fear of any backlash, and because it is difficult for the state to control. Consequently people come forward whose voice would otherwise have gone unheard in the absence of this debating platform (Girard, 2012; Michaelsen, 2011). In recent times the use of social media in Pakistan has rapidly increased, which according to the B-Solutions findings (2012) is a rise similar to the one experienced by users in the USA and the UK. Facebook-users have reached 6.4 million in Pakistan to date. Although Jirga is a male-only gathering, the Virtual Jirga involves both genders, i.e. 69% of the users of social media are male while 31% are female. When it comes to usage, 72% of people in Pakistan use social media every day and 80% of people spend more than an hour a day online. Thus the average time of each Pakistani user on social media is around 40 minutes a day (B-Solutions findings, 2012). It can be confirmed from the numbers how close media is to people's lives and public debate.

Also, despite present-day media's propensity for sleaze, sensationalism and superficiality, they are still seen as an essential role-player in terms of public debate. One famous example is the operation in the Sawat region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. Sawat, a small city became prominent due to the influence of the Taliban in Pakistan. To end the role of the Taliban, the Pakistan Army has conducted military operation backed by the whole nation. The unity of the nation and the success of the operation according to Mezzera and Sial (2010) were because of a campaign on social and public media. They claim such unity was seen for the first time in the history of the country. Thus the collective voice when raised through social media makes people wake up to the challenges they are facing (Girard, 2012). There are several examples of a debate initiated on social media websites, which have been evident through their ability to increase pressure on governments that are then required to act tough on the issue at hand, thus bringing into the view of common people. The recent 'Arab spring', especially the revolution in Egypt, is one of the most relevant examples (Howard *et al*, 2011).

1.4 Personal Experience

My own interest in policy debate on MoI has been influenced by my own background. I was born in a small and impoverished town in the province of Balochistan and spent my entire childhood in the rural areas. Formal education in those days especially in rural Balochistan was not easily accessible due to the few schools available and a lack of teachers. I will also

point out that because many parents were uneducated, they did not realise the importance of educating their children. Some of the boys from my area, including me, went to school in the morning and in the evening went to madrassa for religious education. After madrassa, we played football in the street. I clearly recall some of the words that we commonly used in football i.e., *'palanty'* (penalty), *up up di*, (half of the D), *'up tam'* (half time), *'andoball'* (hand ball), but we never knew what language they were or what they actually meant.

The school I went to was not fenced. There was no toilet, no school uniform and no morning assembly. The first thing we did in the morning was to sweep the floor, bring out the teacher's chair and go along with some students to bring drinking-water from the nearby stream. The school timetable started at 9:00am, but the teacher never turned up before 10:00am. It was a grade 1-5 primary school with 30 students in total and only one teacher who always had a stick in his hand. He handled all 5 classes at a time.

The school had a set of rules. As soon as the teacher walked in, we had to open our books and start reading aloud. The teacher would sit in his chair and ask each one of us to stand up and read from the book. The reading was never more than a line. Each of us was chosen in between to bring tea from home for the teacher, which he would take at break. In the last part of the day he would always ask us to write on *'takhti'* a washable wooden object used for the improvement of writing. I don't remember if we were given any homework or if our parents ever asked us about what we did at school.

When I joined secondary school, it was notably bigger and with more teachers than my primary school. Each subject was allotted a period of 45 minutes. The teacher taught us the subject's textbooks including English, which was added as a compulsory subject by the teacher reading it aloud and instructing us to follow and repeat it. During my time at this particular school, there were several strikes by teachers demanding their rights. Due to such strikes the public schools remained closed time to time. Eventually the students were promoted without exams to the next class. While the school closure was still on, the private schools were still open and their teachers have never organised any strike action. Thus my thinking since then has been that there are various types of schools. I have been always wanted to know the criteria of sending children into different types of institutions. At university level I realised that the policy has divided the people based on their socio-economic class. That is how the rich go to private schools, the middle-class to the public schools, while the poor go to the madrassa. Among friends the debate was often that Pakistan was formed in the name of ideology, i.e. Islam, and that Islam discourages social classes and

believes in equality. But why then do the policies promote the opposite of this? 'Why was there not a similar education-type available for all?' That was my question that had no answer.

1.5   My Interest in MoI

The language selected as MoI became rapidly important worldwide in recent times, because it, as argued by Tollefson and Tuli (2004), 'is the most powerful means of maintaining and revitalising a language and a culture' (p2). This can be one of the reasons why in the countries that remained under colonial domination on the one hand rapidly increase the use of English, while on the other hand the concerns about the preservation, promotion and future of the minority and regional languages have grown. Basically choice of MoI is an enabling tool, which is mainly used in the classroom for teaching and learning purposes. It on one side plays a role of a facilitator in subject matter and on the other side, a means for students to express their viewpoint (Kyeyune, 2010). But in a wider perspective it can be used for multiple purposes, which include religious, economic, social, cultural and political ones. Although the language selected as MoI is an area of power, at the same time it can be used for resolving the ethnic conflicts among different groups. Studies of MoI policies in countries such as Slovenia and South Africa show that choice of MoI is a source of compromise in areas of ethnic conflict (Webb, 2004; and Tollefson, 2004). These studies make it evident of how MoI is used as a compromising source among different ethnic groups.

Choice of MoI is an integral part of education policy because it is closely linked to who is accessing education and how effective that education is. Tollefson (2004) claims there are hidden agendas behind the selection of MoI, which protect special groups of people. One of the strong speculations about MoI is its important role used by the various empires to keep the colonies under their domination. They have done so by establishing a small number of private English medium schools for the children of a selected number from the locality. This group was prepared for the role of as the social elites, by creating white-collar jobs for them. Through such positions they were able to gain high status and the power of decision-making at the state level. This class, as mentioned by Deng and Gopinathan (2006), acted as the bridge between the colonizers and the local people. This has been the situation in Asian and African countries and thus betrayed the struggle against the colonial domination. It is probably due to this debate that Haye (1987) labelled the MoI as a 'political football'.

Selection of MoI played a central role in the independence movement of Pakistan in terms of nation-building and ethnic management, by declaring Urdu to be the language of Muslims in the country (Rahman, 2002). Therefore after achieving independence there was an urgent need for the selection of MoI and a national language that could contribute to the process of political stability, religious cohesion and economic development. Urdu was thus selected as the national language, while English became the official one. Urdu was selected with an intention to avoid ethnic conflicts and English to foster economic development. This decision was challenged by ethnic groups, who were more numerous than mother-tongue speakers of Urdu and debate commenced nationwide that still goes on. As a whole the MoI issue, as pointed out by Rahman (2006), Ahmar (2002), Ahmed (1999), Huizinga (1994) and Abbas (1993), caused Pakistan's separation, inter-provincial conflicts, regional controversies and national disintegration, because of linguistic and ethnic diversity. The debate on MoI once again rose when the NEP was announced in 2009.

I would like to add my own interest about MoI to make it easy and clear for the reader to understand the impact in a real-life context in Pakistan and especially in Balochistan province. During my early years of school the children in my locality often went home before sunset to wait for family members coming home from the city. As soon as they arrived, the evening meal was being prepared and we gathered around to listen to folk stories and riddles narrated by our grandmothers. In the morning we shared these stories with our classmates. Once the teacher asked me to tell a story, I recalled the one I heard from my grandmother but I was unable to complete it and found it very difficult to translate in Urdu (the medium of instruction) because the teacher did not understand my mother tongue. How easy it would have been for me to express myself, if my mother tongue was the medium of instruction at school?

There were some other children in the area who attended other schools. On our way to school, we used to see them wearing clean shirts. They had a nice hair-cut, polished shoes and beautiful school bags. They were always picked up by a school van. These children neither played with nor befriended any of us. We knew that they spoke *'angreezi'* a language that we came to realise was English. They never attended madrassa with us, rather the teacher used to go to their homes in the evening to teach them. A lot of questions went round in my head, why were the teachers going to their homes to teach them? And why were the teachers in our schools not asking us to wear uniforms and carry school bags? I always wished to be like them. I asked my father to enrol me in such a school. He didn't explain to me but

answered briefly that, such schools were not for me as they were so expensive. He never gave details on the why and how of it.

In secondary school the MoI was Urdu but English was included as a compulsory subject, but in college it changed to English. I passed my matriculation (high school) with good grades and secured a place in the only government college in my town. The college had a small library, a canteen and a playground and all the subjects were taught in English. I found learning in English very hard because I was from an Urdu medium school. I spent most of my time to learning basic English before learning the subject itself. Due to this new MoI, at some point I felt so disappointed to carry on with my studies. Many of my classmates left college because they did not cope well with English as MoI. At the end of the session, our exams were held through an intermediate board involving all the colleges (public and private) in the province. There were some other colleges which were sending their students for O and A levels.

Education in Pakistan is provided both by public and private sectors. The former is free of charge and has Urdu as MoI while the latter charges high fees and has English as MoI. There is another private education provider called the madrassa (for details about the madrassa see Chapter 2, Section 2.2), where education, food and lodging is free and represents people from an under-privileged class (Blanchard, 2008). Thinking of elite education systems as mentioned above was beyond my wisdom in those days. I was not confident that I could perform as well as the student from private schools whose MoI has been English since they started school. One thing that always stood out of place for me was the problem of using a similar exam for both public and private colleges. Certainly the private school students were good in English and they will secure high marks, which will earn them good jobs in the military, medical, engineering and other white-collar careers.

After the completion of my Master's Degree, I joined the biggest and oldest university of the province of Balochistan as a teacher. Here I began to look at these things differently. First of all, I found that the English MoI students preferred going to private sector universities. Secondly, I noted that most of the students in my class were from Urdu MoI background, but they were so bright in their studies and were making a lot of effort to learn English to excel in their exams. Thirdly, these students were less confident about their future careers, because according to them English was important for securing white-collar jobs. A question came into my mind several times as to why there was no uniform MoI policy for all schools.

These questions remained unanswered for quite some time. Many of us have missed the opportunity to secure quality education due to an improper medium of instruction. I further asked myself as to why there was no policy, which equally benefited everyone in the country. Sitting with my friends, we often discussed why the government and policy-makers did not think of us and why nobody took note of our feelings. These questions encouraged me to do a PhD in the area and attempt to find the answers to these questions.

For example, does the policy make an attempt to give representation to all groups and provinces? Does the policy really aim to promote the local cultures without selecting mother tongue as MoI? Is the policy political because the variations in selection of MoI are implemented only in public-sector schools while the private schools are unaffected? Is this policy able to gather together the nation on a single platform because of producing English speaking elites, the public sector's middle class, the madrassa going underclass and a huge number of out of school children? My thesis will lead me to find out more on the education policy debate in Pakistan regarding MoI, particularly in the province of Balochistan. In this way I will be able to understand the issues behind the debate and the views of the various stakeholders such as, linguists, teachers, ministry officials, students, journalists and the general public (see details in Section 1.3.2.). This analysis of the current debate in Balochistan will be useful to shed light on the wider debate in Pakistan.

1.6   Research Aims and Objectives

This study aims at developing an in-depth understanding of the medium of instruction policies in Pakistan from explicitly local, national and international perspectives. The aims of this research study are as follows:

- Uncovering the debates and issues about MoI policy formation in Pakistan
- To identify important issues in the debate on NEP
- To describe the impact of the implementation of NEP in Balochistan

It is through the identification of the priorities to be given to local, national and foreign languages that the research outcomes will contribute to strategic language-planning and for the articulation of language policy-making decisions in Pakistan.

The research study thus investigates the debate about the formation of the medium of instruction policies in order to understand the socio-linguistic pattern. Basically after the policy announcement, a debate ensued within the country concerning the targeted goals. The main issue, which led to a strong controversy within the country and provinces, was the MoI. In the province of Balochistan in particular, the non-local immigrants demanded Urdu as MoI, an idea that was opposed by the ethnic sentiments voicing in favour of mother tongue. At the same time, the elites preferred English for their children. In other provinces too the provincial governments selected the 'suitable' MoI, which was rejected and strongly opposed by some of the groups. These diverse policy announcements brought opportunities for some while for others it became a barrier in terms of access to education.

The understanding of this information will help to articulate clear language-in education policies. To reach this aim, the study has explored the debate on media of the Pakistani people from different regions, languages and ideas on NEP with regards to MoI, i.e. local languages (mother tongues) national language (Urdu) and international language (English).

1.7 Rationale of the Study

This research explores the public debate on National Education Policy of Pakistan, 2009 with regards to MoI issue. It is believed globally that education contributes to personal development, economic growth, national cohesion and cultural promotion to the people who access it (Kazmi, 2005; Khan, 2010). Due to this important role, education provision and access to education remains an issue of serious debate, strong opposition and an immense tool of power among different groups. In Pakistan, however, several policies were announced to improve education and make it accessible to all. But due to the approaches towards achieving these goals, the policies always remained controversial on linguistic, political, cultural, economic and religious grounds (Shah, 1997; Ahmed, 1991; Rahman, 2003). The present research, therefore, was undertaken to provide an insight into the education policy by examining its various facets.

Though the issue of selection of MoI is not new to the world, it has gathered speed in the present time. The spread of English and the emergence of it being an international language added impetus to its taking of other national and international languages as MoI. This can be observed in Pakistan as well throughout its short history causing the country educational deadlocks, ethnic conflicts and economic losses. The issue gathered speed once again after the announcement of the NEP 2009. This long going issue cannot be ignored anymore,

however, needs to be explored from a different perspective i.e., the public voices through digital media which is not done ever before.

As can be seen in Chapter 2, in the past, the education policies of Pakistan have experimented with English as MoI with an aim to attain global identity and a position in the international job market. At other points Urdu has remained MoI for achieving national cohesion and ideological foundations. Occasionally the policies were inspired from provincial languages in public-sector schools with an intention of promotion of local cultures. But as the critics explained, the previous MoI policies did not achieve the expected goals rather kept children of the public sector schools under experimental conditions (Shamim, 2008; Haque, 1983; Rahman, 2003). Such policies widened the public, private and madrassa gap which threatened the unity and social cohesion of the nation. Due to its background the issue cannot be overlooked and thus demands a detailed study. Digital media can be an ideal source to explore the issues and demands of different groups because it is a new mode of participation and enables all users to exchange ideas.

Although Balochistan is the biggest and richest area and mineral wise but stands the least developed among all provinces of Pakistan. Historically, the province opted for mother tongue as MoI which remained controversial because of multilingualism. On other occasions the province has chosen Urdu and English which were rejected by the ethnic groups. They call these languages an imposition and believing that the use of a MoI other than the mother tongue has kept Balochistan lowest in literacy and development (Jahani, 2005). The resentment is still there and has become a separation from Pakistan movement which has taken the lives of many and affected the education system of the province badly. Due to the sensitivity of the issue in this province there is a need to explore the implications of NEP 2009 with regards to MoI which is not done by any other study so far.

Currently, the issue of selection of MoI is not only of interest for policy makers, politicians or linguists but also of great significance for the general public. However, no substantial work has been done for a comprehensive study of MoI through public debate in digital media to explore the issues through direct voices from supporters of different groups. This research study is thus significant in the Pakistani context, because it deals with an important issue in a comprehensive way. The topic area makes this study unique, because it combines different aspects of education policy using Balochistan as an example for the readers of any background. Much of the value of this research will emerge from its attempt to explore the debate on the NEP about MoI from a one-year snapshot from digital media. By including

participants of the debate from different languages, regions, gender and provinces the analysis provides a perspective on cultural diversity. This study aims to develop a more realistic picture of factors influencing education policies and selection of MoI. To explore these issues, the research will answer the following questions.

1.8 Research Questions

The study aims to consider the following questions:

1. What are the key issues of education policy with regards to MoI in the public debate?
2. Who are the participants in the NEP and MoI debate?
    Specifically the question wants to find out,

    - Characteristics of the participants

    - Geographical and social context

    - Targeted audience

3. What are the implications of these issues for education provision in the province of Balochistan?

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

This research study is divided into 6 chapters. Chapter 1 of the thesis has introduced the general background information and issues regarding the topic. Chapter 2 introduces the provision of education in Pakistan. It provides a broad overview of the general background of the country and one of its provinces, Balochistan. Additionally the chapter presents an insight into the background of the MoI debate and recent data about the provision and access to education. It also discusses NEP with regards to MoI with the help of existing literature. This chapter will highlight the policy statements and their implications in Balochistan province. Chapter 3 presents the research methodology. It discusses and justifies the adopted research approach and the selected methods of data collection. It summarizes the sampling procedure, identifies the sample population, and describes the data collection tools as well as the strategy of data analysis. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 analyse the data in two parts. The purpose of these two chapters is to find themes in the views of the participants of the debate and to give meaning to the texts.

Chapter 6 presents a conclusion and recommendations based on the analysis of the previous chapters. Hypotheses will be generated at the end for future studies. Lastly, a set of appendices will be presented after the references section.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review: Education in Pakistan: Access, Provision and NEP 2009

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is three-fold. The first aim is the provision of a general background on Pakistan because as argued by Bryman (2008) and De Vaus (2001), the proper understanding of a particular problem or phenomenon comes through its study in a real life context. Therefore, it is important to first of all understand the context and environment around the debate on NEP 2009, with special reference to MoI issues that exists. Acknowledging the importance of understanding contextual issues, the first section of this chapter aims at shedding light on the environment within which the NEP 2009 and MoI was planned and carried out. This is achieved by highlighting the education provision and access to education in Pakistan.

The second aim is, to provide a general background on the province of Balochistan because it is the focal area of this research study. The study then draws on the linguistic background of the province, providing an overview of all MoI issues in different times during the history of Pakistan. The chapter then moves on to review the provision and access to education with the help of available data. This helps in identifying the impact of past policies and the comparison of Balochistan with other provinces of Pakistan. In addition, it provides a direction for the next section of this chapter that mainly discusses the impact of NEP with regards to MoI in Balochistan province.

The third and final aim is to outline the policy-making process with regards to education through the analysis of a specific context. Education plays a vital role in the progress and development of any nation and for this matter, it is always given an important place in a policy-making process. In the Pakistani context, NEP 2009 is a government policy that was developed to serve the Pakistani public education sector. It is a nationwide policy that has a political, religious, cultural, economic and social dimension. The section reviews the medium of instruction issue and how it is related to the policy context because it plays a central role in the process of learning. It is an instrument of communication, a marker of identity and allows access to education (Datta, 2000). At different points, it will be shown that language is vital to policy because it is one of the aspects responsible for the performance of students and teachers, as well as providing a global identity, social cohesion and culture to the people (Keyyune, 2010, Gillani, 2010). In a later stage, it discusses in detail the

implementation and implications of NEP in Balochistan province. With the help of major educational literature, an attempt will be made to locate the analysis in the relationship between MoI and this wider economic, political and social context. By setting the scene in this chapter the context in which the analysis of participation in debate about MoI through social media, which is the focus of this thesis, will be made clearer.

2.2   General Presentation of Pakistan

This general background on Pakistan aims to acquaint the reader with the most salient features of the country, i.e. geographical, political, social and linguistic environment. This will help in situating the debate on the NEP 2009 with regards to MoI.

2.2.1 Population and Geography

The Islamic Republic of Pakistan is a former British colony, which gained independence on 14th of August 1947. The territory was comprised of East Pakistan and West Pakistan. In 1971, East Pakistan became a separate country named Bangladesh. Pakistan has currently four provinces namely Balochistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab and Sind (see figure 2.1). Pakistan is an agricultural country and according to the World Bank Report (2010), it had a total population of 173,593,380 people with an estimated GDP per Capita of $2500 in 2010, although, according to the US state department (2010), it was $2600 at the end of the year 2009.

Pakistan is situated in the South of Asia, covering an area of 803,940 square kilometres. Refer to the map of Pakistan in Figure 2.1 below for a clearer picture about its provinces and provincial capitals.

Figure 2.1: Map of Pakistan showing provinces and provincial capitals
Source: World Food Program, 2011
*The name of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) has changed to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

As shown on the map, Pakistan is bordered by Afghanistan in the North West, Iran in the West, China in the North and India in the East.

Almost 97% of the total population of Pakistan are followers of Islam (Zia, 2003), whereas, the remaining 3% are Christians, Hindus, etc. Although most of the people share similar beliefs, the country is culturally and linguistically diverse. The national language of Pakistan is Urdu; English is the official language while each one of the four provinces has a provincial language i.e., Balochi, Pashto, Punjabi or Sindhi.

2.2.2 Linguistic Background of Pakistan

Language is important at all levels (Fairclough, 2003), but inevitably plays a central role in the process of teaching and learning. It functions as an instrument of communication, a marker of identity and a tool for access to education (Datta, 2000). As mentioned in Chapter 1, multilingualism is a social reality in Pakistan due to the existence of multiple languages. Consequently, the language policies of Pakistan have remained multilingual at different points of history continuing in the present times. But the relation between different languages remained always conflicting due to their political, cultural, religious, and economic backgrounds. These disagreements often posed a threat for the promotion of the local cultures, solidarity of the Pakistani nation and economic growth in the country (Siddiqui, 2010).

To understand the origin of the debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI in Pakistan, it is important to look at the issue from a historical perspective. Basically, English was first introduced in the South Asian subcontinent by the British in the 16th Century, but it was only recognized as the official language in 1835 (Moss, 1964). Throughout the British era, the English language continued to gain higher political and social status (Mahboob, 2003; Kachru, 1986). In 1920s and 1930s, the Indian subcontinent was determined to gain independence from the British in a non-violent way. Then, India was a multilingual, multi-ethnic and multicultural nation (Mallikarjun, 2004), but the majority of the population were the followers of the Hindu and Muslim faiths. To replace the British Empire, it was very important for any nation to effectively address the issues related to the Hindu and Muslim faiths.

British rule of the Indian sub-continent ended in 1947, but the region was partitioned into two separate nations, India and Pakistan, with India getting the majority of the Hindus population and Pakistan becoming a land for the Muslims. Although these two states gained independence and autonomy from the British Empire, they remained part of the British Commonwealth. As noted by Khalique (2006) and Abbas (1993), the period spent by the British in these two states has mixed some of its cultural norms and traditional values, which the people of subcontinent were used to follow. In addition to this, the political system and social life were so inspired by the British way of life that it was thought to be very hard to find an alternative. And as pointed out in Chapter 1, the British had introduced teaching, learning and use of the English language for government employment, it follows that since then the English language has remained an important part of the education system in Pakistan and India.

After independence, majority of the population who migrated and remained in Pakistan as stated earlier, shared similar religious beliefs, but differed significantly in culture and languages. Consequently, the question arose regarding which language would be the medium of instruction and the national language. Indeed, it turned into a complex political picture (Zia, 2003). Beside the language diversification at national level, the provinces were also multilingual and multicultural. This fact complicated matters even further as it became difficult to come to any agreement on a single medium of instruction.

Historically, to deal with this issue of diversity, the British deemed the solution to be the promotion of one common language thus creating a situation that has been described as linguistic imperialism (Abbas, 1993; Kachru, 1986). Linguistic imperialism is the process

through which a community or a part of community attempts to prevail its culture on another community by making use of a particular language as its tool (Acar, 2006; Hamel, 2005; Bisong, 1995). In the process, the preferred language is prioritised to be the medium of instruction. This goal can be achieved through economic strategies or military power which, as Ejaz (2011) argued, the British used in Punjab province and Frontier regions to impose Urdu as the national language and MoI. Ahmar (2002) negates this claim and explains that, the decision was pluralist because regional languages were not banned from flourishing. To strengthen his argument, he gives an example from Sind province where all the provincial affairs including the MoI were conducted in Sindhi language. Evidently, this choice was not offered to Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. Such linguistic debates raised several regional conflicts among different communities, which have been continuing until today. The question here then is, to what extent has linguistic imperialism actually contributed towards defining the education and MoI policies in the country?

After the separation of Bangladesh in 1971, the issue was thought to have been resolved, but this was not the case because of the political structure and the attitude of the elites towards regional languages. East Pakistan comprised four provinces, which were multilingual; a condition that created opposition for the selection of the MoI at each stage (Haque, 1983). For the masses however, the language issue remained marginally important as their immediate concerns were material wellbeing, in so far as they needed secure jobs, housing, health and access to education for their children. On the other hand, the ethnic groups and their leaders had major concerns and they raised their voices for their mother-tongues at every stage to preserve their regional cultures and identity (Jaffrelot, 2002). The opposition, ethnic groups and nationalist parties claimed that the case of Bangladesh secession happened because the regional languages were not considered as an asset but rather as a problem (Rashid and Shaheed, 1993). The argument that multilingualism is an asset is also cited by Coleman and Capstick (2012), Webb (2004) and Tollefson (2004), confirming the process as a resolving agent and political conciliation for ethnic, cultural and social conflicts. They made these accounts in relation to the situation in Pakistan, South Africa and Slovenia. In addition to this, Gorter *et al* (n.d) provided evidence on how language diversity is a widespread phenomenon and can be considered as an economic good.

Critics have suggested that, traditionally the education policies and the selection of MoI represented few people and became unacceptable for the majority which led the country to controversies involving people from almost every field of life (Roofi and Muhammad, 2011; Khalique, 2006; Khan, 1997), a view shared by Brown and Ganguly (2003). It means that

the MoI policies in Pakistan are characterised as a tool that serves political, religious, cultural, economic and social purposes of the country. It also shows that, the governments and policy-makers were highly concerned with Urdu and English as MoI, while the ethnic groups always rejected this notion. One needs then to establish how the government of Pakistan over the years, and under different regimes and political parties, was able to put in place effective language policies and the extent to which research and scientific evidence was used.

Apart from this rejection and protests from the ethnic groups, it was propagated by the elites and the policy-makers that, people in different provinces were keen to learn English and Urdu as additional languages (Abbas, 1997). But Mustafa (2012), Rahman (1995), Jahani (2005) and Schakle (1970), reject this notion and argue that, in reality these languages had a high status and the people were ashamed to use regional languages because of their low importance in the society. Figure 2.3 shows the use of Urdu and English as additional languages in different provinces of Pakistan in 2008.
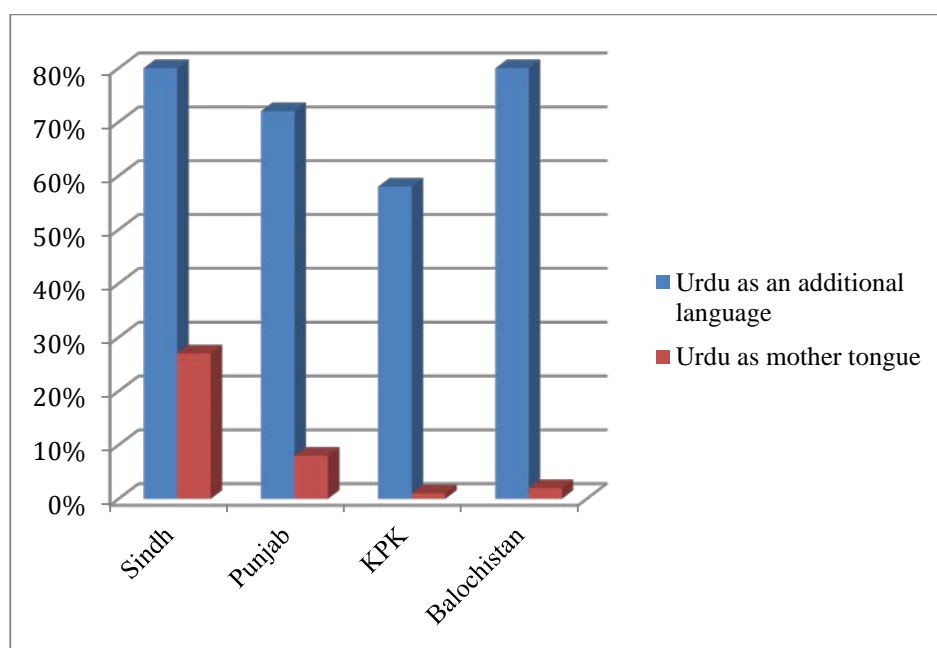
Figure 2.2: Speakers (in %) of Urdu as mother tongue and additional language in different provinces of Pakistan.
Source: BBC Pakistan 2008 (in Audiencescape) survey of adults (15+) n=4020

It can be seen in Figure 2.3 that, Urdu is used widely as a *lingua franca* in Pakistan. Generally, it is used for local politics, advertisement, media and communication among the people of different languages and provinces. Balochistan has the highest number of speakers using Urdu as an additional language while Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has the lowest. Urdu is considered the language of the middle class (Schakle, 1970). The representation of such a class and securing the prominent place of an additional language in all provinces is because first, it remained the *lingua franca* of the independence movement, second, it is the language of Muslim identity, and third, it is the language that unifies the provinces (Ahmar, 1996). The next most widely used additional language in 2008 is English, which is shown in Figure 2.4 below.
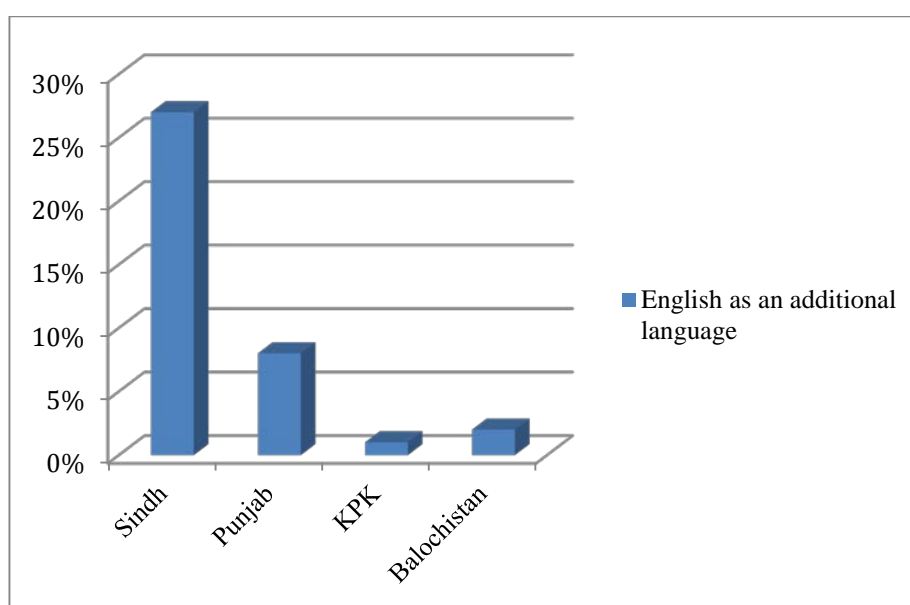
Figure 2.3: Speakers (in %) of English as an additional language in different provinces of Pakistan.
Source: BBC Pakistan 2008 (in Audiencescape) survey of adults (15+) n=4020

Here, it is clear that, English as an additional language is used in different provinces. The number of users of English in Sind is comparatively very high, perhaps because of urban Sind and especially Karachi, which is a modern city and also the hub of the economy. Punjab, Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces stand second, third and fourth respectively. The question why the people, though small in number, use English as an additional language is because, it is the language of administration, the judiciary, the military, and the media, and thus accessible to few (Ahmed, 1991; Schackle, 1970).

2.3   Access to Education in Pakistan

Pakistan has a Federal Ministry of Education in Islamabad that is responsible for the development of the national education plans, programmes and policies. This Ministry also looks into the curriculum development and coordination. After shifting the development policies to the provinces in 2010, each province today has a Department of Education that is responsible for the implementation of the policy. This distribution of the responsibilities between the Federal government and the provinces is defined by the Constitution. Generally, the goals of the Constitution were, 1) provision of education, 2) promotion of economy of backward areas and classes, 3) removing illiteracy, and 4) providing free and compulsory education (Constitution of Pakistan, 1973).

2.3.1 Provision of education

As mentioned above, in Pakistan education is provided by the public, private and madrassa system. Madrassas in the past and in recent years are privately run but after the Madrassa Reforms (2002), many of them are working under the public sector. A brief description of all three sectors is given below.

2.3.1.1   Public Education

The first formal public school was established in 1875, in Ghazipur (India), by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. The need of such school according to Ahmed (2002) was felt because the Muslims felt generally about themselves that they were backward and that, they were kept deprived by the English and their Hindu counterparts. This school was later upgraded to a college and finally to Aligarh University.

In 1947, when Pakistan got independence, the government established many more public schools, colleges and universities all over the country. In such schools education was provided free of direct cost, but due to lack of funding and attention, the quality was poor especially in rural areas (Nordic, 2006). Whilst the MoI in these schools has been changing since the independence of Pakistan, it is more likely to have been Urdu even up to recent times. On other occasions, it was changed to pupils' mother-tongues and with some regimes it was English. On the whole, Urdu as MoI has served the longest. For details see table I.I in appendices), which shows that, all the education polices evolve around the dynamics between English, Urdu and mother-tongue as MoI. These policies have been implemented in public-sector educational institutions only. Such frequent changes in the MoI policies meant that

policies do not have time to become productive, thus creating demand for a better one, with the pressure for change often coming from groups whose favourite language is not declared as MoI.

2.3.1.2   Private Education

Privatisation of education in Pakistan can be traced as far back as the 1950s, when Ayub Khan established a chain of army-administered Cadet Colleges. These high fee-charging institutions were for the children of Army officers and other elites. A series of elite English medium institutes and convent schools were also launched. Although, as mentioned by Alderman, *et al,* (2001), Khan (1997) and Abbas (1997), these schools served a special class of the population, the government considered them a source of promotion of literacy and quality education (NEP, 2009). In the 1970s, Bhutto came into power with his idea of socialism and nationalised all institutions of in the country and the number of the public-sector schools increased to an unmanageable level (Bokhari, 1998). Therefore, the nationalisation policy did not achieve the targeted goals resulting in a cut on enrolment rates as well as substantial financial benefits from this sector.

When the Zia-ul-Haq regime took power from Bhutto in 1977, announcing denationalisation and decentralisation of institutions restored privatisation policy, and eventually, the private sector's share in education increased and helped in an increased enrolment (Andrabi *et al*, 2002). With decentralisation policies in force, privatisation of education has expanded to the rural areas. Additionally, the Ministry of Education and the Provincial Education Department encouraged Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to take over abandoned public schools. Accordingly, the private-sector schools became famous and highly accepted because people have no other choice than that. As a result, the number of private educational institutes rose to 36,000 (Andrabi *et al,* 2002), and its contribution in the promotion of enrolment rates at the primary stage increased to 42% while 37%, 30% and 64% at the middle, secondary and higher secondary levels respectively. As a whole, private schools in Pakistan serve the elites and promote English as MoI to reinforce its status.

2.3.1.3   Madrassa Education

Madrassa (plural, madaris) is an Arabic word that means 'school'. The first madrassa was established in the Eleventh Century in Baghdad (Blanchard, 2008), while in India, the first institution established in the nineteenth century (Ahmed, 2009). The Madrassa is the centre for Islamic instructions, which includes the memorization of Holy Quran and Islamic

Jurisprudence and law. Historically, in the 1980s, the number of madaris increased throughout Pakistan presumably under the financial sponsorship of the US to prepare the people against Soviet Union (Ahmad, 2009). After 9/11, Pakistan announced a Madrassa Reforms Act in leading a number of madrassa to teach secular and modern subjects. According to Blanchard (2008), there were 13,000 registered madaris in Pakistan. Basically, the private sector educational institutions are charging high fees while the number of public sector schools is low and not easily accessible in remote areas. Parents are, therefore, most likely attracted by the madrassa because its free of cost along with boarding and lodging (Asia Report, 2002). This can be one of the reasons why this sector is thought to cater to the poor.

Thinking of the madrassa from an education-policy perspective, it can be said that the Mosque (where most madaris are located) is declared in the Constitution of Pakistan as central to social, moral and economic development (Zia, 2003) and hence Islam has remained an essential part of all public policies, especially in education. But the role of the madrassa in the recent past has become controversial in the debate between members of Islamic fundamentalist, secular and socialist groups. Fundamentalists and Islamists demanded that Islam ought to be an essential factor in education policies for the unification of the federation (Ashraf, 1985). The opposition regards this approach as a move to alienate the regional groups and an erosion of the unity of the state (Zia, 2003). Some appreciate it as an agent for peace (Esposjto, 1982), while others define it as a source for the promotion of militancy (Haqqani, 2004). One of the groups stated it as an identity while the elites point to it as the cause of isolation and a stepping back from economic development and modernisation (Khalique, 2006).

Generally, at the primary level, basic Islamic education is provided in all madaris. At secondary level, Islamic Jurisdiction and law of Islam is offered e. See table I.II in the appendices, which shows a detailed picture of the level, courses, period and stages of madrassa education. It also promotes strong links between education and religion, favouring Urdu as the MoI.

2.3.2 Availability of Teachers

The National Commission on Education (1959) first of all mentioned in its report that, the quality of teachers in Pakistan is low and their performance needs to be improved. There were several projects that were designed to meet this demand, but with frequent and ad-hoc

policy changes, the challenges became serious enough that overall quality worsened. One of the reasons, as mentioned by Winkler and Hatfield (2002), is the government itself, which claims to improve the system, but neglects the real problem areas. For example, the educational reports have time and again identified the factors responsible for causing harm to the education system, which include lack of teachers in educational institutions, low qualification of teachers, involvement of politics and power in the selection of teachers, low wages and social status of the teacher. The facts become alarming when looked at from a MoI perspective. In its report, 'Can English medium education work in Pakistan (2012)', the British Council found that teachers have very low levels of functional English in the country. Although, the NEP 2009 aims at taking stern measures to solve these problems, it confirms in the statements that past policies were unable to solve teachers-related issues.

In particular, the lack of teachers in rural areas is causing serious problems for accessibility to education. The statistic becomes worrying when looked at from a gender viewpoint. The data demonstrate few teachers in all stages compared to the number of students enrolled (for purposes of clarity see Figure II.I in the Appendices, which describes the number of teachers in different educational stages in Pakistan). At the primary stage, the student teacher ratio is noted as 48:1. Gender equity has also been a serious issue as female teachers are outnumbered by male teachers (Antecol, *et al*, 2012; UNESCO, 2012). In such cases, lack of teaches will obviously over-burden the existing cohort which has an adverse effect on the performance and achievement of the students. Another possible consequence can be a high dropout rate, which was explained earlier section (Klasen, 2002). Currently, Saleem (2009) confirms that, 5.5 million children are out of school and the dropout rate is as high as 50%.

2.3.3 Financing and Expenditure

Pakistan has enjoyed a decent rate of GDP growth since gaining its independence in 1947, but has still remained unable to turn this into a successful investment for human development. The country has realised and mainly focused on the economic growth in almost all of its education policies but always tried to achieve this goal without investing significantly on human resources. This does not seem possible because as explained by the Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific (2003), education always has an impact on the economy of a country. Eventually, the situation it resulted in a low literacy rate, an imbalanced economic structure and a less demanding work-force (Hussain *et al*, 2003).

The 2009 policy document claims that Pakistan has responded positively and has shown commitment to the EFA and to the MDGs for quality improvement and enrolling all children into school by 2015. However, a report for the Ministry of Education (Saleem, 2009) negates this commitment and demonstrates how in the past expenditure has decreased continuously. Historically, since the country gained independence public expenditure on education remained below 3% of the GDP. With such low and unstable allocation of finances, achieving the universal education seems difficult. Data elucidate that in the previous years the budget allocated for education was higher than at present (i.e. in the year 2005-06 a total of 2.24% was allocated for education, but decreased by 2.5% in 2006-07). The budget was increased by 2.47% in 2007-08, but it is surprising to see a subsequent decreased of 2.1%. Data illustrate a decline in proportion of GDP allocation to education in the year 2009-10 when compared with the past years, i.e. 2.05% (see Figure II.II in the appendices for details). This is alarming because the National Education Policy of 1998 has recommended allocating more than 3% of the GDP to education while the NEP 2009 aims at raising this figure to 7% by 2015.

Due to this low expenditure Pakistan occupies the 145th place among 187 countries on education (Human Development Report, 2011), which is the lowest in the South Asian Region and positions Pakistan in the low human development class. Pakistan, in this regard needs to allocate a higher budget to the education sector to improve its status, ranking and literacy rate.

2.3.4 Quality of Schools

As mentioned in Chapter 1, after gaining its independence, Pakistani schools were called the centre of learning and teaching. Due to the lack of facilities and funding, it was announced that, the mosques were to be used for education as well as religious purposes. Later, the privatisation of education was encouraged and more schools were established. The number of schools is still rapidly increasing due to an increase in the population, but to fulfil global demand, there is still a need for even more schools. The total number of educational institutions in Pakistan is given in the appendices (table I.III), which shows the primary stage with the highest number of schools and enrolment. But the number drops in all other stages of education, proving that a very small number of people have access to higher education. Access to higher education as Mughal and Manzoor (1999) pointed out is a serious problem for Pakistan, when the population is compared with the rate of enrolment and the number of educational institutions.

Among these schools, as explained by Komatsu (2008) a huge number suffers from lack of facilities, accountability and low quality teachers. Figure II.III in the appendices shows that the number of schools with a serious lack of facilities is alarmingly high, thus contributing to students' low achievement. AEPAM Report (2008-09) shows that, 17,764 schools have no buildings, which negatively affecting the performance of the students. A study by the University of Georgia (2000), involving students of 24 elementary schools (with and without buildings) concluded that the students learning in a school with a building scored higher grades than their counterparts in the schools without buildings. The difference between their achievements was noted as being as high as 14.2%. Similarly, Table II.III (see appendices) shows 61,274 schools without a boundary wall, which may also affect the performance of the students. Edward (1992) found that the physical conditions in a school can affect the performance of a student by up to 11%. There are also 54,996 schools without safe drinking water while 59,846 are without a latrine facility. Electricity, another essential factor in a student's learning is missing from 96,769 schools. In areas without power to drive fans or air conditioners the temperature can be very high and as Lowe (1990) argues, the classroom temperature affects the performance of both students and teachers. This difference becomes clearly evident when one compares rural and urban schools.

Data in Figure II.IV (see Appendices) confirms a major difference in the facilities given to urban and rural schools and thus, clearly explaining the lack of equity in Pakistani schools. Among the 96,769 schools without electricity facility, 85,160 are situated in rural areas of Pakistan while only 11,609 are in urban. The total number of schools without water facilities is 54,996, among which 52,817 are rural and 2,179 are urban. A latrine facility is missing in 50,083 rural schools and 9,763 urban schools. There are 52,248 rural schools shown in the data that exist without boundary walls while this figure is lower in urban schools. Knapp *et al,* (2007) and Schneider (2002) also claim that, the school building has a negative or positive effect on the behaviour of the student. They point out that poor quality buildings lead students towards absenteeism and violence. This, as argued by Olubor (1998), is a source of low achievement. Therefore, these figures show a large part of the rural education system in Pakistan is disadvantaged. It is important to mention here that the above-mentioned schools are mostly government-run public sector schools (Iqbal, 2012) and their status is associated with Urdu or otherwise regional languages as MoI.

2.4 Administration

As per the directives of Constitution the Educational administration in Pakistan is shared both by the Federal and Provincial Ministries of Education. The education system is divided into the stages given below.

The first stage is called pre-primary and primary. The current National Education Policy 2009 has reintroduced the pre-primary stage, which was discontinued during the 1980s. Pre-primary, which is called *Kachi* or nursery, starts from the age of five years. After pre-primary, the children are promoted to primary level, which lasts for five years. This is applicable to children of age 5-9. Education at this level is free and is the responsibility of the provincial government in the public sector schools. The curriculum includes reading, writing, arithmetic, general science, social studies, Islamic education and physical education. Primary education is provided both by public and private sectors. NEP 2009 declared that public sector schools should use English from the primary stage. This decision of the NEP 2009 is strongly condemned by the ethnic groups demanding regional languages as MoI. They claim that the dropout rate is lower and children acquire concepts at an earlier age, if they are taught in their mother tongue.

One of the goals of the Education Reforms (2001) and later NEP 2009 was, to lower the gender gap and improve the level of literacy across the country, while the quality of education will be achieved through curriculum and assessment reforms (Gatawa, 1990). Although statistics in figure II.V in the Appendices have shown a high increase in female schools from 2001 onwards but on the other hand, the number of male schools has decreased. The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979) demands equal rights and in this context the increase in the number of female schools is a positive step. However, the lessening of gender disparity, in the social and cultural context do not require decline in the number of male schools. This imbalance will not change the gender disparity, but rather may come up with new serious challenges.

The second stage is called middle which comprises of three years covering years 6, 7 and 8 for children aged 10-12 years old. There is an optional examination for those who are willing to apply for government scholarship under the Provincial Board of Education. The curriculum includes essential subjects, i.e., Urdu, English, mathematics, science, social studies and Islamic studies as well as optional subjects, e.g. Moral Education for the Non-Muslims. This stage of education is provided both by public and private sectors. The public

sector is free while the private one is fees-based as detailed in section 2.3. Generally the number of both male and female middle schools across Pakistan has increased, with the number jumped to 39,400 from 30,400 in 2005/06 (see Figure II.VI in the Appendices for detail). After its acceptance as an economic, social, political and religious fact the importance of education in Pakistan has increased. In the rural areas, where parents were not previously encouraging their children to attend schools, there is now a demand for quality education (Khan, 2011). This stage of education has also been facing the MoI issue since the existence of Pakistan where the rich go to the English medium private schools while the public-sector schools, patronised by the children of the poor, have to adopt Urdu or regional languages as MoI.

The third stage is called secondary stage, which is matriculation level stage and comprises of two years, i.e. class 9 and 10 for children of age group 13 and 14. The provincial Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education conducts the exams at this stage. This stage is provided free of direct cost in the public sector schools and fee based in the private sector. There is a steady increase seen in the number of high schools in Pakistan with 14,800 high schools in the country during 2000-01, which rose to 24,300 in 2008-09. Aggregated in the gender, the number of female schools constantly increased from 3,600 in 2000-01 to 9,200 in 2008-09 (see Figure II.VII in the Appendices for details). Secondary education like all other stages is in a state of linguistic confusion. On the one hand the NEP 2009 allows the provinces to come up with their own MoI policy while on the other hand it has declared Math and Science subjects to be taught in English. Thus the policy has contributed to further crisis in education in the country as each province came up with MoI different from other provinces. Such opposing policies may once again put the solidarity of the country and the quality of education at stake.

The fourth stage is called higher secondary, which is famously known as intermediate level and comprises of two years in college. The curriculum is divided into different streams but English, Urdu, Islamic studies and Pakistan studies are essential. At this stage, the brightest students are awarded professional opportunities to practice medicine, engineering, architecture or agriculture and the rest are promoted to the next stage, which is supposedly a university-level qualification. Kronstadt (2004) believes that the Education Reforms in Pakistan were funded by the USA and other international financial organisations with an aim to reform women's rights and the curriculum. As a result, several professional colleges were established in provinces aimed at preparing skilled and trained females (GoB, 2010). Eventually, the number of female colleges increased but as a whole the country faced

shortages of colleges (see Figures II.VIII, II.V and II.IX in the appendices). PSLSM (2008-09) and Khan *et al*. (2011) believe that the low number of colleges in Pakistan is due to lack of funding for this sector. Hence, when there are few colleges or colleges are not accessible; many students will not be able to obtain an education.

On the other side, the number of universities has highly increased after the formation of the Higher Education Commission in 2002. The data estimated a total of 132 universities, in the year 2009-10, but actual records from HEC (2011) reports 134 universities i.e. 74 public and 60 private (See Figure II.X in the appendices). This rapid change and promotion of higher education came with the realisation of rapidly changing international market and an easy access to advanced knowledge possible, which according to Damme (2011) and Barnet (1990), contributes to the development and improvement of society. Though higher education is MoI debate-free as it is English medium both in public and private sectors, but there are still voices heard about a lack of training for teachers in the teaching of English.

Lastly, technical education and vocational education, which refers to the post-secondary education producing technicians and skilled workers. Technical education has a separate board, which works under the provincial Department of Education. There is a surprising boost in secondary vocational institutions where the figure rose to 3,059 in 2005-06 (see Figure II.XI in the appendices for details). This increase shows an interest of government towards an increased access of youth and women to technical and vocational education. This can possibly help in creating more jobs and an opportunity for people to practice their skills and improve training. This can also fill the gap of low number of universities and the ESR (2001) incentives and opportunities for private sector partnership in the promotion of technical and vocational education (Mustafa *et al*, 2005). With the government claiming 1.2 million skilled graduates every year and following English as MoI, Chauhan (2008) believes that people are dissatisfied with the poor quality of teaching and learning.

2.5 The Social Importance of Education in Pakistan

The social importance of education is demonstrated by the enrolment rate, which in almost all stages has significantly increased in the year 2009-10, compared with the previous years. The Annual Pakistan Education Statistic Report (2009-10) confirms, a visible growth both at regional and gender level. Data reveal remarkably increased rate of enrolment in the primary stage of education. It also shows that, the lowest number of children, i.e. 274,000

enrolled in the year 2009-10 in the secondary vocational institutions (see figure II.XII in the appendices).

Basically, after the EFA and MDGs, the government of Pakistan concentrated highly on the promotion of primary education, but the question rises on the quality, because a large number of children are out of school. According to Lynd (2007), there are 49.3% children enrolled in primary schools, which have declined by 15.4% in middle schools. Additionally, the UNESCO Education Report (2012) has declared Pakistan as the second largest country of the world with 1.5 million children not in school. These figures indicate a high dropout rate in the primary stage, the middle stage and onward. The reasons behind such a high dropout rate are low spending, lack of facilitation, corporal punishment, poor quality education and an undemanding curriculum (UNESCO, 2012; Khan, *et al*, 2011; Mustafa, *et al*, 2005). Tackling this alarming issue needs to be a priority of the policy makers and the government, which may further cause social and economic problems for the country.

It is evident in the data in figure II.XII in the appendices that, in almost all stages of education except the professional colleges, the female enrolment rate is lower than that of the males. This fact is realised by the NEP (2009) as well stating that, Pakistan has gender and rural urban disparities in access to education. According to UNESCO (2012) half of rural females in the country have never been to school in Pakistan. This means that the gender gap most likely affects every eight in ten of young women. In addition to this the socio-economic status of the females further affects their chances of enrolling into the school and continuing education. In a similar report UNESCO confirms that 92% of women from the poor class have spent less than two years in school, compared with 22% of the richest young men.

2.5.1 Significance of Literacy Rate

The people and government of Pakistan believe that, higher level of literacy is an essential factor contributing to growing economy, producing job opportunities and alleviating poverty. Another important attitude, which can be observed in the masses these days, is the acceptance of the role of education as having a cross-sectional impact on human life, and specifically the improvement of human development (Husain, 2003). Basically, one year after independence, Pakistan became a member of the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Accordingly, Pakistan obliged to Article 26, which states, "Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory…" (United Nations Universal Declaration

of Human Rights, 1948). Thus, the state announced free and compulsory education for the primary stage. Later, the Constitution of Pakistan (Article 37, 1973) declared that, "The state of Pakistan shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period". Even though, the significance of literacy remained a priority in Pakistan, efforts were perhaps not made for its practical implementation. That is why when compared with other countries of the world, Pakistan can be found in this front historically low. Still the literacy rate is increasing gradually as can be seen in Figure II.XIII in the appendices.

The definition of literacy was defined in the 1998 Census Report of Pakistan as a person who, "can read a newspaper and write a simple letter, in any language" (GoP, 2008, p16). But with the introduction of EFA and MDGs, this definition has added numeracy and life skills as well. Pakistan, with the help of international organisations and various forums is striving to achieve the target and definition set by these forums but the speed is very slow, as is shown in the Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey (PSLM) report. Similarly, the gender ratio has decreased and can be seen as, male 56% and female 44% (see figure II.XIII in the appendices). The Govt. of Pakistan Literacy Report (2008) blames a poor learning environment as a major factor for low literacy. Other major reasons are a lack of facilitation and services, and as pointed out by (Mustafa *et al*, 2005) the mismatch of the curriculum and the job market, which discourages parents to send their children to the schools.

Regionally, the literacy rate is higher in urban areas compared to the rural ones, i.e. 74% and 48% during the year 2008-09 (see Figure II.XIV in the appendices). Although, the rate rose, the pace is very slow, as shown in Figure 2.18. It shows that, the literacy rate of the rural areas has declined by 1% and in the urban areas has increased by 2% in the year 2008-09, i.e. 48% and 74% respectively. Because of this major difference, the literacy rate for provinces is uneven, too, i.e. on top is the province of Punjab, which has a literacy rate of 59% (male 69% and female 50%), next comes Sind with 59% (male 50% and female71%), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is third with 50% (male 69% and female 31%) while Balochistan stands fourth with a 45% of literacy rate (male 62% and female 23%). The Census Report (1998) states that, 67% of the total population of Pakistan lives in rural areas. In most of these areas, basic social facilities are missing which include schools, teachers and transportation. Poverty and a lack of awareness are also among the major factors, which is why parents encourage their children for doing jobs to help the family (Mustafa *et al*, 2005).

The government, however, aims at provision of facilitation in the National Education Report (2008) for the improvement and growth of literacy rate across the country, which includes free education, and delivery of missing facilities in the schools. A sum of 100 million PKR is allocated since 2001-02 for literacy under the ESR programme. Apart from the reasons mentioned above one possible reason behind the low literacy rate in the country especially in rural areas could be as Fullan and Watson (2000) identified, the limited engagement of the community in literacy promotion. In their comparative study of School Based Management between the West and the developing countries, Fullan and Watson found that, schools with active participation from the parents and the public are doing better than those with no or limited community engagement. In a Pakistani context, however, *Jirga* can be an ideal model for engaging the community in literacy-related projects. As stated in Chapter 1, *Jirga* is a renowned and recognised public gathering in which the entire community participates to address area-related issues. Education as the utmost priority of the government and the people can also be promoted on an emergency basis through this platform.

2.6 The Balochistan Case

2.6.1 Geography

Turning to Balochistan, we see it is the largest among all four provinces situated in the South-West of Pakistan. It shares borders with Iran and Afghanistan. Balochistan makes up 43% of the total geographical area covering 347,190 Sq Kms; that is, 43.6% of the whole country (GoB, 2012). Compared with other provinces, Balochistan is less populated, low in per square kilometre density and clustered in population. The geographic area of this province can be divided into, upper high lands, lower highlands, plains and deserts. The map presents a clear picture of the province and its districts.
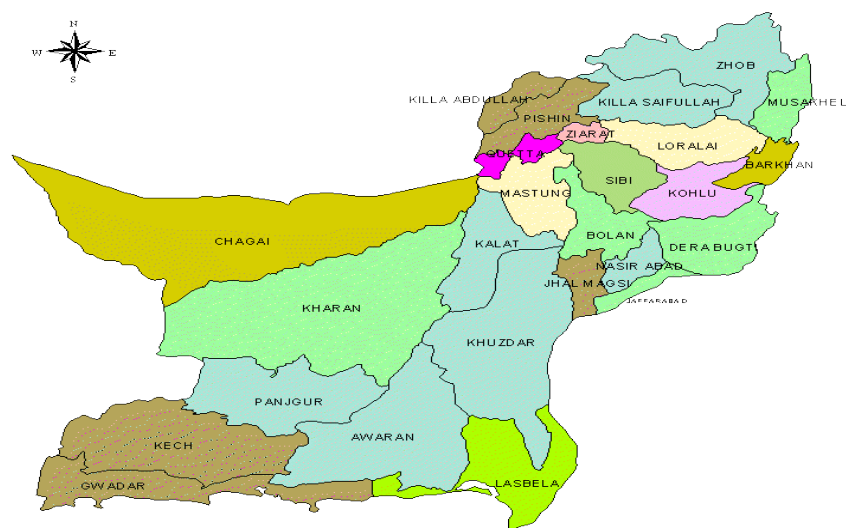
Figure 2.4: Map of province of Balochistan
Source: National Trade & Transport Facilitation Committee (online), Pakistan

2.6.2 Population

According to the National Institute of Population Studies (NIPS) report, the estimated population of the province of Balochistan in the year 2010 is 8,684,007, which includes an estimated 4,637,684 males and 404,631,7 females. If NIPS Report is compared with the Census Report of the province of Balochistan it shows that the number has increased by 51.55%. Additionally, if the figure of the 2010 Population Census is compared with the Census Report of 1972-81, 1961-72 and 1951-61, a clear increase of 78.38%, 79.44% and 15.96% respectively can be seen. The data thus reveal that, the population has increased by five and a half times since 1951, the year when the first census was conducted. According to Census Data on Mother Tongue (1998), Baloch comprises 55%, Pashtun 30%, Punjabi 3%, Sariki 2% and Urdu 1%, respectively. These figures of division of the population on the basis of mother tongue is controversial because the Baloch majority is questioned by some groups arguing that, both Balochi and Brahvi are kept in one category in the census, which otherwise are linguistically different and as noted by Huizinga (1994), two major languages of the province. Additionally, this number is strongly challenged by the Baloch rival groups, especially by the Pashtun ethnic groups. They argue that the census is more than a decade old and as Fair (2012) pointed out, was politicised and complicated and hence could not be used as a fair determinant of true ethnic composition.

Quetta is the capital city of Balochistan, and according to the Census Report (1998), has a population of 565,137, which is the highest in the province's population. There are 11

districts of Balochistan, which have zero to 3% of the total population. Although the province is the richest province in terms of energy and minerals (Fair, 2012; Wirising, 2008; Gazdar, 2007; Chaudary, 2004) but a large population of Balochistan province lives in rural areas which was estimated by the Census Data (1998) as 4,997.10 thousand. This number shows that 76.11% (the largest in the country) of the total population lives in rural areas. The urban population of the population, however, is 23.89%, which has increased by 8.27%, if compared with the data of the 1981 census.

2.6.3 Linguistic Profile of Balochistan in Society and Schools

Balochistan has several communities made up of different linguistic origins. Generally, the Baloch make up 54.7 % and the Pashtun constitute 29% of the population, inhabited from Quetta to the North of the province. The rest are the settlers who migrated from the provinces of Punjab and Sind (Mother Tongue Census, 1998).

In order to have a clear understanding of the range of languages and the number of their users (as shown in Figure II.XV in the appendices), it is important to first of all understand the origin of this province. Basically, before the independence of Pakistan, the madrassa (religious schools) were the centre of education and Arabic and Persian remained the media of instruction in Balochistan. Arabic was regarded as the language of religion and science, while Persian was famous for its eminent literary background (Jahani, 2005). Before 1960s, the Baloch were deprived of modern education, which according to Hosseinbor (2000), kept them away from social transformation, economic modernisation and linguistic rights.

In the history of Pakistan, neither Balochi nor Pashto attained the status of official or administrative language at national or provincial level. The use of these languages is very limited to home, community and sometime in work places. The nationalist political parties of Balochistan have been demanding greater provincial autonomy in order for them to have their own administrative control over their local resources. Among other reasons behind the demand for greater provincial autonomy, the demand for the mother tongue to be MoI in the province was the major one (Ejaz, 2011). Consequently, in 1989, the government has given permission to the provincial government to choose the best MoI. Thus, Balochi, Pashto and Brahvi, the three major languages of the province were selected as MoI in those areas where the majority of the population spoke them. Instructional material and textbooks were published, but the policy faced stern crisis due to 1) the rivalry of Baloch and Pashtun, and 2) the existing bilingualism inside Balochi, i.e. Balochi and Brahvi (Farell, 2000). Huizinga

(1994), however, explains that the decision of choosing major languages as MoI was backed by political pressure and thus led to controversy.

Additionally, a variety of accents within these major language groups and a lack of trained and qualified teachers in these languages meant the policy did not achieve the intended goals. Jahani (2005) considers the attitude of the Balochi people towards their language as another reason behind the failure of a long-demanded mother tongue as MoI in Balochistan. She argues that, this attitude was built in competition due to the place and importance of the Urdu and the English languages. Compared to speakers of these languages, the Baloch and Pashtun people see their own languages as being backward and rural. They have strong feelings and experiences of their languages offering no improvement in terms of securing good jobs, social status and better economic conditions (Farell, 2000).

As the Pakistani regimes changed hands over time, both Urdu and English were, most of the time, given priority over the indigenous and major languages of the province. The important fields of the state which are thought essential for progress and advancement in society were predominantly run in state languages, i.e., English and Urdu while the regional languages were set aside as traditional ones that had no role at administrative level. Because, the Punjabis and the settlers from other provinces were fluent in English and Urdu, it was easy for them to migrate to this province and secure all the high profile jobs (Andley, 2006; Khan, 2003). Due to this important role of English and Urdu, parents always want their children to study and learn the state languages to compete for good jobs and to achieve high status in the society.

In the economic perspective, the dominance of English and Urdu over regional languages in the province of Balochistan, according to Rahman (2006) and Khalique (2003), is an 'imposition' meant to prove the superiority of the elite class. This might be the reason as shown in Figures 2.3 and 2.4 that the users of both English and Urdu appear to be high statistically. The ethnic groups and the provincial nationalist political parties of Balochistan have strongly resisted and felt this 'imposition' to be a threat towards their language, culture and identity (Adeel, 2009). But at the same time, this 'imposition' was broadly accepted and supported by the settlers who migrated from Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. Therefore, these diverse views about the place and selection of MoI have divided the people of Balochistan into two groups. The first group consists of the Baloch and Pashtun nationalists, demanding regional languages as official language and MoI. The other one is

Punjabi, Urdu and Pashto speaking settlers and the elites of Pashtun and Baloch community who have accepted and adopted Urdu and English.

From a political perspective, as pointed out in the Asia Report (2006), with the passage of time, those who have accepted Urdu and English were able to progress and avail themselves of better job opportunities. They also secured most of the administrative positions in the government sectors in the province. On the other hand, those who opposed the linguistic policies, seeing them as an attempt to suppress their own identity, were left behind in the field of education (Jahani, 2005; Khan, 2003). Against this background, one may argue that the Balochistan resentment to 'outside' interference in their language may have been the cause of the violence against the other communities, especially, Punjabis living in Balochistan. Presumably, they were feeling that, their identity was being supressed, as 'foreigners' from other provinces were flowing in and monopolising all the jobs. The resentment is still there and has become a strong slogan of the nationalist parties of this province (Adeel, 2009). Indeed, it is even suggested that, this language 'imposition' onto the ethnic Baloch groups in the past has been the cause of the separatist movement in the province (Khan, 2003). Most likely, the position of the Balochi and Pashtun nationalist parties on MoI is to favour mother tongue due to its close relation with the promotion of the local culture whereas, the settlers support Urdu due to its links with the ideological beliefs of the state.

2.7 Education Provision in Balochistan

2.7.1 Enrolment Rate

One of the reasons for the low literacy rate and poor gender parity in Balochistan has to do with the speed of getting students to enrol in schools. As stated earlier, compared with other provinces, Balochistan has the slowest and lowest enrolment rate in Pakistan i.e. a total share of 3.3% in the national enrolment rate (GoB, 2011). This can be, as the provincial government claims, due to lack of funds and lack of private sector institutions. The private sector currently contributes 38% in enrolment of children in Pakistan, but in the Balochistan case, it is totally different.

The data reveal that, a large number of children were enrolled in primary schools in comparison with the other stages i.e. 554,444. But, the gender parity is almost the same everywhere. In pre-primary, the total number of children enrolled is 301,476, i.e. boys 183,865 and girls 117,611. It is also evident from the data that a large number of children

i.e. 35% drop out after completing the primary stage. This way, the numbers drop to 118,304 (76,281 boys and 42,023 girls) in middle schools. This number further declined at secondary level, i.e. 55,237, which has 36,302 boys and 18,935 girls in total (for details see figure II.XVI in the appendices). The reasons behind the high dropout rate are, an unfamiliar language as MoI, lack of schools, untrained staff, unqualified teachers, constraints of funds, low career prospects and poverty (Saeed and Wain, 2011; Coleman, 2010; Mujahid, 1999; Rahman, 1997).

2.7.2 Student Teacher Ratio

Among the major challenges the province is facing are, the teacher-student ratio, the teacher-institute ratio and the student-institute ratio, which are alarmingly high and greatly influence the performance of the students. These ratios are higher in public-sector schools if compared with the private ones. Data indicate that, there is 1 teacher per 31.3 students in public institutions. This figure may be higher than others in different stages and areas. There is 1 educational institute for 54.8 students and finally, 1 teacher for 01.8 institutes (see Figure II.XVII in the appendices for details). Such a ratio is certainly an indicator of lack of teachers in the province. In such a system, the students do not get a chance to participate, engage and share, which other provinces may offer because of their low student-teacher ratio. Graddy and Stevenson (2003) have conducted a study in the UK about the impact of schools' input on the performance. They found out that, the teacher-student ratio can have adverse effects on the performance and examination grades of the students.

Seeking education is declared essential, while teaching is a profession of messengers in Islam, but still the figures show the level of lack of interest of the provincial government and the public for the promotion of education. On one hand, the social and cultural norms and traditions of the area oppose education, while on the other, as mentioned in the National Report of Pakistan (2009), insufficient political will and financial allocations make the goal of promotion of quality education difficult. This might be one of the reasons why this province is the most backward and least developing of all.

2.7.3 Quality of Schools

With a higher teacher-student ratio, the quality of schooling (including quality of instructions) is negatively affected, which obviously will have an impact on the general quality of schools. In Pakistan, the announcement of the EFA (2001) brought in some new quality related challenges especially, when the government established several hundred

more schools in order to enrol more children. The number of primary level schools has increased to 87% of the total number of the educational institutions. This increase shows commitment of the government towards the achievement of the EFA goals in this province.

The data, however, disclose that, Balochistan has 13,751 schools (primary, middle, secondary and madrassa). Out of this number 12,184 are in the public sector and 1,553 in the private sector. There are 11,440 primary schools in the province with 10,637 schools in the public sector and 464 in the private sector. The number of middle schools is very low compared with the primary schools, i.e. 953 public and 245 private schools out of a total 702 middle schools. This number shows a high dropout rate. Apart from the schools, there is a widespread chain of madaris across the province. Normally, this belongs to the private sector, which is why there are 683 private madaris out of a total of 697. This number varies different in different reports because, as Blanchard (2008) confirms, there are a large number of unregistered madaris (see figure II.XVIII in the appendices for details). Generally, Balochistan has the least number of educational institutions if compared with other provinces of Pakistan i.e. Punjab 102,257, Sindh 60,062 and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa 33,572, respectively (Pakistan Education Statistics, 2008-09).

Apart from the lowest number of educational institutions, Balochistan has the highest number of schools as well where basic facilities of drinking water, boundary walls, latrines and electricity are missing. According to the data, Balochistan has 65% of their schools with having no boundary walls, while 35% of them are deprived of the basic facility of drinking water facilities, and 83% of schools operate without electricity in the classrooms. Finally, more than half of the schools (i.e. 53%) are missing latrines (see Figure II.XIX in the appendices). The missing of such facilities have a diverse effect on the education system, which negatively influences the behaviour of the students and is an encouraging factor in the dropouts (Saeed and Wain, 2011; Lackney, 1999).

2.7.4 Training and Distribution of Teachers

The education system of Balochistan is threatened by the number of teaching staff (male, female) since Pakistan gained its independence. This does not include the untrained and low-qualified staff. The NEP (2009) aims at closing the existing gender gap, however, it has not been able to do so and it has further increased. Figure II.XX in the appendices shows the overall number of teachers and gender proportions in different types of educational institutions. It also shows the number of total teaching staff at madaris and in the private

sector (i.e. 2,857 and 7,381, respectively) which means the province has only 6% of the total number of teachers in Pakistan while Punjab has 47.34%, Sind has 21.59% and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa has 16.36%, respectively.

In provincial contexts, these figures raise questions on the goals set in the NEP (2009) regarding EFA and MDGs, because it is not possible to provide access to children without the availability of the teachers. This clear difference in the number of teachers and the gender gap widens the space among the provinces, and provides a reference point for those with ethnic sentiments who, according to Aslam (2011), believe that the federation has intentionally kept them deprived of their rights. Because teachers are the main pillars in promotion of education, another impact of the lack of teachers can be on the economic development and the overall progress of the province, which the Ministry of Education (2009) believes, to be only achievable through education. The above-mentioned data and the figures in the appendices tell quite a sad story regarding not only teachers, but also the provision of quality education to the children of the province. Within such a context, the regionalism sentiments can easily be intensified.

2.7.5 Public Expenditure

All the provinces including Balochistan and its district governments have their annual budget. In making the budget, funds are allocated for the development of different social and economic sectors such as education, health, agriculture, industries, and commerce.

Of all the provinces, Balochistan receives the lowest amount of funds from the federal government because of its low population. Once the funds are allocated, the provincial government distributes them among different sectors. These various sectors are categories for funding purposes according to the priorities the government sets. Education is just one among the top priorities according to the government reports (MoE, 2009). Figure II.XXI in the appendices shows the amount of funds (in millions) the provincial government of Balochistan spent on education in the year 2009-10, i.e. 8,068.34 (PKR). At the same time, due to the Devolution of Power Programme, districts were given the choice to distribute the funds among different sectors (PBD, 2009-10). Thus a total of 8,775.83 (PKR) was allocated for the education sector in the year 2009-10. If compared with Balochistan, Punjab allocates the highest amount of funds followed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sind province while Balochistan stands last. The comparison of the budget with the previous year revealed a declining trend in the allocation of funding in this province.

This figure confirms that, the education-sector in the province of Balochistan suffers from years of neglect and a lack of funding. Eventually, the province has seen a low quality of service delivery. Historically, the low indicators of education have always highlighted that this province needs higher investment in the education sector. It is important because as Colclough *et al* (2003) says in the context of Africa that the EFA goals are unlikely to be achieved with such low investment or such a limited budget. Consequently, the education system will not meet the intending outcomes, which are of high concerns for the people as well as the international organization.

2.7.6 Significantly Low Literacy

The Provincial Government of Balochistan (2004) believes education as a foundation for human development and poverty eradication and that high literacy is a source of economic and social affluence. With this realisation on course the province still enjoys the lowest literacy rate among the provinces of Pakistan. This has probably contributed to the low human-development level. As a result, this led the province to the smallest number of educational institutions, the highest rural urban divide, the lowest standing in the Gender Parity Index and the nominal presence of private educational institutes (National Economic Survey, 2009-10).

The data show 42% of the population of the Balochistan province as literate in the year 2006-07, with a disparity between male and female (58%, 22%) (see Figure II.XXII in the appendices.) This striking difference raises concerns about the female role in society. Though government has announced incentives for this sector but no practical steps were taken. Consequently, the literacy rate of the country, especially in the province of Balochistan remained alarmingly low (Khan, 2011). If we see in the social and cultural context of this province, we will come to know that, access to education comes in direct contrast with the tribal norms and tradition. These norms and traditions see education as a threat towards their identity and culture. Quoting my own experience, I would like to mention that, there are some (not all) religious clergy who oppose education in the area specially, the female one. These groups consider female education as an 'evil' act. This belief can be seen demonstrated by the Literacy Report (2008), which shows that the female literacy rate in this province is below 10%. The political trends of this province are also responsible for access to education and its promotion. Basically, feudalism is an infamous trait of government in the rural areas, where decisions are made at the behest of the feudal

lords of the area. These feudal lords discourage education because they see it as a threat to their status (Komatsu, 2008; Jahani, 2005; Ahmar, 1996).

When the National Education Policy (2009) was announced, achieving gender parity and shortening the rural and urban divide were among the key goals. But surprisingly, the literacy rate in Balochistan declined by 1%, i.e. to 45% in total. The male literacy dropped by 4%, while the female literacy rate remained 23%, which is a disturbing feature. Komatsu (2008) in his study of 'qualitative inquiry into local education administration in Pakistan' suggests 'decentralisation' as a new administration paradigm to handle the literacy related issues. Working on a similar idea, the provincial government transferred the power and funding to the districts. The administration and NGOs are claiming several projects to increase the literacy rate and reduce the gender gap in Balochistan have been established. This is not evident in the data.

2.8 Education Policy Making Process: An Overview

2.8.1 Definition

Policy and its making are two central components of any country and government. This significance as Ball (1994; 1990), and Dye (1972) illustrated, helps governments translate their political vision into actions through which they convey preferred changes in the existing world situation. Policy-makers generally agree that promoting good practice in policy-making is fundamental to the delivery of quality outcomes for people. But being a continuous process and due to the involvement of many groups, the policy always becomes complex and controversial. Even though the process is 'messy', due to its significance the policy-makers are expected to be accountable and give the public the right to challenge them. For this reason Smith (2003), Ball (1990) and Citone (1977) stress the need for extensive knowledge and the latest information for policy-makers. Such practices will help policy-makers in knowing public interests and effectiveness of their policies. Together these make, as Smith (2003) summarized, the policy socially suitable, politically practicable and technically accurate. In an ideal situation, as Feudtner and Marcues (2001) argue, policy-makers are expected to come up with a transparent policy without pursuing their own interests because citizens have the right to challenge if the policies are not in their favour.

2.8.2 Public Demand and Interest Groups

As stated earlier, public policy issues are normally complex, mostly occur in rapidly uncertain environments and involve conflicts among different interest groups. They are often put in place to react to public demand and interest groups' opinions and views. These often place too many constraints on policy-makers. The general public is often reasonably educated and informed, and as Smith (2003) mentions, can mobilise themselves to demand and support desired initiatives. On the other hand, interest groups are organised and aim to advance their own specific interests. They bring together and speak for individuals, a variety of groups and organisations, whose interests and concerns are similar. Basically, they provide a political forum for these particular individuals and groups to express themselves. Elsewhere, interest groups are considered as associations of individuals that are created to aggregate, articulate and enhance the interests of their members (Pross, 1986). Interest groups can deal with different issues such as, human rights, poverty alleviation or environmental preservation, however a more specific way of categorising interest groups is that of basing it on social economic sectors. So their categorisation can be based on small businesses, recreational, industrial, cultural, social, environmental, fisheries, forestry, home-ownership, taxation, economic development, advocacy, disadvantaged groups and non-profit (Smith, 2003). More often, such groups comprise elites who have made decisions based on their interests in order to achieve their aims. Campbell (2002) shares a similar view by stating that powerful special interest groups can and do apply significant pressure on elected officials and public servants in order to achieve their ends.

It is important to distinguish the extent to which any one group stands for the interest of the public or its own interests. According to Smith (2003), public interest is about benefits to the society and the citizens in general. However there are some groups that are only concerned with the benefits for specific individuals or their own members. These can be named as special interest groups. Thus, they do not speak for their broader public interest rather they speak and believe on policy decisions that will only benefit them. In this way, they can be a force militantly against policies that are for the general public. But on the other hand, these groups can be looked at positively. That is, although, they are promoting their own interests when a government steps in meeting their needs, this can be considered as working in the public interest in the sense that the result of this action enhances the fabric of society. Generally, it is accepted that collaboration and advocacy are the best means to perceive the interests of the public and those of the interest groups through blending and dialoguing. In this collaborative process as Feudtner and Marcues (2001) explains, the views

of these two different parties are articulated and the groups work together to arrive at a consensus, and in this way their collective needs are met. Conclusively, it is a process of making sure that all the voices have been listened to.

2.8.3 Participation in Policy Making

Literature on participation is framed in terms of accountability; that is, the citizenry holding the government institutions responsible for their actions (Smith, 2003; Campbell, 2002). Participation also has to do with the interests and power of different actors in the policy process, in that it attends to power imbalances because the general public possesses experiential knowledge, which the government institutions do not have. The government cannot dismiss this experiential knowledge because it is considered legitimate knowledge. According to Powell and Richard (2006), participation thus allows the general public to voice that experiential knowledge and bring in a new policy discourse. However, there are critical voices against participation and experiential knowledge as pointed out by Sumner and Jones (2008). They suggest that alternative western and scientific knowledge is considered more important at the expense of local priorities. They also point out that there could be participation, but just a cosmetic one, where local inputs are simply taken as tokens. The case of Pakistan is not different from the above illustration, because the NEP 2009 claims that the policy document is formulated with the direct participation of politicians, implementing partners and educational leadership from all provinces. At the same time a strong opposition rose throughout the country concerning a lack of representation in the policy-making process.

As argued by Feudtner and Marcues (2001), participation may be carried out without the people being made conscious of existing power dynamics. If this is done, then the existing interests, networks, and political, economic, social and cultural interactions will not be entwined with the overall nature of democratic inclusiveness and political culture, as well as existing social capital. It is argued that there is power in participation, and Sumner and Jones (2008) identify three frameworks of analysis of power relations namely *actors and networks, institutions* and *discourses.* Analysing the policy processes through actors and networks and their political interests, has its origin in political science field (Campbell, 2002). It is an approach as proposed by Sumner and Jones (2008) that the driving force for policy is material political economy, as interest groups compete over the allocation of resources and the formulation of rules and regulations. Networks, alliances and coalitions of actors form to protect or advance interests, from both state and non-state actors. The media in Pakistan

seems to have created an opportunity for the public to participate in discussion of issues in mutual interest.

Another policy-analysis approach is through institutions used herein to include formal organisations, customs, and patterns of behaviour and action. Institutions emphasise the importance of 'structure', whereas the actor-oriented approach focuses on agency. Here participants in decision making are defined and roles of the policy process in the political behaviour are shaped (Sumner and Jones 2008; Steinmo *et al*, 1992). There is also a historical dimension, as well established programmes that generate political constraints and opportunities, and previously enacted policies impact on future courses of action (Beland, 2005). These become the models, which then dictate the considerations regarding the talking of what, who and whom in the process of policy-making in a given socio-political setting. So basically, as Campbell (2002) argues, in the policy-making process the ideas are tainted and converted in ways that match with existing institutions.

Approaching policy as discourse as Feudtner and Marcues (2001) argue, involves seeing knowledge and power as inseparable. Discourse involves the concepts and ideas relevant for policy. It also involves interactive processes of communication and policy formulation that generate and disseminate these ideas (Schmidt and Radaelli, 2004). These concepts, metaphors, linguistic codes, and rules of logic contain cognitive and normative elements that decide what policy-makers can understand, articulate and adopt. Discourse shapes new institutional structures as a set of ideas about new rules, values and practices (Schmidt and Radaelli 2004; Campbell, 2002). The MoI debate in Pakistan illustrates the involvement of knowledge and power as closely-related concepts. Likewise, the supporters of English, Urdu and regional languages are suspecting each other over the selection of MoI policy (Jahani, 2005; Rahman, 2006). Each group blames the opposite group being on the profitable end. Conclusively, policy making in the public interest is a lengthy and difficult mission, which involves risks.

2.9   Contemporary Issues

It is proposed that policy-making takes place within a social, cultural, economic, and political environment with complexities and consequences (Schmidt & Radaelli, 2004; Ball, 1990; Beland, 2005). In the case of education policies and especially selection of MoI one has to consider the thoughts of technological developments, ideological values and culture. Together these challenges as argued by Trowler (1998) make the policy-making process

complex. Consequently, the involvement of these diverse concepts as stated by Hargreaves (1989), made the policy more debatable. The education policy of Pakistan is thus by no means different from the global policy making processes. The existing body of literature in as far as education policy making in Pakistan is concerned has identified three main doctrines namely neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism (Haqqani, 2004; Khan, 1997; Abbas, 1993; Ahmed, 1991) and to these I now turn.

2.9.1 Neo-Liberalism

Neo-liberalism is a set of economic and political policies based on a strong faith in the beneficent effects of free market. As Harvey (2005) pointed out, it includes open market approaches, free trade, and decrease in the public sector funding. This economic approach is recommended by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other financial organisations (Harvey, 2005; Lomnitz and Milnick, 1991; Torres 2002; Brown, 2003; Hill, 2004) that emphasise the decrease of state intervention in the economy and public services (Mises, 1962; Nozick, 1974). Social analysis of neo-liberalism shows that it is not an approach that merely deals with economic sector policies, rather as Brown (2003) pointed out, when it is deployed at a government level it reaches into the education policies and practices. The application of this belief replaces the role of the state with the individual, making the state itself responsible for education, job, security, health, etc.

As pointed out by Khalique (2006), Rahman (1995), and Haque (1983), in a Pakistani context, neo-liberalism can be traced back to education policy-making processes in privatisation, English as MoI, interference of international agencies and socio-economic divide among people. Arguing about MoI in Pakistan, the neo-liberal followers claim that English can earn Pakistan a high economic status, a quality education, access to the international job market and global identity (NEP, 2009; Abbas, 1993; Haque, 1991). Whereas this foreign funding has helped the education system in terms of budgeting, yet there are voices against it (Khan, 1997). As Moss (1964) and Abbas (1993) stated, English as MoI is a way to maintain the British status quo, sustain language imperialism and divide the country. One example of neo-liberal doctrine can be its approach of market oriented education. This means endorsing the monopoly of the private sector and keeping the power in the hands of the few. Such a concept contradicts the Islamic norms of Pakistan and its regional cultures.

2.9.2 Islamism

Pakistan was formally declared an Islamic state in its third constitution in 1973 (Mahboob, 2003). The concept and importance of education in Islam is clearly highlighted both by the *Qur'an* (the sacred book of Muslims) and *Hadith* (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH) with "God as the ultimate teacher" and "Humanity was bestowed the superior status because of its capacity for knowledge" (Ahmad 1997, p238). It has also declared knowledge a lifelong process and thus made its acquisition obligatory for both male and female Muslims. Due to its characteristics, Al-Jamali describes Islamic faith in education as "an axis around which life turns and religion the common denominator" (1998, p167). It can be noted from the arguments that Islam totally discourages illiteracy proving "the establishment of an education system an inherent and integral part of the Islamic society" (p, 238). In the Pakistani context, the constitution (1973) declares the mosque central to the social, moral and economic development. Islam is thus perceived as an ideology, which has provided the basis for the independence movement and remained quite inspirational and an active agent of the education system in general and educational policies in particular. Equally, in NEP 2009 Islam secured role of a leading model, which according to GoP (2009) is due to its wide acceptance and its characteristics of humanization and brotherhood. To achieve these goals, Urdu was selected as national language and MoI in public schools because it was propagated as the language of Muslims and the *lingua franca* of the independence movement (Zia, 2003).

But the place of Islam in education policies and the selection of MoI has remained controversial throughout the history of Pakistan. Even though, the majority of the population of Pakistan had the desire for a national language, voices were heard from the liberals and the ethnic groups in different provinces in opposition to this announcement. This status for Urdu was challenged and later rejected by these groups, as Islam and Urdu are different realities (Haqqani, 2004). A related observation is shared by Hassan (1985), explaining that the selection of Urdu and its links with Islam was a conspiracy to gain political benefits. Due to such diverse ideas the place of Islamisation in the formation of education and MoI policies remained a question mark for the ruling elites, the ethnic groups and the international organisations, even in recent years.

2.9.3 Regionalism

Due to five major and 59 minor languages, people living in different provinces differ significantly in culture and languages. This high inter-provincial and national level of

linguistic diversity, as mentioned by Roofi (2011) and Ahmed (1991), causes the federation several pressing challenges. Historically, the speakers of major languages and ethnic groups consider their mother-tongue as the best medium for teaching and learning (Coleman, 2010). The ethnic groups on the other hand see it as a source of cultural promotion (Jahani, 2005; Huizinga, 1994). Because of this important role, these groups have insisted time and again for regional languages to be declared MoI. The Islamists and the liberals always opposed this demand. The Islamists contest this perception because they see regional languages as a source of ethnicity and provincialism while the liberals resist it due to its limited functional scope and literature. As stated earlier the situation has thus led to a series of conflicts, ethnic rifts, riots, and movements which include the language movement of Bangladesh (1952), the Sindhi Muhajir conflict in the province of Sindh (1972), the Pashto and minority languages controversy in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Baloch Pashtun riots in Balochistan (1989). But the issue was not resolved. Rather the place and importance of MoI has remained an issue among these diverse groups as ever before (Ahmar, 1996; Ghosh, 2003).

2.10 National Education Policy of Pakistan 2009

2.10.1   Background

Education is a social artefact (Kogan, 1985), and plays a central role in the development of the country. Due to this essential position, any state tries to achieve education related issues through education policies (Adalino and Blake, 2010; Olssen *et al*, 2004). Basically, education policy is a set of education-related actions, which are followed by attaining targeted goals (Marshal and Peter, 1999; Trowler, 1998). Rein (1983) sees education policy as a problem seeker, which plans for the resolution. Similarly, Pakistan has also mobilised actions in the form of education policies for achieving proposed goals and ideological standards, and thus supported Trowler's (1998) illustration of policy as a base for ideological values. Therefore, as stated earlier, the importance of education can be realised by its place in the Constitution of Pakistan in its Article 25A, 31 and 47 which is the most prestigious document setting out the fundamental principles of the country. Article 25A which is currently included has declared education as a fundamental right. It states:

> *"The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years in such manner as may be determined by law"* (The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, p15).

Article 37 of the Constitution describes principles of policy. It states that, "The state shall:

a) *promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of backward classes or areas;*
b) *remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period;*
c) *Make technical and professional education generally available and higher education equally accessible to all on the basis of merit"* (p18).

Article 31a explains that:

"The state shall endeavour, as respects the Muslims of Pakistan,

1. *to make the teaching of Holy Quran, Islamiat (Islamic studies) compulsory, to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language and to secure correct and exact printing and publishing of the Holy Quran"* (p17).

These Articles provide the government with the directives and guidelines for a smooth run of the education system of the country. It emphasises the promotion and access of education and oversees the Islamic moral standards, which according to Halliday and Alavi (1987), gathers together people from all ethnicities and languages in the country.

As in the past, to meet these established patterns, an education policy was initiated in 2005. The process of the formation of this policy involved lengthy considerations between the federal and provincial governments. The process was affected and at some point slowed down by the unstable political situations of the country. Likewise, close to the completion of the policy, the regime under Pervaiz Musharaf left office, resulting in a delay to the policy announcement. In 2008, Asif Ali Zardari came into power and reactivated the process. The government organised an Inter-Provincial Education Ministers (IPEM) forum in February, 2009 to discuss the policy draft and agree on a final decision for policy announcement. In this meeting, a board including implementing partners, political leaders and educational leadership was organised from all provinces and all other federating units. After the consensus on the draft, a copy was submitted to Cabinet Division in March 2009, which was considered by the Federal Cabinet on 8th April 2009. Yousaf Raza Gilani (Prime Minister of Pakistan) directed the Ministry of Education to resend the policy documents to all implementers for comments and suggestions. One possible reason behind this may be to make the policy draft highly implementable, actions oriented and acceptable. After doing so the Ministry of Education gave a presentation before the National Assembly Committee on Education, which included the intended and targeted educational actions. On 9th of September, 2009 the Cabinet of Pakistan approved the NEP.

Soon after the announcement of the policy IPEM, who have representatives from all provinces and regions of the country were given the responsibility to administer policy implementation and education progression in the country. In this way, the provinces secured authority of implementation of the policy so that the policy acquired a mutual ownership of both federal and provincial governments. In 2010, the amendment of the 18th Article (for details see section 3.4) advised the provinces to come up with their own policy and implementation strategies. Therefore, the role of federal government was set as a facilitator and coordinator.

2.10.2   Content

The policy document is divided into 11 chapters, which covers everything from the state of education in Pakistan to the challenges, deficiencies, commitment, access, quality, innovation, financing and implementation of the policy. It acknowledges that the education system of Pakistan is faced with overarching issues of selection of MoI, access, gender equity, rural urban divide, poor quality and low expenditure. Such issues are seen as a hindrance in the path of achieving the set targets, and hence the NEP 2009 aims at resolving these issues. Hereunder, the policy statements are described with regard to MoI only because this is the main area of public debate.

As soon as the policy was announced the opposition political parties rejected it because as Coleman (2010) argued, the policy statements were contradictory. The ethnic and minority groups also rejected it due to its classification of MoI on the grounds of the socio-economic status of the people. They argued that through the categorisation of public and private sector, social cohesion was impossible. Furthermore, Islamists condemned the policy as political and an extension for the promotion of the English language and thus, emphasising internationalisation and marketization of the country's education. Teachers and student unions labelled the policy as 'unclear' and a 'list of personal wish and well', which is made without their representation. This led to a debate revolving around the MoI issues. The debate spread all over the country in media, public gatherings and social circles. This generated a large quantity of data in the social media expressing the views of the participants, which will be discussed in detail in later sections.

2.10.2.1 Medium of Instruction (MoI)

Medium of instruction contributes to economic development, cultural promotions and national cohesion to the people who access it (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997; LoBianco 1987).

Consequently, as stated in Chapter 2, almost all previous governments in the history of Pakistan came with a language policy to affirm their commitment to the MoI. Each policy claimed that the selected MoI to be a source of global identity, national solidity and cultural preferment for Pakistan. Unfortunately, these targets were never met (Khan, 1997) and thus making MoI an issue of ever increasing opposition and rejection. To ease these tensions and to fill the gaps of the previous MoI policies, NEP 2009 intended to make substantial changes as described hereunder.

a) The policy recommended the development of a comprehensive school language policy with the help of provincial governments, area government and other stakeholders. The political instability of the country caused serious problems to a long term and comprehensive language policy implementation. Historically, the policies of previous regimes were rejected by each new regime. One major example was that of Zulfiqar Bhutto (1973-1977) and Zia ul Haq (1978-1988), who came with two opposite language policies. Whereas, the former came with a Socialist agenda, nationalised all institutions, implemented regional languages in the public sector and English as MoI in private, the latter came with Islamisation and introduced Urdu as MoI in all public sector schools (Rahman, 1997; Khan, 1997). The critics believe that such policies were not based on scientific and research evidence, rather they were made on the personal wish and will of the ruling elites (Mahboob, 2003; Khalique, 2003; Rahman, 1997). They claimed that such opposite policies made the public sector a laboratory experimenting with a varied medium of instructions. Nationally, it cost the country a dawdling economic progress, slow human development and political instability Khan (1997). NEP 2009 proposers believed that these gaps could be recovered if a comprehensive policy which had the representation of all provinces, areas governments and stakeholders was put in place.

b) The Ministry of Education with provincial education departments and provincial bodies and the public should develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing English-language policy in the shortest possible time with emphasis on the disadvantaged areas. Announcing knowledge as an economy, the language policy was influenced with English as MoI. A point was made in the NEP that the emphasis of promotion will be given to the disadvantaged areas. NEP 2009 argued that the past policies had neglected the disadvantaged areas, particularly in terms of language policy-making, which caused weak ties between the regions of the country. In disadvantaged rural areas of the country the positive effects of policies are hardly seen. An example can be taken from Benazir Bhutto's (1989) policy, which emphasised English as MoI, but as Khan (1997) mentioned, due to lack of teachers,

the policy did not achieve the intended goals. The policy mainly affected the rural areas of the state. This was mainly because the English teachers were not available in such areas and those who were based in the urban areas were not ready to go there. Additionally, the circulation of books and the material were not managed on time and properly (Khan, 1997). Similarly almost all other language policies were seriously implemented in the urban areas. While reaching the effects of them to the rural areas, the power was shifted or otherwise the policy was changed.

c) Children from low economic strata should be given opportunities to learn English. As stated in Chapter 2, the majority of the children from poor families are out of schools. Those who go to school have only the options to choose between public schools and madrassa. As stated in Chapter 2, the former is a government-run educational institutions where Urdu is the MoI. They are of poor quality and of low performance and achievement. They are characterised by a lack of facilities, resources and staff. The latter is mostly comprised of privately run educational institutions, which mostly impart religious education and practise Urdu and Arabic as media of instruction. Similar to the public schools, this sector too faces serious lack of attention from the government. Due to this low quality education, the children from the lower socio-economic class have minimal chances of securing white-colour jobs and policy representation. Thus the education system in Pakistan, according to the critics, is a source of division on the basis of economic status, which leads to national discord, political instability and economic decline (Khalique, 2003; Abbas, 1997; Khan, 1997). NEP 2009 thus regarded English as the language of opportunities, which would help children from the low economic strata to find good jobs and seek quality education. Additionally, the policy envisages that by learning English the gap between the public and private sectors would be reduced.

d) English, Urdu, one regional language and mathematics will be included in the curriculum from class 1 and above. As Coleman (2010) mentioned in his report, the NEP statements about MoI looked clashing with the previous statements. First of all, it stated a variety of languages to be included in the curriculum, which needs an extra number of teachers and resources. Secondly, it was unclear if this policy was to apply at the secondary stage of schooling as well or if it was for the primary stage only. Due to such an unclear statement, the experts in a SAMMA TV (2010) programme on policy analysis argued that this was a political statement to keep people from all groups happy. They have also rejected the claim made in NEP 2009 of seeing English as the language of competition, Urdu as a bridging language and regional languages for maintaining local identity. NEP 2009 also believes that

together, these languages would earn Pakistan a stable economy, social cohesion and promotion of local cultures. Moreover, the policy argues that in the past the policies were inspired by a single school of thought, which sought to reject the policy and led the country towards linguistic conflicts. This policy will fill the gap in the past policies. But the participants in the policy analysis debate see that English represents elite, Urdu the Islamist and regional languages the ethnic sentiments. Thus government made an effort to give shares to all mentioned groups to expand their politics.

e) Provincial and area education departments shall have a choice to select MoI up to class 5. This statement shows that the policy gave choice to the provincial and area education departments to select medium of instruction while the federal government would play its part as a facilitator. But in the past, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the choice of selection of MoI was made by the federal government which was always challenged by the ethnic groups demanding autonomy in terms of decision making and selection of MoI. Explaining the reasons behind this decision the NEP 2009 states that the transfer of power of selection of MoI will fulfil the demand of the provinces and would lead to a more acceptable and highly implementable policy.

f) For 5 years, provinces shall opt to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu (or the regional official language). As can be seen, this policy statement seems contradictory to the previous one where the provinces are given the choice to select MoI for all subjects. This statement therefore is a condition, which denies the claim of the provincial autonomy. Such declarations will provide the ethnic groups with an evidence for blaming the federal government of their insincerity, which may encourage the people to stand against the policy. This as a result will complicate the situation and will lead the education system to severe crisis (Huizinga, 1994).

Conclusively, it can be argued that the NEP 2009 gives the impression of a complex picture in terms of MoI followed by the past policies. It aims to attain internationalisation while maintaining ideological values and regional culture at the same time. The statements thus appear dealing with the opposite thoughts of moderation, national identity and local cultures. These, as mentioned earlier, are contrasting ideas and hardly fit with each other (Khalique, 2003). Also, at some point it can be realised that the policy document lacks clarity and has contradiction among these three different but important doctrines of neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism. Besides this, the statements do not mention private sector

educational institutions while describing the MoI place. This means that this sector is once again exempted and will continue with the English language.

2.11 Implementation of NEP 2009 in Balochistan

This section looks at policy implementation in three scenarios. First, what is officially stated (the official policy); that is the principle or rule to guide decisions and achieve rational outcomes. Second, I compare this with what is actually happening on the ground, i.e. the enacted policy. This is important because an official policy does not normally denote what is actually done at the lower levels (Braun *et al*, 2010). Third, I look at the existing gaps or mismatch between the two and attempt to give plausible explanations based on various theoretical grounds and evidences from the corpus of literature consulted so far. The schematic representation can be summarised as follows:

The official policy statements	The enacted policy	Mismatch
What is stated	What actually happens	The existing gaps and why?

2.11.1   Medium of Instruction

2.11.1.1 Comprehensive Language Policy

NEP 2009 does not provide a particular language policy for the province of Balochistan, rather a general policy that applies to all provinces. The first language-related statement suggest that, *"a Comprehensive school language policy be developed with provincial governments and other stakeholders"* (p28). The policy does not mention how this statement will be applied in the province. As stated earlier, the provinces of Pakistan are diverse linguistically and culturally, and thus it is difficult for a policy to be equally implemented nationally. As a result, multilingualism is blamed for divisions in society (which Durkheim (in McGinn, 2008) negates by pointing out that in multilingual societies social cohesion and solidarity is achievable through people's recognition of mutual dependency). He explains that individuals can work for their own welfare and think better of others. Obviously,

maintaining social cohesion is essential because it is a growing field of interest of education policy and a major contributor of economic growth and income equality (McGinn, 2008; Osberg, 2003). Similarly, in Islam this way of living is called brotherhood and is part of Islamic belief. Unfortunately, the country is missing this factor and thus once again with the announcement of the MoI policy the supporters of Urdu, English and mother tongue began blaming each other for the issues. It shows that the official policy statement and the existing situation in the province of Balochistan have a mismatch. In such cases, will the comprehensive language policy be different and capable of dealing with the issues of all of these groups? And how will the policy reduce the public private and madrassa divides to achieve social cohesion in the province?

2.11.1.2 Implementation Plan of Action

One of the significant NEP 2009 statements, which apply equally to everyone in the province of Balochistan, declares that**:**

> *Ministry of education with provincial education department and provincial bodies and the public should develop comprehensive plan of action for implementing English language policy in the shortest possible time with emphasis on the disadvantaged areas (p28).*

This statement gives an idea of transformation of selection of MoI to the provinces that is permitting to the provinces to implement a MoI of their choice. In response to this statement the Punjab province opted for English, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for Pashtu while Sindh province for Urdu and Sindhi (as stated in Chapter 2, Sindh is divided into rural and urban, i.e. in the rural Sindh, Sindhi is MoI while in urban Sindh, Urdu is MoI). Balochistan has not yet opted for any policy. This delay is probably because, as explained by Fair (2012), the current undecided situation of the province, where some groups are demanding partition and provincial autonomy. Therefore, a decision objectionable to ethnic feelings may direct some on the way to further anger.

As stated in Chapter 2, there is hatred against English as the language of the colonial past and a threat against their religious values and cultural identity. As stated in Chapter 2, the rural areas of the province are facing the serious challenges of a lack of teachers, educational institutions, transportation methods and textbooks. The effects of policies can hardly reach there. Currently these areas are in the stronghold of violent activities of militants groups who dismiss all government writs (Rabia, 2011). Such an intense state of affairs shows a clear mismatch between the current situation of the disadvantaged areas of the province and the

policy statements and raises some questions. For example, due to an increased sense of extremisms in the province, will it be possible for the provincial and area governments to implement English successfully? In case English is announced as MoI, will the quality of English be similar to the one taught in the private sector?

2.11.1.3 Opportunity to Learn English

Another considerable characteristic of NEP, which applies equally to all provinces is that, **"**Children from low economic strata should be given opportunities to learn English." (p28) The Pakistani population is divided between the rich, the middle and the poor (Arif *et al*, 1999). This division is even more pronounced in the province of Balochistan. The poverty level in the province is higher than other provinces, a condition that undermines economic progress and keeps many children out of school. According to the Census Report (1998), the majority of people live in the villages where educational facilities and human development are lacking. The educational data of the country in Chapter 2 elaborates on this difference. The existence of Army Administered Cadet Colleges, residential colleges and elite private schools using English as MoI have not been of much help because they are serving the interests of the rich (Khan, 1997). The admission criteria and the costs in these institutions is beyond the reach of the people of the low economic class, most of whom have studied in the low-quality Urdu medium schools in the villages. Another major factor regarding English as MoI is that English is the language of the upper class and private schools are for the elites who will later join the upper class (Abbas, 1997). Due to this, children from poor families do not expect the government to avail them the opportunity in English medium school; rather they are competing for Urdu medium schools. Additionally, due to the low education-level of many parents, these children and their families do not realise the importance of English locally and globally. They foresee and believe that their children are going to dropout after the primary or secondary schools anyway and help them to earn a living. In such conditions, they opt for public or madrassa education, which is free of direct cost.

It can be argued here that the policy statement and the existing environment of the country contradict each other. The figures in Chapter 2 portray Balochistan as a province with the lowest literacy rate, enrolment rate, student teacher ratio; and this gap widens as one moves into the rural areas of the province (Anzar, 1999). Here, some of the children are unable to go to school because there are few schools and with fewer teachers. In places where enough schools and teachers are available, the requisite school facilities are seriously lacking or otherwise the teachers are not trained. This is a serious hindrance towards reducing poverty

and enhancing the social economic status of the area. The policy of English as MoI was implemented in the province in 1992 as well, which failed due to lack of teachers and resources (Huizinga, 1994). Thus, questions come into mind whether or not the government will be able to recruit, train and provide resources to the teachers for teaching English. Secondly, what will be the quality of English; will it be capable of helping the user integrate into the international job market? Is the level of instruction similar in quality to that in the private sector?

2.11.1.4 English, Urdu and Mathematics

NEP further states that,

> *The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject (p28)*

Recently, Urdu is MoI in all public sector schools of the province of Balochistan, while in middle and secondary stage, English serves as a compulsory subject. In colleges, the arts subjects are taught in Urdu while the Science ones are in English. Higher education in the province is in English, although the teaching and learning process is practically conducted in Urdu. Looking into the current situation of MoI in Balochistan, this policy statement faces lots of challenges. First of all, it confirms the existence of multilingual primary education, which involves English, Urdu and the regional language. This seems fine if the goal is to keep all the regional groups, Islamists and the liberals happy for a short time. It may also make the policy irresistible for a short period of time, but its successful implementation and long-term outcomes raise serious questions. And yet, it is an undeniable fact that running a multilingual education system requires qualified multilingual staff (Hooijer, 2008). In a multilingual province like Balochistan where there are several accents involved and the teachers are transferred from one district to another, the question is how will the government allocate teachers for these subjects, especially in the rural areas where one teacher teaches all classes and subjects? Additionally, the inclusion of these subjects needs resources, the major ones being textbooks. Due to the range of languages, will the government be able to publish books with a limited budget? Finally, in a province with many languages and diverse accents what regional language and accent is going to be selected?

2.11.1.5 Choice to Select MoI

NEP further assured that:

Provincial and area education departments shall have the choice to select medium of instruction up to class 5 (p28).

MoI was solely the decision of the federal government before NEP 2009, which declared Urdu as MoI in public sector schools and English in private ones as stated in Chapter 2. The Balochi and Pashtun ethnic sentiments have always challenged the MoI policy as a *Punjabi Muhajir* conspiracy (Murtaza, 2012; Shackle, 1970). Historically, the choice of MoI was given to the province in 1992 as well when Balochistan opted for Balochi and Pashto as MoI. Due to the diversified accents of Balochi and Pashto, and the minority languages, this policy led the province into ethnic controversies and did not achieve the intended goals. Once again this choice is given to the provinces and area government but it is unclear what language policy will be adopted. Except for Balochistan, the authorities in other provinces have already opted for MoI policies.

It may therefore be challenging for the provincial government to come up with a policy acceptable for all. For example, if the provincial government declares the mother tongue as MoI the outcomes can be similar to the 1992 policy when ethnic conflicts appeared because of the accent issue. In case the government is opting for Urdu, the situation may further become serious and the ethnic parties may use it for political benefits against the state as they have been doing in the past. And, if English is going to be the MoI, then the issue of poor quality of English, unqualified teaching staff and a serious lack of teaching-learning resources will crop up. Most probably a mismatch can be seen between the policy statement and the current situation of the MoI in the province. Again here questions on the effectiveness of the policy will be raised.

2.11.1.6 Mathematics and Science in English after 5 Years

NEP puts a condition on the provinces by stating that:

For 5 years provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only (p28).

The situation in schools, as of today, is that Science and Mathematics are taught in Urdu in the public sector schools. Thus, this policy statement does not match with the current situation on the ground in the province. The question is, why was such a choice given to provinces at this specific period? Is it an experimental case? What will happen if the provinces announce any other MoI now for Science and Mathematics? Will they have to

change it again after 5 years? In that case what about the achievements of the student, the resources and the allocation of budget? Moreover, how would the provinces train teachers for teaching these subjects in English if they were trained in other MoI? For a province like Balochistan with a serious shortage of resources this appears to be an insurmountable task. The questions pose some interesting contradictions given existing reality in the Balochistan province. Two years after the NEP 2009, GoB (2011) has noted that the situation of poor resources, serious lack of teachers, and high dropout rates still exist.

2.12 Implications of NEP on Balochistan

The current NEP of Pakistan is analysed with regards to MoI in the province of Balochistan. Looking at the current situation of the province and the policy announced some expected impact is highlighted. This is categorised into major and highly influential areas of the education system, which include teaching and learning, assessment and evaluation, textbooks and teacher training.

2.12.1   Teaching and Learning

The statements in NEP 2009, as pointed out by Coleman (2010), contest each other. I have shed light on those statements with special reference to their impact on the province of Balochistan. Collectively it is observed that the NEP 2009 has supported and planned English to be implemented as MoI from early years of education. At one point, it also mentions national and regional languages as MoI though for a short period of 5 years only. In another statement language policy is declared solely a provincial matter, which is linked with a condition of teaching Science and Mathematics in English after 5 years. It confirms that English occupies a special place in the national and provincial education system. As NEP 2009 sees, proficiency in English is essential for accessing quality education because it is the language of competence and opportunities. Those with ethnic sentiments see this statement as a plan to deny the children of the province from the much-needed socio-economic development. They argue that the background of English presented in NEP 2009 will create a negative attitude about their mother tongues. This was confirmed by Giglioli (1990), who believes that, when the children realise that their mother tongue is less important and somewhat stigmatised, it then contributes to the negative attitude from both teachers and students towards their language.

Historically, a large number of people, particularly in rural areas, have always rejected the policies of English (Jahani, 2005). This rejection is backed by the status of English, which

Sktubnabb-Kangas (2000) calls a 'submersion'. She explains that linguistically submersion is the concept where a language replaces the other one, which in the Balochistan context, those with ethnic sentiments are blaming English for doing so with the regional languages. Thus as argued by Benson (2004), submersion makes the teaching and learning difficult in an education system where the infrastructure is nominal, textbooks are not up-to-date and resources are missing. He further explains how the situation gets worse when the MoI is not the first language of the teacher. As stated earlier, when Balochistan opted for the policy of English as MoI in the past it was strongly resisted by the supporters of Urdu and mother tongue. They demanded the mother tongue due to its psychological, educational and cultural benefits. It is clear that the mother tongue is the best medium, which helps children in better learning and developing personalities and intellects (UNESCO 1951; Benson, 2004; Lee, 1993). This also suggests that an unfamiliar language such as MoI is a grave burden on children, which negatively impacts their learning (Jamal and Carol, 2001). Another psychological disadvantage of using MoI other than a mother tongue is pointed out by Benson (2004) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). There is a deficiency in reading that can affect the guessing strategies of the learners. As mentioned earlier, the question rises once again on the quality of English, which in the past remained poor. The reasons behind such low quality, as shown in Chapter 2, were untrained teachers with low qualifications, a lack of resources and a high student-teacher ratio. Consequently, similar to past policies, this decision of the NEP 2009, without solid planning and research, may cause high dropout rates, a low enrolment rate and reduced human development.

As stated earlier, the classrooms in Balochistan are multilingual; in case of regional languages as MoI the children from the minority languages will not be taught in the language spoken in their homes. This case is even more serious for teachers. For example, a teacher based in the Baloch region might be fluent in Balochi but not necessary in Pashto and Brahvi. Similarly, the teachers from the Pashtun regions may not speak Balochi and Brahvi. This most probably will affect teaching and learning when they are transferred/ shifted from one district/region to another. This may also create an issue of an insufficient number of qualified and trained teachers to teach in these languages.

By contrast, many parents are uninterested in regional languages due to their inherent low future prospects. Huizinga (1994, p53) found out in his study that 'parents in Balochistan demand Urdu and English as MoI and are uninterested and have a fairly low regard for regional languages. These languages have a lack of technical vocabulary, which is why reading material in these languages is virtually non-existent'. In addition to this the policy

of regional languages for 5 years and later English as MoI may negatively affect their learning and achievement. For example, students who were studying for five years in regional languages may find it difficult to catch up with Urdu or English at an advanced level. They will lag behind students in the private sector who are taught in English and never disturbed with the MoI issues. They will also face serious difficulties when they will switch to the policy of 'English, Urdu, and mathematics after 5 years'. Such frequent switches of MoI in the public sector may further spread the realisation of better performance and achievement in private schools. Similarly, this may further widen the gap between public and private and possibly threaten the social cohesion in the province. As argued by Abbas (1997) and Khan (1997), the private sector is normally continuing with English MoI. This helped this sector in building a realisation that stability in the private sector means it performs better than the public sector.

The statement of multilingual MoI encourages the teaching of English, Urdu, one regional language and mathematics. These are different subjects in the curriculum that will need good planning in order to be taught effectively. But the question arises on the successful implementation of this policy due to the background of the province, low educational budget and lack of resources for teaching these languages. Regional languages of Balochistan are under pressure from English and Urdu (Jahani, 2005; Mansoor, 1993). People feel shame to practice their mother tongues, because they are marked as a sign of backwardness. Under such prevailing facts the implementation of multilingualism looks artificial. Concerning the teaching of Mathematics in English the research of Abedi and Lord (2000) and Jamal & Carol (2001) verify it as, insignificant and less effective. They found out that the mathematical performance of children decreases when the subject is taught in an unfamiliar language. Accordingly, the mathematical content needs to be close to the familiar language of the child. Compared with the available literature and the current situation of the province the policy presents a multifaceted picture of language policy in the province which is described as monolingual, bilingual and multilingual revolving around the contradicting thoughts of regions, Islam and global needs at the same time. This policy is made for public sector schools that are already facing the pressing challenges of resources and finances. It seems here that problem lies in the way change is being managed in the province.

2.12.2   Assessment and Evaluation

Assessment plays a vital role in instruction because it helps in improving learning, diagnoses of learning-difficulties and further needs of students (Gardner, 2011). Unfortunately in

Pakistan and in Balochistan particularly, assessment is a neglected area. This is confirmed by Hasan in the White Paper on Education (2007), which shows that the quality of assessment is poor, and thus recommends better training of the examiners. A similar view is shared by NEP 2009, which states that the assessment system has many gaps. It is important to mention here that the problem becomes more serious as stated by Gardner (2011), when it comes to assessment in an unfamiliar language.

Historically, the teachers in the Balochistan province remained untrained in assessing the analytical abilities of their students. There is only one examination board and it does not follow any standard for paper or paper setters (GoB, 2011). Additionally no certification is required for assessment purposes, which is why the teachers are not able to develop test or evaluation approaches. Currently the assessment is based on traditional ways of rote memorisation, which may become more complicated with the policy of English (UNESCO, 2011). Guskey (2003) commented that the benefits of assessment are endless when it becomes to the integral part of the instructional process. But the situation in Balochistan is different, because here assessment is used for the promotion of the students into the next class only. Due to conventional ways of promotion, as Anzar (1999) reported, teachers always struggle with students who do not fit with the standards, causing dropouts and absenteeism.

Generally, as Gardner (2011) argues, the accurate assessment of children is possible when the children can articulate their views. Thus, in a class where MoI is a foreign language, the students may not be able to convey their message and the teacher may not test their abilities properly. Or, if as the NEP 2009 statement declares, English, Urdu, one regional language and mathematics are included in the curriculum, the assessment will be further complicated because of required resources, qualifications and training, which are currently missing. Also, an unclear language policy or a policy with opposing statements may affect the decision about training of examiners. Fundamentally, the policy of English might affect the assessment and evaluation of the children whose first language is not English. Such improper assessment may negatively impact their performance and achievements and dispossess them of white-collar jobs and the continuation of education (Rahman, 2005; 2006; Abbas, 1993). It is realised that the parent and the general public, particularly in the rural areas, believes that the education system is not productive and unable to create jobs. This realisation for which assessment is equally responsible, may lead to low enrolment and a sense of deprivation.

2.12.3   Textbooks

A textbook is a facilitator in teaching and learning which helps in the child's acquisition of knowledge and information (Horsley, *et al*, 2010). Due to this importance, textbooks and their provisions are both quantitatively and qualitatively and qualitatively widely-accepted. But textbooks in Balochistan, as stated by GoB (2011), are of poor quality, are less attractive and are written in an uninteresting narrative. Such textbooks may not be able to assist the analytical abilities of the students. In addition to this, a serious lack of quality in textbooks, when they do exist, show that the content is often not adapted to local needs (GoB, 2011). Even though the NEP emphasises the need for improvement of teaching and learning, Seguin (1989) believes that such efforts are insufficient without quality textbooks. In his report he mentioned the World Bank analysis, which verifies availability of textbooks as a constant factor in school success rate. This analysis was conducted in different regions of the world, showing that in 13 cases out of 24 the benefits of good textbooks are more favourable than good teacher training. It suggests that without quality textbooks even a trained teacher is unable to promote effective learning.

As stated earlier, the province has the lowest funds among the provinces of Pakistan. This policy, as estimated by Huizinga (1994), will cost an extra 50% for the publication of the textbooks with each policy change. The writing and editing cost will become higher; the members responsible for instructional material will be burdened and the developing of the titles may reach to 1,200 due to the multi-language policy. Accordingly, there will be a lack of textbooks and resources required for instructions, which lead classrooms towards dictation and students to rote memorization (Khan, 2011). Likewise, an unfamiliar language as MoI for teachers promotes inadequate communication and unclear information to the students (Muhammad and Kumari, 2007).

Though the province realises the important role of textbooks, it is unable to produce sufficient numbers of them. In 2007, the National Textbook Policy (NTP) was approved which shifted the responsibility of textbooks to the private sector. All other provinces have started implementation of NTP except Balochistan, which only established a Resource Centre with the assistance of German International Cooperation. Consequently, the production of textbooks began with international and private sector's financial and technical assistance. This backing might include content of international demands, which could not suit the local desires and requirements of a child or in case it does, may be artificial or irrelevant. In that case Muhammad and Kumari (2007) think only relevant textbooks with

the life experiences of students set them up for real life. For example, the subject of science includes experiments, which the schools are unable to perform due to a lack of resources, particularly in rural areas (Khan, 2011). In such cases the teacher may not teach and clarify the concepts, but rather ask for memorization of the information. This means the author of the textbook seems more concerned about inclusion of material, without integration of the activities with the local resources and realities (Muhammad and Kumari, 2007).

Besides all this, the successful development, implementation and distribution of textbooks is an expensive process, which requires rigorous management and well-trained human resources. The developing of textbooks in regional languages, as Huizinga (1994) stated, will pose problems, because these languages have a lack of technical vocabulary and lack of writers. Also, due to the massive size of the area of the province, some of the schools in rural areas are inaccessible and situated in distant areas, which make the distribution a challenging assignment and may posit complications.

2.12.4   Teacher Training

The implication of any policy can be best judged by its effects on teachers due to their central role in an education system. This factor places their training on a high priority because only well trained and adequately-skilled teachers can promote quality teaching and learning. Diamond (1991) confirms that, teacher training is essential for the development of skills, attitude and knowledge, which enables a teacher to understand the problem of the children, their evaluation and learning outcomes. Currently, the situation as explained in the Report on Teacher Education (2006), is that teachers in the province administer the classes in traditional teaching styles, which involve dictating and note taking. They fail to cultivate any creative thinking, inquiry-based learning or problem solving methods. Similarly, the in-service teacher training has no structure to gauge its impact (Akram and Mahmood, 2007). Such training in the province involves a nominal qualification, i.e. matriculation with Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) for primary and intermediate with Certificate in Teaching (CT) for secondary stage. Both certificates are of 9 months only and as NEP (2009) declares, are of poor quality and involve low emphasis on practical training.

The availability of teachers is another serious issue the province has been facing for a long time now. Especially the shortfall of science and mathematics teachers, as pointed out by GoB (2011), is serious because of the absenteeism of the teachers. Additionally, the social status of the teachers, long distances, and a lack of accountability are all factors responsible

for the low number of teachers. Teacher training in the province is of poor quality and as a UNESCO Report shows, mainly rely on theory and dictation, which has no positive effects on the learning and education. With an applied linguistic perspective, Akram and Mahmood (2011) think the teachers in the province have English as a second language, have which is why they take low enthusiasm in teaching it. Therefore, these teachers, who are mostly a product of the Urdu medium schools, require a lengthy pre-service and in-service training to teach quality English. It is already shown in Chapter 2 that the teachers in the province are lacking training and professional skills because of a fewer number of training institutions. In such a situation where the teachers are untrained and the classrooms are unequipped, poor quality English may affect language skills. As a result, even after learning these students will not be able to secure white-collar jobs because their English language will not meet the standards of the job market. Most likely due to a lack of training, the teachers union in the past opposed English as MoI. They argued that shifting the MoI without resolving other imperative issues of teacher training is not likely to lead to significant improvement in educational services. Once again without the support of teachers the implementation of this policy seems difficult and will affect the quality of education provided.

Finally, the policy statements with regards to access are major in impact. The impacts are viewed in the light of the above categories of teaching, learning, assessment and evaluation, textbooks and teacher training, but there is a huge mismatch between the existing situation of these areas and the policy statements about access. Thus, a general overview of the impact is sketched. The policy statements are unrealistic and seem unattainable which without a doubt, as Huizinga (1994), Abbas (1993), Khalique (2006), Mahboob (2003), and Rahman (1996) stated, are made under political pressure without involving educational and scientific evidences. Obviously, the education system of the province is influenced by the politics of the competing groups, which most of the time influence the making of policy. For the sake of an example I want to mention here the NEP 2009 statement about the 'achievement of 100% Early Childhood Education by 2015'. By now, the province of Balochistan has only achieved 1.5% of this target. Due to a shortage of trained teachers, low educational budget and short-term planning it is not realistic that the province will attain the remaining 98.5% in next 3 years (GoB, 2011). Were this not the case, more thought would have been given to the wider, and especially educational, impact of the policy.

Though the policy regarding the access to education has ideal targets comes with the additional pressing challenges of resources and funding. The EFA goals are universal, but their attainment is not possible with the current educational budget allocated by the province

for education. In this case the goals of the EFA and the MDGs will be funded by International Organisations. Their financial aid will be constrained to include the material from those international organisations. Such material is unlikely to suit the local cultures and the regional norms. Such instructions in the education system can cause negative attitudes from parents and communities, particularly in rural settings.

2.13 Conclusion

Eventually, it can be argued that the government of Pakistan and the policy makers are aiming to promote literacy and provide education to all, as it is believed to be a major source of economy, base for ideology and a device of power. Due to the nature of the education policies, there remain unsolved questions in the mind of the public concerning the provision and access to education. As shown in the data, there are a large number of children out of school because of a lack of access. Among those who are in school, a large number are deprived of quality education due to missing facilities and high student-teacher ratio, which highly influences the achievement and the personality of the children (Hussain, 2003; Fisher, 2001). At the same time, there are children securing education in elite schools with fully-equipped classes, trained teachers and English as MoI. Such traditional political styles of policy provide the basis for a strong debate which keeps the issues of provision and access and MoI in education in conflict, surrounded by controversies (Mahbob, 2003; Siasiat, 2010; Khalique, 2006; Rasool, 2007; Rahman, 1997; Mujahid, 1999; Abbas, 1993).

It was also shown earlier in this chapter through data that the education system of Pakistan has difficulties with the gender issue and to equally facilitate the urban and rural population. These important, but neglected areas show the challenges faced by the policy-making process. Looking into the data, the question comes to mind, whether the social and cultural norms and traditions are in the favour of promotion and access to education. Do the financial allocations and political will support the goals of quality and universal education? And finally, do these different factors involved in the policy-making process think and act similarly in terms of access to education and selection of MoI? According to some critics (Abbas, 1993; Khalique, 2006; Mahboob, 2003; Rahman, 1997; National Report of Education, 2009), the process of education policy making in the country does not involve research, scientific evidence, critical thinking, representation of the locals and political will. Consequently, the absence of these aspects will deprive the country of a successful education policy, which will cause problems to the selection of MoI, access to education, the true spirit of religion, stable economy and the promotion of regional cultures.

In addition to this, the absence of a uniform MoI policy and access to education might possibly lead the nation towards a socio economic divide. Such divide may further widen the gap between the people and categorize them into groups of liberals, Islamists and nationalists. Such categorization may declare English as MoI as predicted by Rahman (1997), and Abbas (1993), as a language of the upper class, with Urdu for the lower class and regional languages for the underclass. In terms of access, it may categories elite English medium schools for the rich, low quality English medium schools for the middle class while public schools and the madrassa for the poor (Khalique, 2006; Mahboob, 2003). It is worth mentioning here that, this socio-economic divide is a barrier for the progress and development of the country as a single unit. Such a classification also negates the Islamic fundamentals of a welfare state, the ideology of Pakistan and the regional cultures, which emphasize on the equality of human beings.

Apart from the difference on the individual level, there is a visible comparison among the provinces too, in terms of selection of provision, access and MoI in education. Pakistan thus, in its short history, has witnessed several inter-provincial conflicts and movements due to these differences. As stated in the first section of this chapter, Balochistan, the largest province of Pakistan (area wise) is rich in minerals, but still the most deprived among all since the independence of Pakistan. This deprivation comes primarily from the limited provision and access to education. Such aspects promote considerable anger from different groups of the province at the Pakistani state.

The chapter also highlighted that the characteristics of the policy-making process plays an important role in the development of the country. It is widely recognised that education policy-making is essential for an updated and improved education system in the country. The announcement of NEP 2009 seems to follow such thinking. The need for a successful education policy and its implementation in the province of Balochistan is urgent and compelling as currently educational provision is alarmingly backward. Among others the controversial MoI policies put the province under ethnic conflicts and anti-state activities. There are groups, which have turned to demands for outright independence in recent times.

Also, the NEP 2009 mentions provincial autonomy in selecting the MoI. As a result different provinces opted for different languages as MoI. The policy process in Balochistan is still under development which according to the Policy Planning and Implementation Unit (PPIU) will be completed in short period of time (GoB, 2010). Such a delay coupled with an unclear language policy in public sector schools may further negatively impact access to education,

enrolment and the dropout rate. Improving education requires not only policy making but also effective implementation and as we have seen, on the whole the literature has highlighted that the policy is complex and contradictory.

Chapter 3 – Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Having provided the context of the study, access and provision to education in Pakistan and the current NEP 2009 guiding provision of education in the country (Chapter 1 and 2), this chapter specifies the theoretical foundations used to complete this work. Essentially, the purpose of this research study is to explore the current debate on NEP 2009 with regards to public opinion on the issue of the MoI in schools and colleges in Pakistan as expressed through public and social media during one year (Jan. 2010- Jan. 2011). In-depth investigation of comments in on-line newspapers, blogs and social forums indicated how the language education policy of Pakistan is interpreted and the implications this may have for the provision of education in one particular province of Pakistan, Balochistan.

The first part of this chapter details the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, which includes a description of epistemological issues covering important considerations in the process of research design. It further explains the advantages, limitations and the ethical and legal issues of the selected method. The remainder of this chapter provides a detailed description of the data collection and data analysis process.

3.2 Research Design

Fundamentally, in social research the importance of a theoretical structure for a research project before the data collection is vital. For this purpose a research design is required, which is, according to Maxwell (2005); Creswell (1994); and Yin (1994), a logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study's initial research questions. This connection helps in, as explained by DeVaus (2001, p9), 'answering the initial questions as unambiguously as possible'. For example, what are the key issues of MoI in public debate? Who are the participants and what are the implications of public debate related issues for education in the province of Balochistan? This research structure provides as Hardy and Bryman (2004) and Thietart *et al*, (2001) pointed out, a guide to the collection and analysis of data and highlights various components of the research (questions, objectives, methodology and results). These components are brought together to address and help in exploring the current debate on NEP 2009 with special reference to Balochistan.

Compared with the data collection method it can be argued that research design is a wider concept, expanding throughout the lifetime of a project. Therefore, Saunders *et al,* (2003)

call attention to the regularity of research design by using the metaphor of an 'onion'. To reach to the depth of the debate and to extract meaning from the text, I have come up with an onion metaphor appropriate to capturing this (as can be seen in the figure below). This 'onion' metaphor gives evidence of research design as a central point to the research methodology.

Diagram 3.1, the onion
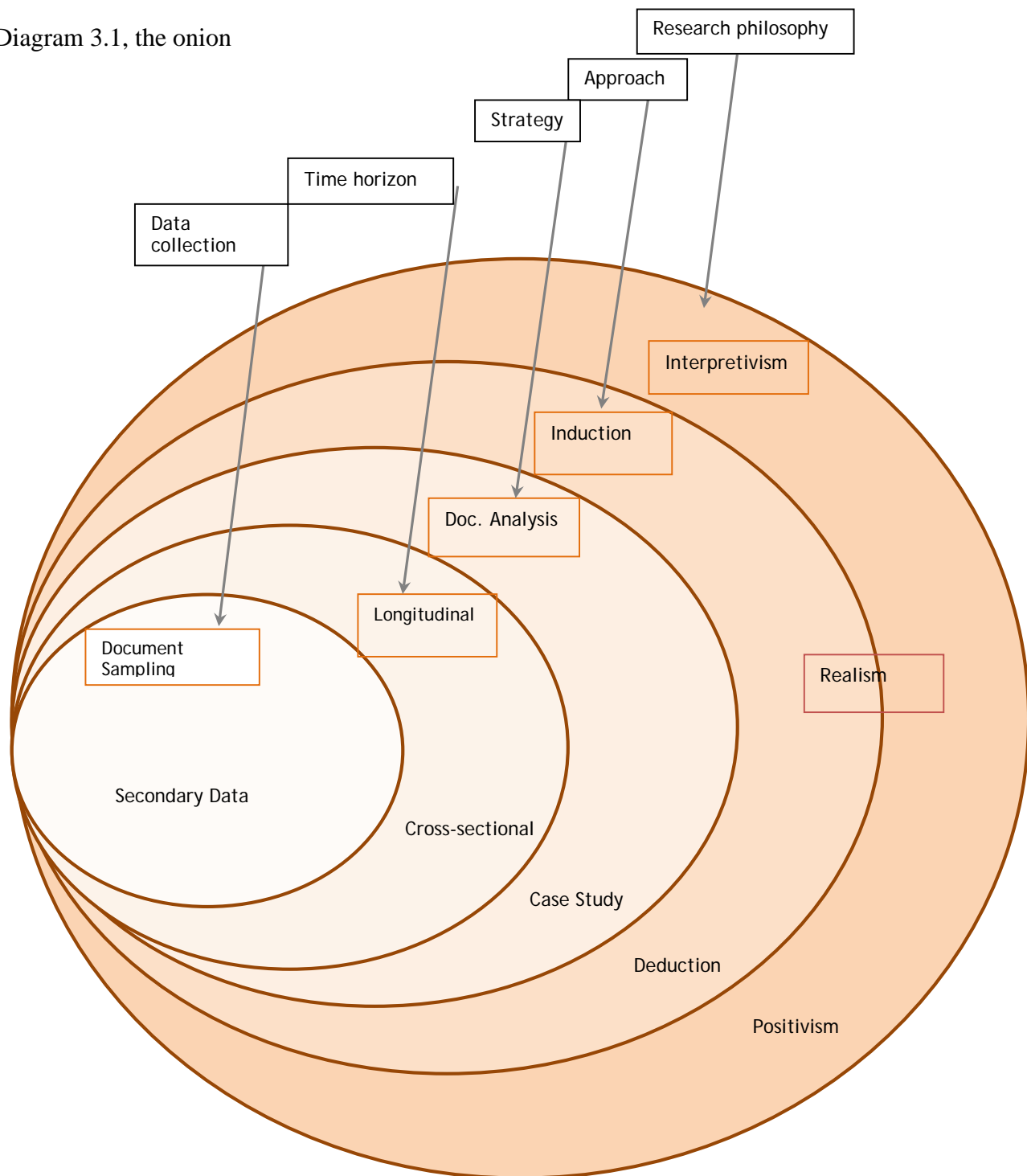
Source: adapted from Saunders *et al,* (2003, p83)

In research studies the layers of 'onion' signify the layers of research philosophy, research approach, research strategy, time horizons and data collection. Ultimately peeling away these layers will direct the researcher to the central point of the research 'onion', where an appropriate choice of data collection and analysis methods can be made. The onion metaphor was adopted in this research endeavouring to guarantee that the research is consistently and appropriately designed and conducted.

3.2.1 Research Philosophy

Research philosophy is the first layer of the research 'onion' which basically defines the epistemological point of view of the researcher. In general, epistemology is represented by two major paradigms, that is, positivist and interpretivist (Bryman 2008; Saunders, *et al*, 2003; Travers 2001; Seale, 1999; Guba and Lincoln, 1989). The research philosophy referred for this research is interpretivism because it allows the researcher to understand the reality of the situation and investigate a new cases. In fact, the aim of the interpretivist is to understand the situations and give reasonable and acceptable accounts (Varey *et al*, 2002).

Concerning NEP 2009 each Pakistani individual can perceive, understand and make sense of its implementation in different ways. For this reason, the researcher adopted the interpretive paradigm and was fundamentally concerned with the thinking, ideas and meaning of policy-makers and the people. The researcher furthermore sought to understand the participants of the debate and their subjective perceptions and interpretations of the policy about MoI and the related situations in which they think about the policy. A conceptual framework, therefore, helps in adequately answering questions and finding a link between the existing literature and the researcher's own goal which is explained below in details.

3.2.1.1 Method of Analysis

During the course of this study, a broad set of concepts, ideas and terms proved helpful at different stages of the research process such as, identifying the problem, designing the research questions, finding relevant literature, collecting data and effective ways of analysing. Perspectives from Critical Policy Sociology, Social Constructionism and policy study and the referencing of traditional forms of debating controversial issues, as noted in Smyth (2004), acted as tools to guide the inquiry.

3.2.1.1.1   Policy Sociology

Policy Sociology was one of the key concepts as my main focus was to understand the genesis of public debate regarding which language should be chosen for instruction and why? As stated in chapter 1, after the NEP (2009) came into force, a strong debate in public and social media began among teachers, students, politicians, educationists, linguists, and journalists, among others, regarding the implications of the policy and its statements. Views from these various actors were expressed publicly through digital media in the course of a one-year snap-shot. Policy sociology helped in understanding how those actors have viewed the policy text, the discourse and its practicalities in schools (Ball, 1993, Bowe *et al.*, 1992; Ozga, 1987).

Policy sociology (sometimes also known as Critical Policy Sociology) has been a popular research methodology for analysing educational policies. Because as Ozga (2005); Whitty (2002; 2001); Apple (1996); Grace (1995); and Ball (1998; 1990) suggest, it is grounded in the inherent tension in the creation of education policies, as is the case with the NEP 2009 with regards to MoI where different groups are demanding the policy in their favour. Ozga (2005; 1987) and Giroux (1983) also add that policy sociology is often meant to improve people's way of life by maintaining inequality and conservative social formation. Policy making is conceived as process, and thus policy-makers have to adhere to a democratic approach and yet it is generally accepted that this is not always the case (Ball, 1990; 1944; 1998). My study was heavily influenced by this concept but for pragmatic reasons and in order to achieve some clarity in a complex, muddled and controversial field of inquiry, I decided to focus on participants in contemporary discourse about MoI policy in Pakistan using a snapshot of dialogue that took place through the web social media.

In studies of this nature, one cannot avoid touching on the transformation and restructuring of society and especially how the ideological politics of the country have been informed by these transformations. There are evidences though where the policy researchers have prioritised structures at the expense of cultural values, as is explained by Heelsand Morris 1992 (quoted in Ball 1997). In the case of the Baluchistan Province – a land with a substantial number of traditional communities that have for years been marginalised and yet required to adhere to national education policies, I felt necessary and through the views of the participating actors to establish how such policies have advocated for their emancipation and empowerment in order to enhance national unity and security. Creswell (1994) suggests that

the emancipation of the powerless is best suited to tackle issues of power distribution and dominance of one group on the other.

Since its independence in 1947, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan witnessed subsequent social-cultural changes that ushered in huge upheavals in the cultural, technological, economical and societal values (Haqqani, 2004; Khan, 1997; Ahmed, 1991). In the faith arena however, the predominance of Islam as a way of life has tended to persist. Recent trends however and especially after the 9/11 incidence, fanatical groups with different names have emerged and all of them claiming that they are there in defense of the faith. Within this background, education policies were created to address emerging social problems. In order to explore and explain these education policy matters, and especially on the most recent education national policy, insights from Policy Sociology were illuminative.

In the current era, the making of educational policies, just like the making of other public policies, has been impacted by globalization. Whilst the globalisation supporters appreciate this notion, Ozga (2005) and Ball (1994) see it as a force that brings in a variety of challenges and in so doing, affects the political and governance agendas of the country. In as far as theoretical studies are concerned, Pokewitz (1984) and Forester (1995), assert that policymaking is located in the social-cultural milieu of society, but at times this may appear to contradict the body of existing social theories. Policy making is a subtle, practical, institutionally framed set of communicative-cum-rhetorical activities, which do not hold hostage the sociological and political analysis of policy, contestation, and implementation processes. Theory can also be treated as a source of research questions and a set of closely argued hunches about the ways the actors of public debate make sense together (Forester, 1995).

These are all interesting assertions in as far as Pakistan is concerned and hence in my study, I was also keen to establish the extent to which these global forces have had an impact on the predominant Pakistan values and culture and specifically on the predominant faith – Islam. It means there are challenges in terms of changes in the structure, scope and function of education policy which according to Ball (1997) is because of the global policy space. Generally, educational policies ought to be recognised as having both national and international character under the increasing influence of international organisations as pointed out earlier. Due to their strong influencing powers, these institutions have managed to change the structure, scope and function of educational policies so as to pay more attention to economic growth. Policy debates at global level therefore should be recognised to

constitute a separate level from that of a national level. Thus in order to theorise about educational policy today, there is a need of recognising the national and international fields. As in my study where the Pakistani authors living abroad have highlighted the international perspective in their texts i.e. economic prosperity, global job market, etc. (for details see Chapter 4 and 5) regarding the selection of MoI. Generally, this study intends to analyse and reflect on what the participants of the debate have posted through the digital media channels.

Another challenge is power relations. Within national fields of power, the education policies take on economic characters because of the close relationship between them (education and the economy of a country). As stated in Chapter 2 and as explained by Lingard & Rawolle (2004), and Gewirtz, *et al*, (2004), with the introduction of globalisation the autonomy of a country's education policies is somehow reduced. In Pakistani context the NEP 2009 clearly highlights international influence in terms of selection of MoI. Such 'influence' to some of the groups of the MoI debate is problematic. Policy sociology is therefore preferred as it deals with the inborn tensions of education policies.

3.2.1.1.2   Social Constructionism

Social constructionism was another key concept used in understanding the NEP 2009 debate. This concept is also known as *social construction of reality* and is defined as a perspective, which suggests that a major part of human life is influenced by social and interpersonal influences (Hickman, *et al*, 2009; Burry, 1995; Gergen 1985). This definition makes this concept interested in anthropology-related aspects of culture as well as sociological aspects of society. Social constructionism considers individuals as key segments of the culture, politics and history of society in specific times and places. The concept also asserts that *all* other aspects of humanity are created, maintained and destroyed through interaction with others through time (Berger and Luckmann, 1991).

As Lock and Strong (2010) have explained that propounded by influential thinkers such as Jurgen Habermas, Emanuel Levinas, Mikhail Bakhtin, Lev Vygotsky, Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault among others, social constructionism can be regarded as a theory that assumes that understanding, significance, and meaning are developed in coordination with other human beings and not individually. This theory thus sticks to the following two main areas; 1) every human has its own model of the social world and its functionalities which mostly comes from experiences and (2), language is essential for the construction of reality. In the light of this theory the debate on MoI must be inclined by the background, mother

tongue, region and socio-economic class of the participants which was also highlighted in the literature review.

A major focus of social constructionism however is to reveal the ways in which people take part in the process of constructing what they perceive as social reality by looking at the ways through which social phenomena are created and institutionalized in society. Social construction of reality is, therefore, a process where people interpret in the light of their own familiarities and understandings to create knowledge. One example can be the explanation of the ethnic sentiments and Urdu supporters who believe English as 'the language of enemy' (as stated in the literature review). This means, as noted in Berger and Luckmann (1991) and Gergen (1985) that social construction refers not only to material objects and facts, but also to beliefs that people hold about them.

Social constructionism can be defined in multiple ways due to the fact that it recognises that multiple realities are generated by the diverse interactions between the individuals who construct these realities. It means that it does not produce a unitary definition as such as knowledge is constructed through social contexts (Cojocaru, *et al,* 2012; Burr, 1995). It is worth remembering in looking at the relationship between social constructionism i.e., knowledge and language. First of all language, communication and discourse are considered means of interaction between individuals who construct multiple realities. These realities are created by people who communicate through language. These participants in the communicative act influence each other in the process. In Pakistani contexts, as explained in Chapter 1, *Virtual Jirga* can be one possible model where participants share diverse ideas and explanations for constructing *knowledge* about the selection of MoI.

Finally, as stated earlier social constructionism focuses on the *relations* through which social actors construct realities. Here, the assumption is that the language people use in order to understand the world is a social creation as well as a product of history that results from exchanges between people (Berger and Luckmann, 1991; Gergen, 1985). In other words, reality is interactive as people give meaning to their own experiences through interaction with the environment (Van der Haar, 2002). In Pakistani, however, language can be one example which grew with the independence of the country. The reason is probably that the supporters of each MoI group i.e. Urdu, English, Mother Tongue and uniform education believe their favourite language is the only guarantee for better education, economic stability and social cohesion. How accurate they are in their claims remain a question mark because Cojocaru and Sandu (2011) and Van der Haar (2002) think that knowledge is a human

creation than a stand-alone object which needs negotiation processes, in Pakistan, however, *Virtual Jirga* can be one such process.\

3.2.2 Research Approach

The research approach is the second layer of the 'onion', which is divided into deductive and inductive approaches (Saunders *et al*, 2003). The deductive approach emerges from positivists while the inductive ones use the underlying epistemology of the interpretivists. This research study is based on interpretivism and thus is inductive in nature. This approach is best suited to this research study because it will offer a better understanding of the issues and participants of the public debate (Saunders *et al,* 2003). Another advantage of this approach can be as stated by Hardy and Bryman (2004), Padget (1998), and Miller and Dingwall (1997), its flexibility and the connection between interpretivism and qualitative research.

As indicated in Chapter 1 and 2, the selection of MoI and the language policy making in Pakistan is a complex issue, which is why I have chosen an inductive approach (qualitative approach) to try to understand how construction of language policy is interpreted by the public. As Padget (1998) argues, for less known topics a qualitative approach is highly recommended. In my study Balochistan province in particular lacks much literature regarding policy related issues.

Secondly, as outlined in Chapter 2, education policy in Pakistan is made and implemented by the government for the well-being of the public, improvement of the education system and expansion of the overall expansion of progress. There is then a need for an interpretation of the debate about policy in terms of its selection, implementation and impact. People in Pakistan live with a shared belief (Islam), but they have different meanings in terms of regional and linguistic developments as the Commonwealth of Learning Report (2000) explained. In such a case, as argued by Bryman (2008), the inductive approach helps in understanding the context of a problem**.** Finally, giving preference to a qualitative over a quantitative approach in this study is because the latter approach can only describe the change in a policy, but is unable to mention the when, why and how of it, as Cassell and Symon (1994) stated.

3.2.3 Research Strategy

The next layer of the research 'onion' is known as a research strategy which bridges the previous two layers, that is, research philosophy and the research approach (Saunders *et al*, 2003; Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). Research strategy explains the data collection approach to answer the research questions. It consists of different strategies, which include documentary analysis, survey, interview, case study, etc. Therefore, it is a complete plan that encompasses the required data, source of data, time frame and the data analysis method (Saunders *et al*, 2003; Robson, 2002). As my study is based on a one-year snapshot, documentary analysis research strategy will be used to explore the public debate and its participants. This issue will be explored by looking at historical and contemporary documents for policy and existing public media expression for discussion of responses.

3.2.3.1   Documentary Analysis

To explore the current public debate on NEP 2009, which can be seen as being responsible for MoI issues, the views of the people are essential. But it is hard to know such views due to the involvement of people from different regions, a range of languages and their diverse educational backgrounds. To deal with this issue the documentary analysis was deemed the most appropriate technique and essential strategy in order to adequately research the 2009 education policy, the MoI debate and its implications for Balochistan province. Mainly, this technique deals with texts and images, which can be read and interpreted as explained by Nueman (2000) and Howarth (2000). This technique is most frequently descriptive and qualitative in approach, which can be based on the interpretation of the texts as Verma and Mallick (1999) mentioned. The texts, however, cover a wide range of NEP and MoI related debates in digital media, government publications, newspapers, magazines, journals, census reports and videos.

The selected texts were accessed through the internet, because this tool has major implications for future research. As McCulloch (2004) stated, it is a significant part of the modern day world and a rapidly-growing trend and thus, has major implications for future research. In addition, as the research questions this study brings up are representative of social perspectives, Bloyce (2009) thinks they are best analysed using a documentary analysis due to the involvement of social interactions. Krippendorff (2004) and Cohen, *et al,* (2002) confirm that this strategy remains eminent and more useful over other strategies of inquiry due to the provision of an opportunity of a thorough analysis. As stated earlier, the texts selected to be analysed for this research study involved a range of sources, i.e.

newspapers, magazines, blogs, and social forums. In such conditions a documentary analysis seems the most appropriate, because one of its main advantages is its central aspect of social interaction as it directly looks at the communication via texts or transcripts, which according to Krippendorff (2004), is not possible to get through other techniques. Also, Bryman (2008) adds that this type of analysis provides cultural and historical insights which if seen in Pakistani contexts are central to education policies. As indicated in Chapter 1, public and social media in Pakistan is highly trusted as a social forum due to its accessibility. This way documentary analysis provides valuable provision of both cultural and historical insights through analysis of the text.

MoI in Pakistan is a sensitive issue, which involves cultures from different regions. To make it more adaptable a documentary analysis was best suited because of its central location in social interaction as it deals with cultures and media efficiently. Nueman (2000) gives further explanation that documentary analysis allows the researcher probe the text in a different way for discovery purposes. It means that documentary analysis is a non-reactive way because it does not involve participants in the study, but acknowledges voice. That means the researcher can hear the message through the writer's words.

As Gottweis suggests, the policy making process consists of a link between political and non-political elements (1998 cited in Fischer, 2003) which makes the understanding of the policy different for two different people. One of the best possible examples can be the people of Pakistan living in different regions of the country. If we compare people of Balochistan with other provinces of Pakistan the importance of MoI might be different due to the regional background and cultural implications of the province. Similarly, the awareness of the people about the place and prominence of education policy with regards to MoI can also impact the views of different people. One may see it in the light of religion and culture while the other possibly will look at it as a source of economy and a job. This personal interpretation of the text presents the researcher with a bias, which results in the researcher's own version of reality. But to minimise the bias and maximise the reliability of the reality in documentary analysis McCulloch (2004) suggests the use of different documents, which will represent alternative viewpoints and interests, as I did in my study. In addition, to increase the reliability of the research, documentary analysis provides a check and recheck of the documents without imposing it on the participant.

3.2.4 Time Horizon

The fourth layer of the research 'onion' presents the time horizon of this research study. Basically, there are two types of research time horizons, which are differentiated by Bryman (2008); Saunders *et al, (*2003); and Yin (1994) as, (i) cross-sectional studies and (ii) longitudinal studies. Cross-sectional research tends to study a phenomenon at a particular time whereas longitudinal studies collect data over a certain period of time (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, education and language policies in Pakistan are dominant and extensively embedded in the history of Pakistan (Khalique, 2006; Khan, 1997; Rahman, 1997; Abbas, 1993). Pakistan had 9 educational documents in total since 1947. These education policies were announced under different regimes with different aims, which include the education system to be inspired by the ideology of Pakistan, represent local cultures and meet global challenges. As mentioned in Chapter 2, these aims led the education system to be divided on the lines of neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism in different time of history of Pakistan. These contrasting thoughts have provided the basis for controversial debates on education policy throughout the country. Thus, this study explores the current debate on NEP 2009 covering one whole year, which starts soon after the announcement of the policy. Due to this particular time, longitudinal research seems more appropriate because it has, as argued by Bryman (2008); DeVaus (2001); Sarantakos (1998), and Saunders, *et al,* (2003), the capacity to study changes and development in the policy.

In addition to this, longitudinal research is useful as it facilitates a comparison of NEP 2009 with the past policies in terms of MoI. Beside this, there were limited opportunities to conduct cross-sectional research because of a limited number of fact and figures (data). This is probably because Pakistan gained its independence in 1947 and due to its short history it is hard to obtain access to past documents. Secondly, even though the data is available the figures and data given by the government and the private organisation differ from each other, which can affect the findings of this study.

3.2.5 Data Collection

The next layer of the 'onion' refers to the data collection technique used for this research study. This technique was done with document sampling, collected from a one year snapshot (January 2010 to January 2011) through digital media. The texts used in this research study are, therefore, selected from sources where the national education policy and MoI of Pakistan

were discussed. Document sampling was preferred over other techniques because of following reasons.

First of all this technique generates reliable facts. As mentioned in earlier chapters, the political system in Pakistan has remained traditional since the existence of Pakistan where the ruling and opposition parties are in direct conflict with each other's policies to secure political benefits (Mahboob, 2003). In such situations interview or questionnaire would probably affect the results of the study due to the bias of the respondents (i.e. policy makers, politicians and experts). Document sampling was therefore chosen because as Nueman (2000) argues, it is a convincing and generates reliable and replicable facts.

Secondly, this technique does not any face to face contact with the participants. In Pakistan, however, getting an access to the participants especially the politicians and the top policy makers for interview or filling a questionnaire is not easy, thus, texts were useful to get a direct link with their works and writings for analysis purposes. This characteristic, as explained by Bryman (2008) and Nueman (2000) makes this technique flexible and creative over other ones.

Thirdly, document sampling has the ability to describe social actions, which refer to the origins of meaning (Wetherell *et al*, 2001a, 2001b). As stated earlier, education policies in Pakistan involve different variables, in such cases documentary analysis strategy can be used to comprehend this relationship through communication sources, for example, verbal and non-verbal interactions, historical events and statements (Fischer, 2003).

Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 2 and as Hamel (2005) argues, the selection of MoI policy has its own momentum in the history of any state. But particularly if we think in the Pakistani context, it is a complicated issue deeply-rooted in the ideology of the state because of its linkages with religion, the colonial past and the multilingualism of the country. The involvement of these thoughts kept MoI controversial. Therefore, it was important to overview the previous policies which would only be obtained through document sampling rather than doing a survey or interviewing people.

The appropriate selection of research philosophy, approach, strategy, and time horizons contributed to the research design in a consistent and logical way.

3.3 Objectivity

Objectivity however has remained debatable among traditionalists and modernist schools of thought with the former emphasising the need for it and the latter believing that total objectivity is almost impossible as all research studies are influenced by certain viewpoints (Daston & Galison, 2007; Gaukroger, 2001; Eisner, 1992). However both schools of thoughts are agreed on the point that objectivity makes the social research valid.

3.3.1 Researcher's objectivity

Throughout this study, my aim has been to remain as impartial as possible from the planning to the report-production stage so as to uncover reality in a way that would not contaminate it. I did not however lose sight of the fact that it was almost impossible for me to be completely 'neutral' in order to be objective as argued by Wolcott (1995). This was because I was studying a subject at my heart. I had interest in it and it was this interest that became an impulse to propel me forward to propose and shape the research problem to be investigated as well as the key research questions. My 'persona' was therefore involved all along. As asserted in Chapter 1, my own childhood in rural Baluchistan Province and school life from the early grades to undergraduate level had left unanswered several questions on the Pakistan education system, crucial amongst them being 'which language of instruction is appropriate for Pakistani schools'!. Embarking on this study was therefore a way of searching for answers.

That is to say my previous experiences were related to the subject in a positive way and thus enhanced it. So I reflected on myself (my knowledge, experience, beliefs, religion) and adopted a view that 'no reality can exist independent of human perception' (Rubin & Rubin, 1995 p32). After all, mine was a research study in education ─ a subject that is concerned with human beings and the way they behave.

Conclusively, I argue that in the study, I was not detached from what I was pursuing, rather, I got involved e.g. in data collection, data interpreted and report production. I thus was the passage through which information flowed through and across; in this way, I affected the study just as the study affected me (Lichtman, 2014).

3.3.2 Methodological Objectivity

Keeping the objectivity of the research in mind I chose documentary analysis as almost all other techniques may lead to subjectivity one way or the other (Ratner, 2002). For example, in case of participant observation the observer as a result of nativisation obtains a partiality in favour of the group they are studying. Similarly, for interviews, the data may be influenced by context, the interaction, and participant's definition of the situation. In terms of field study the researcher may direct his study to the wish and well of the population (See Monahan and Fisher, 2010) for an example showing how subjectivity can be an elusive goal.

In this study, I adopted Tim (2011) views that objectivity is only possible if the result obtained from one should be cross-checked with those from the others. To explore the debate on NEP 2009 texts were selected from a range of sources for objectivity purposes. The collection of range of texts from authors from different fields, gender and regions helped in reducing the biasness to significant level because it has assisted the researcher to match and check re-check the information.

This research study is also objective on the grounds that the researcher has given complete independence to the authors of the texts and the participants of the debate (Eisner, 1992). Such non-involvement has given them freedom to the authors to make autonomous judgements through writing about their favourite MoI.

3.4   Reliability of the Research Method

This research study involves texts produced by humans as a part of its measurement procedure. That's why it is important to note that the achieved result is reliable and consistent. Basically, reliability proves consistency, which according to Nueman (2000) and Nachmias & Nachmias (1996), is central in all measurement. In documentary analysis first of all the main indicator of measuring the reliability as Hodson (1991) mentioned is the time spent by the researcher in collecting the data. For my study, this essential indicator was realised and carefully observed before the process. The debate on the policy with regards to MoI was explored by collecting data from public and social media. The period selected for such texts was one calendar year (January, 2010 to January, 2011), which according to Naroll *et al* (1980) is appropriate for better understanding of the setting.

Secondly, for thorough analysis as mentioned by McCllouch (2004) and Hodson (1991), the reliability of the data can be best judged by the number and type of texts included in the

study. Keeping this study reliable, texts were selected from a range of sources. This involves both print and online media covering all official documents, newspapers, blogs and social forums. These texts were written in a range of languages, i.e. English, Urdu and regional languages by both male and female authors but I used their English versions which were available online. There were a total of 37 texts selected, which were written by authors from different disciplines and fields of life. This variety has widened the range, helped in matching the information and finally, as Hodson (1991) mentioned, has provided additional support to the texts.

Thirdly, the reliability of the data can be measured as stated by Hodson (1991) in his account, by the explicitness of description. The collection of texts from such a range of sources, authors and the length of time facilitated in knowing the views of the participants about the debate in depth. It also helped to reduce ambiguity in the text. Moreover, this also helped in avoiding generalisation and abstractions in exploring the current debate on national education policy of Pakistan.

3.5   Ethical Considerations

Documentary analysis of the Internet-related posts, archives and blogs have become famous in recent years (Winzelberg, 1997), but there is very little literature available on the ethical issues and considerations of this type of study (Sixmith and Murray, 2011; King, 1996; Waskul & Douglass, 1996). This is because as McCulloch (2004) argued, the process does not involve a direct interaction with the correspondents. The material is in the public domain. It means that ethical issues in documentary analysis are less important if compared with other educational and social research. In my own experience particularly, while considering the ethical considerations in terms of the public debate through documentary analysis, a real shortage of literature was faced. Still, there are serious legal and ethical issues to be considered in documentary research.

Online documents on policy debate have provided valuable information. Many people feel hesitant while speaking in public or face-to-face while criticising the government or their policies, but in documents such information can easily be acquired, as writers may not reveal their identity. They may use a fake identity, as in the case of 'The Power of One Wrong Tweet' (See CNN, 2013 for details). But this on the other hand has serious ethical issues, because it may harm the society or the person whose credentials the author usurps. Therefore, due to the exploration of debate about NEP, which involves public and social

media and official documents, special consideration was given to copyright issues, freedom of information and data protection.

Some researchers argue for consent for documentary analysis but others believe that there is no need to obtain consent prior to the use of the work of participants available on the Internet, newspapers, blogs and forums simply because their work is in the public domain and open to be used publicly (Sixmith and Murray, 2001). Obviously, the need for consent is essential if it is email research or another similar type of researches undertaking where the agreement of the participants is required.

Homan (1991) emphasises the need to take special considerations of privacy while dealing with the archives, as they are usually open only for a specific group of people. In my case it is not applicable, because there are no archives in my data. Generally, privacy of the participants is vital in social research, but the concept of privacy within social research is controversial. It is hard to define which part of the online document is public or private. The private section of the document may require a clear knowledge of the local and cultural values of the participants. In public debate on current policy with regards to MoI, the contributions of the participants are public and open for discussion & comments. As stated by Burton (1994), 'I have always treated my contributions to email as public documents' (p108). But, in this study, I have taken account of the public or private nature of the document before committing them to research scrutiny.

As regards ownership, the issue is, 'Who owns communication, i.e. is it the blogger or the website owner?' Suppose the blogger decides to delete a written text, can the website owner refuse? Just like any other text, research data from bloggers needs to be acknowledged. The ethical issue here is that, if a blogger is recognised then there is no anonymity. In my research almost all authors have accredited their identities. Those who have not identified themselves or approved their individuality are grouped under the category of 'unknown'.

3.6 Limitations

The earlier mentioned advantages of documentary analysis do not mean that the method is free of limitations. The main weakness of documentary analysis is that it can be a time consuming task. Actually, this limitation was noticed at the beginning of the study. Although collecting data from public and social media was an arduous task, this was helped by using online search engines and public documents, which made the process less laborious and

quicker than searching for the original copies. Additionally, being familiar with the research settings and analysing only the text needed helped the researcher to overcome many barriers such as culture and language, and therefore reduced the time spent on understanding, interpreting, categorising and coding the texts. Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) support this argument by stating that it is an advantage for the researcher where communication is conducted in the same language and symbolic system. Automating the data is also one of the limitations of this type of study (Krippendoff, 2004), which was minimized by using computer-aided research. The computer, according to Colorado State University (2011), is helpful in counting phenomena in written texts.

An additional possible limitation of the documentary analysis can be the bias of the author towards the issue. Or in some conditions the authors may refer to inaccurate information. In this study the focus was on public perception and to that extent understanding the position of particular contributors was the aim and any bias part of the data. Care was taken, however, to indicate all available texts within the calendar year 'snapshot'. Also the involvement of authors from different disciplines has provided the chance to match as well as check and re-check the information.

Locating the documents can be a limitation. The documents may be stored in several places and may be difficult to access. This issue was realised during the collection of the data, but was handled by the researcher due to his familiarity with the settings. For example, familiarity with regional languages of the country helped in easily locating the relevant material. The government official documents were in the public domain and were easily accessed.

In particular the one-year time frame (January 2010- January 2011) for the selection of the texts from the public and social media on education policy with regards to MoI is the main limitation of this research study. This is because many more texts for the 2011 and onwards have been left out. However, the researcher was confined to this one-year period for ease of data management.

3.7   Preparation for Analysis

For many researchers, data analysis is the most difficult stage of research. Even May (2001) acknowledges the hard work, which starts once data begin to be collected. I think the hardships of data analysis are due to multiple methodologies or as Cohen, *et al* (2002, p461)

shared, "There is no one single way to analyse the data". Referring particularly to documentary analysis, Colorado State University (2011) found the analysis of text a more laborious and time-consuming task. To handle these challenges, Ghauri and Gronhaug (2002), and Saunders *et al*, (2003) suggested the need for deciding the research strategy and technique(s) before starting to collect data. In this way collection of data can occur at the same time and may make the work less difficult.

My research began with a search for debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI in official documents and public and social media, which include newspapers articles, television based debates, online blogs, letters to editors and discussions in social forums. Besides this, I also explored the websites of political parties to find out their stance on NEP and MoI. The online search enables the researcher to search more quickly and of course, this technique was less lengthy than searching through the original copies.

The time frame for searching these texts, i.e. January 2010 to January 2011 was considered feasible because I felt that reaction to the announcement of education policy of Pakistan would provide a number of examples demonstrating the key controversies, the impacts, gaps and solutions surrounding the NEP 2009. I also predicted that the newly announced NEP would be criticised and appreciated during this time by the public, politicians and officials for whom education policy matters. In this period of time, I found a total of 37 texts from different Pakistani dailies, weeklies and monthlies (such as Dawn, Daily Jang, The NEWS, Daily Time, Frontier Post, Telegraph, Mag, Nawa-e waqt, Express, Express Tribune, to name a few). As stated in Chapter 1, these newspapers and magazines are published across Pakistan in English and Urdu. Some of them are published in regional languages too. Additionally, I collected texts from a range of social forums and blogs, which are administered by Pakistani citizens living in and out of Pakistan.

Most of the texts were in English, but some were written in Urdu or regional languages. I found and included the English version of those texts only. For example, a text entitled as 'Clerics on March', is written by the author in both English and Urdu. Similarly, the political parties have their materials translated in different languages including English. As stated earlier, the purpose behind including this wide variety of texts was to reduce bias on the study results and enhance validity and reliability.

As stated above, I included some of the texts regarding MoI from the websites of the political parties of Pakistan. I cited them as a reference, but they are not included in the data analysis

because they contain a lot of material on other topics and would have made the analysis unmanageable as elaborated in section 4.1, Chapter 4. Furthermore, the texts written by foreign authors were also excluded because they are the external forces and may have little influence on the debate about Pakistani policy. Noticeably, such authors are mostly linked with foreign funding whose job is thought to be further adulteration of the issue. Therefore, their views are considered as irrelevant. Another reason behind the exclusion of such authors is that viewpoints shared by foreign authors are already discussed by native authors. Thus the inclusion of such texts would be repetition. The omission of such texts helped in reducing the bulk of the raw data into analysable units and therefore reduces the vast amount of data collected.

The participants of the debate on NEP 2009 were from different disciplines, which include linguists, educationists, teachers, journalists, politicians and students. There were some texts whose authors were hard to find. Figure 3.2 shows the percentage of all authors of the selected texts.
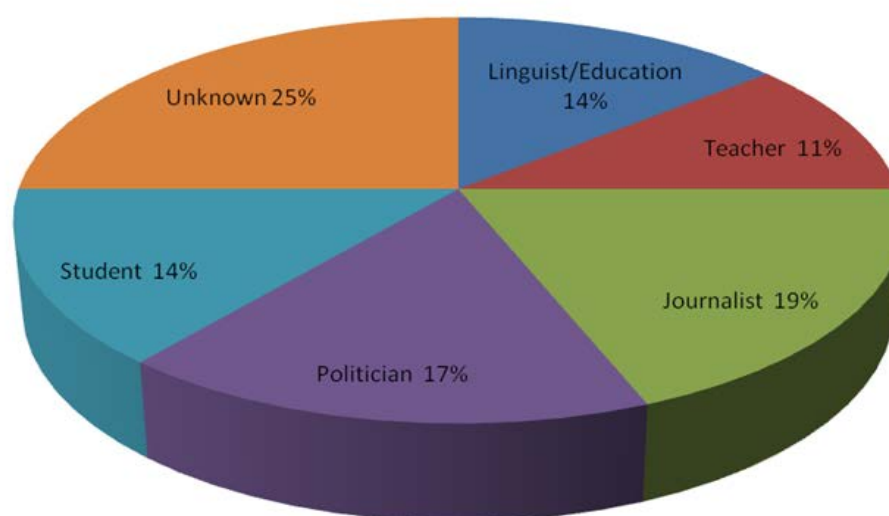
Figure 3.2, shows the percentage of the authors

The data represent the interest of people on debating the MoI from all fields of life. There are 19% journalists out of the total number of authors, which show their concerns about the issue. This may be because they are influential and have a huge audience to convey their message to. Politicians are also high in number, i.e. 17% and this may be because they represent a specific area or group of people. For that reason, they are probably actively

involved in the debate on NEP. The students have a significant contribution equal to linguists and journalists; 14% each, which may be because they are the direct victims of any MoI policy. Finally, the part of the teachers is noted as 11%. This high number may be because they face the students and are directly influenced by the policy. The participants from all these groups are in favour of different MoI i.e. some teachers are in favour of Urdu, while others are for English and yet others for regional languages. This applies to all other categories of participants. The characteristics of the above-mentioned participants, their views and stances are explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Besides, the writings of the participants are divided into two categories, i.e. those who have presented solutions and those who proposed no solutions. The first group of authors emphasised the gaps and impact of a controversial MoI. Along with pointing out the flaws, they also offered suggestions and recommendations for an improved MoI policy. The next category of the authors has only drawn attention towards a conflicting MoI policy. They have showed in their texts that MoI policy is illogical and unproductive. This group of authors did not offer any proposals for the perfection or recuperating the gaps of such MoI.
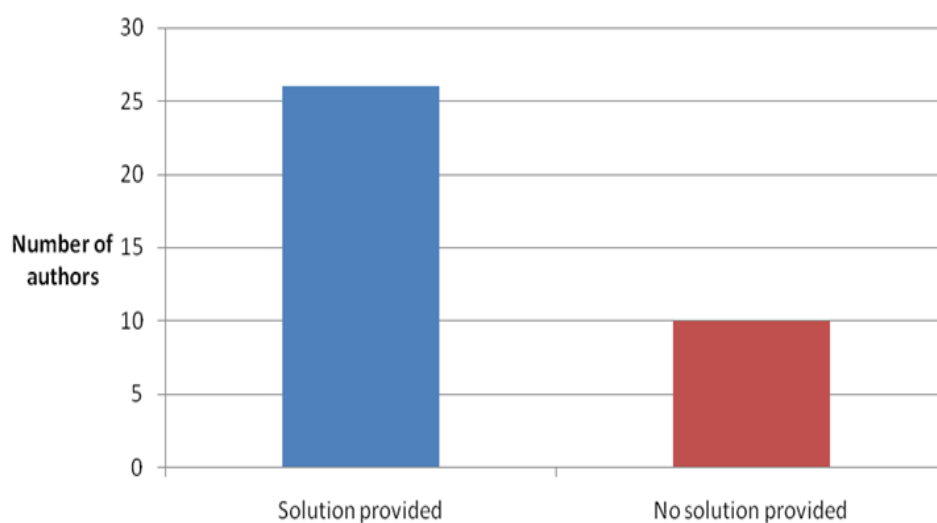
Figure 3.3, shows the number of the texts with solutions and no solutions provided for MOI policy

The data is evident in the 37 texts for 27 writers who have presented solutions in their documents for an improved MoI. They robustly consider their suggestions and recommendations a source of better economy, well-built social cohesion, advanced achievement and aptitude to face everyday challenges. The remaining 10 authors form a

category that has not provided any solutions for an improved and more acceptable MoI in their texts. Such authors believe that the selection of MoI lack research, scientific evidences, presentation of people from all groups. They also highlighted the negative impacts of a conflicting MoI, i.e. further separation of the country (as it happened in 1971 (i.e. Bangladesh, which was the part of Pakistan became a separate country), nominal access, elevated dropout, high absenteeism, and low economic progress. But they did not advocate any submissions for enhancement of such an ineffective MoI.

In the next stage all the texts were distributed into two different categories of print and online media as can be seen in Figure 3.4.
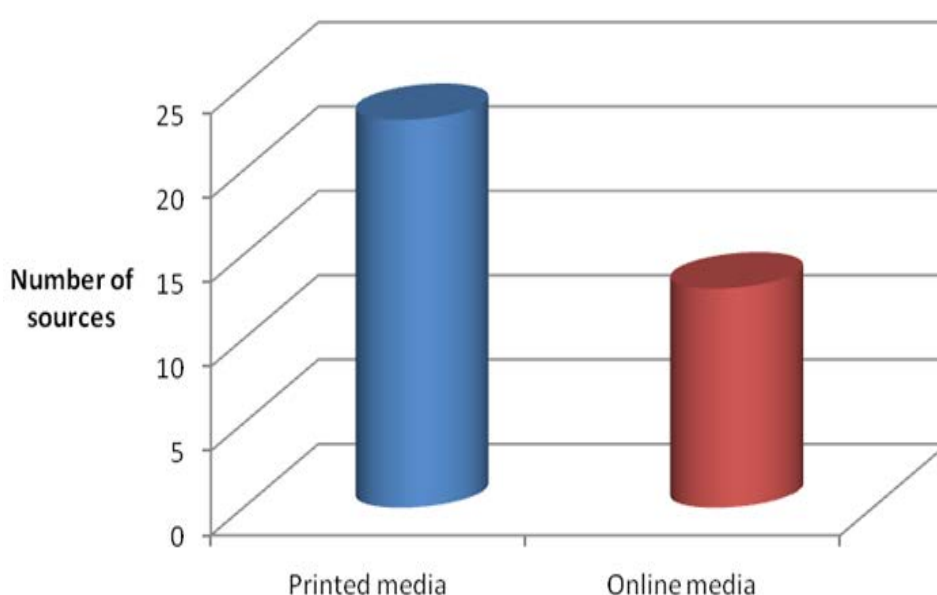
Figure 3.4, shows the number of print and online media texts

Of the 37 texts, 24 were from print media while the remaining 13 were recovered from electronic media. A high number of texts were published in newspapers, because newspapers are almost circulated everywhere in Pakistan and are easily accessible these days.

As stated in chapter 2, gender disparity is a clearly visible issue in the education system of Pakistan. Therefore, to know the gender of the authors, the writers were divided into male and female. This will give an idea whether or not both the genders are participants of the debate and the implications this may have for perceptions of MoI as a gender based issue. Figure 3.5 shows the number of male and female authors in the data selected to investigate the current debate on NEP.
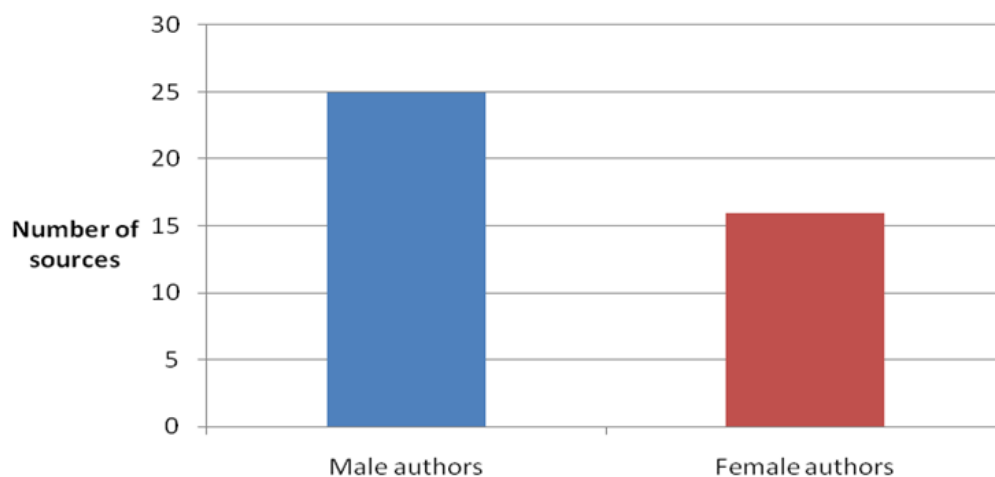
Figure 3.5, shows the number of male and female authors

The data selected include samples from authors of both genders, but the contribution of the male authors is higher than their counterparts, i.e. 26 male and 16 female. It was noticed during the collection of the data that some of the authors have contributed to the debate by writing more than one time. Although the number of such authors was very low, their contributions were noticed in different times expressing their opinions in Urdu, English or regional languages.

Practically, the data analysis process was conducted in different stages. The first stage involved careful analysis of the texts one by one basis to ensure insightful research and systematic progress. I have ordered all 37 texts according to date and month. The data was then organised in a table of date of publication, name of the author, gender of the author, language of the document, type of media, the web address of the documents and main points of the texts (see appendix V). Later on the texts were divided into groups (i.e. English, mother tongue, Urdu and uniform education system) on the basis of their support for a specific MoI type (see appendix I). Afterward, texts from all these groups were counted and presented in a table (can be seen in the next chapter). Such presentation helped in knowing that all types of MoI are equally important and evenly debated by the participants. This preliminary analysis gave me a clear view in understanding of the data.

The next stage of the analysis involved more detached appraisal of the whole data set. To achieve this goal, Wordsmith and Wordle (computer software) were used. Fundamentally, Wordsmith helps in finding a certain word/term from a sum of texts. It also helps in the number of usages, finding the place and meaning of a certain expression or a word in a

document (Scott, 2010). On the other hand, Wordle is a 'word art' that crunches any large piece of text in the production of a visual image of the content. The resulting graphic emphasizes the most common words by magnifying their size based on occurrence, frequency and emphasize. Wordsmith and Wordle are being used to provide summaries of news articles, political speeches, essays, blogs and more. One of the major advantages of Wordle for documentary analysis is that, it combines blog posts, news articles, speeches, etc. over time into a simplified representation. It can further use it to compare the ideas (Feinberg, 2011).

Therefore, words from all texts were downloaded into Wordsmith and Wordle, which helped in finding the frequently used words in all texts (Wordle images and Wordsmith tables can be found in the next chapter). The frequently used words from both Wordsmith and Wordle were lexically analysed and categorised which provided a sufficient amount of detail to be able to produce meaningful results.

All the texts were manually coded because codes make texts easier to understand (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The code looks like 1MTSD where 1 is the serial number of the document, MT is the type of participant support to be the medium of instruction, S is the first letter of the name of the author and D is the name of the source of media. In this example, it is the English daily called 'Dawn'. Codification of the documents also helped in avoiding the repetition of the information.

Finally, the frequently used words were categorized which helped in finding the emerging themes, i.e. the frequently used words in English as MoI type leans to neo-liberalism, the Urdu ones have a propensity to Islamism, the mother tongue ones have an inclination to regionalism, and those in favour of the uniform MoI have a partiality to a uniform education system. Such themes were of high importance at this stage because they were essential in giving meaning to the views of the participants and linking with the themes discovered in the literature.

3.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the components of a research design for the purpose of validity of the method. An onion metaphor was adopted to ensure the consistency and coherence of the research process and the validity of the process of research design. The onion metaphor was peeled off layer by layer, i.e. research philosophy, research approach, research strategy,

time horizon and data collection method. The 'onion' helped in ensuring the reliability and consistency of the research method as Punch (1998) stated. During the process ethical considerations were also discussed to avoid any breach of legal issues involved.

The next two chapters provide a detailed analysis of the collected data. In those chapters, I am making an attempt to systemically investigate the participants and the issues of NEP debate emerging from data. The chapters will also find the impact of NEP on Balochistan province.

Chapter 4 – Data Analysis I: Findings

4.1 Introduction

The data analysis for this thesis is divided into two chapters i.e. Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. The purpose of both of these chapters is to identify the themes within the views and opinions given by the participants who comprised of students, teachers, educationists, linguists, politicians, journalists, government officials and the general public. This corpus of data was collected in a one year snapshot from the public media and in particular various websites. The data comprised of words and phrases used by the aforementioned participants in the MoI debate in Pakistan. As noted by the supporters of the 'text as data' movement (Monroe, *et al.,* 2008; Manning *et al.,* 2008; Hopkins and King, 2007; and Laver, *et al*., 2003) this is argued to be the most intuitive way of conveying key insights**.** It is further asserted that the media is the most influential role player among all other modern representatives in terms of reflecting and informing public opinion (Young and Soroka, 2012; Gauntlett, 2005; Chomsky and Herman 2002). This important role of the media compels the general public to be dependent on it in order to be effective democratic citizens and participants in the public debates. Due to this dependency and participation, media covers a lot of texts from public over various issues, which need to be analysed to establish their potential in making appropriate policy judgment. In the case of this study, it was the debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI in Pakistan's education system.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the selected texts were analysed with the help of a computer programme. Computer assisted data analysis has become a pillar of empirical research since the 1950s (Young and Soroka, 2012; Kim and Hovy, 2006; McNaught and Lam, 2010). With the expansion of the media in the world, the number of electronically available texts have expanded and have thus met with different methodologies among which many are computer-based. The computer helps in efficiency, scope, reliability and the facilitation of the analysis of large bodies in meaningful ways, where manual analysis often falls short, either because of time or budget constraints.

The data for this study were collected from public and social media and then segmented on the basis of (1), who were the participants for each group, (2), what were the main issues for each type of MoI supported, and what these issues meant within the existing situation in Pakistan and Balochistan Province, and (3), the extent to which the interaction through social media could function as a 'virtual' Jirga. In order to ensure that methodological and

computing requirements for the data analysis were meaningful and effective, thorough evaluation was carried out from the planning stages. As a matter of necessity, advice was sought from the supervision team and IT staff at the School of Education, Glasgow University.

The first stage in the analysis involved categorising the selected texts into groups. Group 1 comprised of texts selected from newspapers, magazines and television channels. Group 2 represented the debate on MoI as conducted in social media forums and public blogs. The texts include topics that were replied to and commented on by other users. Group 3 consisted of texts collected from the websites of the Pakistani political parties and foreign authors. Texts from this group were excluded from the data analysis process, but they were used for reference purposes in exploring the public debate. The reasons behind this exclusion are that they were quite extensive and most of them were written in other languages rather than English. The exclusion of these materials also helped in evading repetition as related views were articulated by other authors in their discussions. As for the exclusion of the texts from the non-Pakistani authors in the analysis, the main reason was their being of foreign background. The data is thus presented in a sequential order that is divided into groups supporting different MoI. In this way, one can easily recognise the relationships and patterns as well as emerging issues and new concepts; and thus draw appropriate conclusions, a view supported by Miles and Huberman (1994).

The second stage of the analysis involved allotting codes ─ words or short phrases that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data. An example of a code is given here as 1EPD where 1is the number of source, E is the MoI type the text supports, P is the author's name, and D is the name of the public or social media source. The third stage 3 involved taking one text from each MoI type to show the contribution of the participants in the debate. The contribution is followed by the profile of the contributor and their existing linkage with the debate. This chapter thus highlights the overall results based on the views and responses provided in the debate by the participants. Chapter 5 will present the analysis of the data that emerged from the data.

4.2 Wordle and Wordsmith Data Analysis Software

With new technologies, a number of social tools have been developed. Wordle and Wordsmith are among them. Wordle is a special visualisation of text, which reveals the

frequencies of the different words that appear in a piece of text (Minocha 2010), and thus highlights and gives prominence to the frequently-used words in the presentation. Wordle seems to be particularly useful for studies that involve qualitative/thematic analyses of written or transcribed spoken text. Although there are several such tools, but McNaught and Lam (2008) believe that Wordle is the most versatile software to use. In research, Wordle can be used for analysing education-related topics, literary studies or public speeches as is used by Ramsden and Bate (2008); Dann (2008); and Clement *et al* (2008). In their research studies McNaught and Lam (2010) found out that Wordle is a useful research tool, which allows the researcher to quickly visualise themes in the text. They also found out that it allows the researcher to compare different themes and find out the main differences.

Wordsmith, however, is software that offers a program for comparing corpora. Basically, it is made up of Wordlist, Concordance and Keywords where the Wordlist helps in seeing a list of all the words in alphabetic or frequency order. The Concordance offers the ability to see any word or phrase in context for the purpose of knowing the company that specific word keeps while the Keywords help in highlighting the key words in a text (Scot, 1998). This tool has been used by several researchers in their studies as a means for describing various lexical characteristics of different genres (Barbara and Scott, 1999; Sardinha, 1999; Scott, 1998; Dutra, 1999). The texts in this research study are selected from newspapers, blogs and social forums and then analysed in Wordsmith, because newspaper text is the most typical kind of reference used by applied linguists, mainly because it is easy to get (Tribble, 1998). And finally, as mentioned earlier, there are several computer software options for data analysis, but Wordsmith is preferred here because as Sardinha (2000) explained, it best analyses the newspaper text.\

The reason behind choosing these software are multiple. First of all as explained by Hisse-Biber (2011), they provide convenience and efficiency. In exploring the NEP 2009 the sayings and writings of the participants of the debate was important because as stated by Grimmer and Stewart (2013), language is central to the debate and politics of the policy. Due to a large number of words it is always hard to manually read and analyse the texts even in a moderately sized corpora. In my research, however, a total 37 texts with 46,316 words are selected which Grimmer and Stewart (2013) and Budge and Pennings (2007) believe, is a large sum and almost impossible to analyse manually. For efficiently analysing such a large amount of data, however, John and Johnson (2000) suggest computer software.

Secondly, computer based data analysis software have the enhancing ability to play with the data. After the collection of data from digital media on MoI debate in Pakistan, Wordle and Wordsmith were ideal to use because they helped in discarding word order, discard punctuations, capitalisation and common words (removes words that do not convey meaning but primarily serve grammatical functions), and very uncommon words (words that appear only once or twice in the corpus and thus are unlikely to be discriminating). Eventually, this reduced the manual and clerical tasks and allowed me more time to attend to the real work of analysis.

Thirdly, such software, as stated by John and Johnson (2000) provide validity and rigour because it enables the researcher to examine their own assumptions and biases. In exploring the MoI debate both Wordle and Wordsmith helped in searching the frequently used words as many times as I wanted. They also assisted in retrieving any particular word count and usage. Doing so has given the opportunity for an audit trail to scrutinise and establish credibility and validity.

Finally, such software assisted, as confirmed by Hisse-Biber (2011) and Grimmer & Stewart (2013) in creating sets, sharing large data groups and assigning categories to the texts. In this research study Wordle and Wordsmith assisted in organising different sets i.e. texts in support of English, Texts in support of Urdu, texts in support of mother tongue and texts supporting uniform education system. Additionally, it was at this point when the researcher found out that some of the MoI types are having more words than others. For a fair analysis the software once again helped in organising the data and equalising the number of words for each group.

4.3 Wordle Presentation of the Data

To reach to the stage of analysis data was analysed by using Wordle. Such an arrangement helped in eliciting the issues of MoI from the debate. Generally, the Internet search helped in finding a total of 37 texts from January 2010 to January 2011 debating on the education policy of Pakistan. See Figure 4.1.
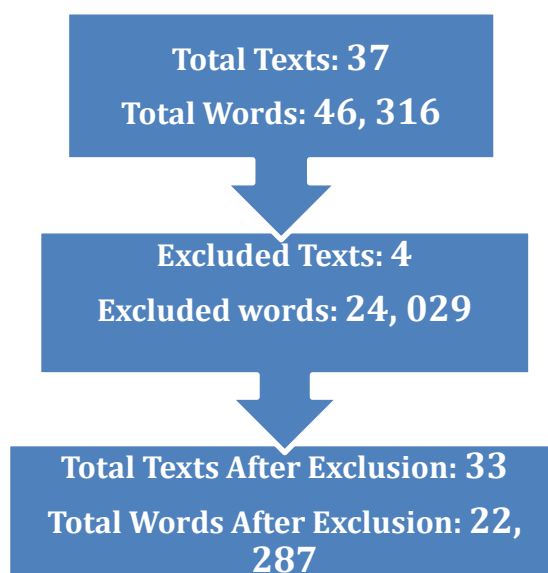
Figure 4.1: An illustration of the data

As shown in the Figure, the texts are made up of 46,316 words all together. In a later stage, the texts were divided into different types of MoI. As a result, some of the types of MoI have more texts and words in their favour than others. Thus, to make the analysis of this research study fairer, an attempt was made to equalise the words of each type of MoI by excluding the repetitive texts and words. The process led to the following table, which shows the number of the texts and words each MoI group contains.

Table 4.1, shows texts and words each MoI consists of

Type of MoI	Texts	Total Words
English	11	4,352
Mother Tongue	11	6,380
Urdu	6	5,675
Uniform system	5	5,880
Total after exclusion	33	22, 287

After the exclusion and division of the total texts into MoI groups, the number of total texts became 33 while the total words became 22,287 instead of 46,316. Among all the four types of MoI, Mother Tongue has more texts and words in its favour. Usually, this group consists

of the participants who are in the favour of the mother tongue as MoI. Noticeably, such a large number of texts in the favour of the mother tongue suggest that this group might be the most affected one by an inappropriate MoI. On the other hand, English has the least texts in its support, i.e. among the 11 texts several are short replies to the questions of English as MoI opposition. This could be because the elite classes who are following English as MoI are less concerned or at some point not concerned at all because they are happy with their MoI which earns them good jobs, global communication and high status.

When the data was analysed in Wordle for theme purposes the following image highlighted the frequently used words. See Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2: Wordle image of all texts

The image highlights the persistently-used words in the debate such as *language, education, Pakistan, Urdu, English, mother tongue, uniform, system, medium, teachers, people, national, culture, country, modern* to name a few. It can be said that these areas, which are of interest to participants, surround the debate on MoI.

4.4 Wordsmith Appearance of the Data

To identify the above given key themes more precisely similar texts were analysed in Wordsmith to authenticate the number of times these words are used (see table 4.1). After knowing the repeatedly exercised words each type of MoI was analysed separately to find out which frequent word comes from which type of MoI. At this stage, only 20 words are selected because they match with the above Wordle image and the expected key themes emerged from the literature review. A detailed table of the whole process of frequently used words and their appearances in each type of MoI can be found in appendix II.

Table 4.2, sample 20 most frequently used words from the texts

Frequently Used Words	Total Word Occurrences From All Texts	English as MoI Texts	Mother Tongue as MoI Texts	Urdu as MoI Texts	Uniform MoI Texts
Language/s	345	81	146	116	2
Education/al	225	51	64	22	88
Pakistan	137	25	33	34	45
Urdu	120	24	16	79	1
Teacher/s	104	36	11	5	52
Government	82	19	29	17	17
Medium	79	19	28	25	7
People	67	10	26	24	7
Culture/al	78	1	59	13	5
System	49	14	5	3	25
Uniform/ity	75	19	3	1	52
Private	28	9	8	0	11
Islam/ic	35	1	1	27	5
Political	20	1	3	7	9
Class/es	30	9	6	4	11
Market	11	10	0	0	1
Regional	19	2	11	4	2
Identity	28	1	14	13	0
Public	14	1	3	4	6
Modern	30	27	2	1	0
Total	1,576	360	468	399	346

The word list is presented from the data showing the most frequently used words in the texts. Additionally, the list counts the time words have been applied in all texts, which distinguish them from the non-frequently used words. Such presentation assisted in better understanding the issues of the debate.

The list of reoccurring words in the texts is presented in order of frequency. For the sake of example some of the words are discussed below. The main reasons behind choosing some particular words from the list are based on the place and importance of such words in the debate and their appearance in the literature review in Chapter 2. It does not mean that other words are less important, rather that selected words were believed to better help in clearly describing the issues of the debate and the standpoints of the participants. Another reason could be their appearance in a manner, which is supported by the participants from all MoI groups. Additionally, these words appeared in roughly all types of MoI, which helped in presenting the views of all the groups.

4.5   Predictable Most Frequent words

This section includes examples of the most frequently used words and the top predictable words, which are interesting indicators of key values. For example, at top of the list is *'language'* (345) for obvious reasons as this is the main topic. These occurrences in most of the places indicate the preferences of the authors and the importance of an appropriate MoI in Pakistan. However, it is clearly more important to group the word as it appears in texts supporting Mother Tongue MoI (146 occurrences), Urdu MoI (116 occurrences) and English MoI (81 occurrences). The codes used below signify which group the writer belongs to, For example, 'E' supports English as MoI; Ur supports Urdu as MoI; MT supports Mother Tongue as MoI; U supports Uniform education,

> 4.1 *'An inappropriate language is exploitation' (2ED43).*
> 4.2 *'Educating the masses without a national language is a misnomer' (28UrTD 925).*
> 4.3 *'One-fifth of the 30 languages spoken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa will die out in the next couple of years…' (13MTDR 159).*
> 4.4 *'The move annoyed the Bengalis and ultimately language was one of the major factors which contributed to the separation of the two wings' (12MTND122-123).*

The statements confirm the important role of language in Pakistan. For purpose of clarity, numbers are allotted to the statements. The first two authors (4.1 and 4.2) are referring to language as symbols of national and regional identity. 5.3 is involving history to support his

point. Overall, the statements confirm the significant position of language in Pakistan. If it is not used, language indeed dies, as a natural process. But because languages represent the culture of the people, there are global initiatives to preserve even the smallest cultural groups. UNESCO is an example of an institution that supports movement. Another strategy of preserving a language is to make it a MoI (e.g. Urdu).

Obviously, the views of the authors represent the voice of a number of people who believe that the authorities have created a top-down policy process, which declares Urdu as MoI to people who speak English. This way the process did not consider the interests of the majority. Such progression is referred to as an imposition as stated in the literature review of this thesis, which resulted in the past in a catastrophic incidence such as the separation of East Pakistan (the founding of Bangladesh).

Another central term in the discussion is '*Pakistan',* which appears 137 times in the texts. The participants show their concerns for education in using *Pakistan* as a case. For example,

> *4.5 'Pakistan lags behind as far as the education sector is concerned.*
> *One of the main causes of educational backwardness is indeed*
> *the language...' (21MTMA 475-477).*
> *4.6 '...bilingual education in Pakistan will be hindered by a lack of*
> *materials in vernacular languages' (17MTTT352).*
> *4.7 '...We need to redefine the meaning of education in Pakistan'*
> *(24UWN 631).*

It can be judged from the above statements that participants in the debate are concerned about the education system of Pakistan. The term *Pakistan* appearing several times could be interpreted as emphasis on the statehood or the need for maintaining the unity of the country. However, because it is at all times associated with the language need to impart education as well as some emotive words and phrases indicating the perceived need to 'improve' things (such as *lag behind, backwardness, hindered, redefined*), it is some kind of an appeal using aesthetic rules (poetic style) of language.

Class/es is another word, which I have selected because it is the key indicator of the NEP 2009 and MoI debate. This term is similarly important for the participants of almost all MoI groups. First of all, it is the focus of the main accusation the supporters of Uniform education are levelling at the system. Secondly, it defines the main characteristic of neo-liberalism, i.e. giving power in the hands of few through privatisation and thirdly, the mother tongue supporters blame it as a foundation of imposition. The word occurs 30 times and is used by

the writers in two different perspectives. 1) It is used to indicate for social division among the masses because of varied MoI and 2) it shows the stages of the education system. For examples,

> *4.8 Pakistan's governing class as a whole has earned the distinction*
>   *of being rotten and corrupt (25UCN 727).*
> *4.9 Money spent on educating in a foreign language does not build a*
>   *nation or identity, it only promotes class segregation as we have*
>   *seen in these 62 years (28UrTD 998-999).*

The views of the authors represent the voice of a number of people in Pakistan who believe that the debate on MoI is divisive and benefits only a small group of the ruling elites. They see it as a source of discussion in unity and the overall progress of the country. 4.8 blames the ruling class for such categorisation and their denial of the Islamic ethics and the Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 which is focused on equity. This also shows that the debaters are anxious about the *socio-economic class system* that they perceive to be influenced the education structure of the country.

The second author (4.9) refers to a principle of language and education which suggest that a child can effectively understand concepts in his mother tongue compared to a foreign language. A similar view is shared by 4.10, who suggests that learning the mother tongue as MoI takes place in the early years of a child's education with English instruction in the later stages. Coleman (2010) back this up in his report. Noticeably, both the authors observe that policies are being forced on people without regard for research and scientific evidence.

Class is used in close proximity in the texts with the word *'System',* which occurs 63 times. These co-occurrences can indicate that in the opinion of the authors a problem exists within the education system. For example:

> *4.10 'Education system in Pakistan is in really bad condition' (6EEVnB*
>   *119).*
> *4.11 'Here in Pakistan, feudal system encouraged by the colonial*
>   *rulers has been the main obstacle in the development of*
>   *mother tongues…' (21MTMA 484).*
> *4.12 'Our fractured education system is a gift, paradoxically, of our*
>   *English-speaking classes which have never felt the slightest need for*
>   *framing a common education policy' (25UCN748-749).*
> *4.13 'There are different systems of schools here ranging from Govt. to*
>   *Public schools…' (33UrGP).*

No matter what the perspectives of the participants of the debate are on the selection of MoI, the data show they are equally criticising the *system* as a corrupt, unequal and unproductive one. The first author blames the education system and supposes that the root of the crisis is in the inability of planners to think and design systems properly. This view is shared similarly by the second author who believes that the masses need to learn in their mother tongue, but this is denied by the feudal *system* of the country to preserve the status quo. There is a common argument that with English a nation can develop economically and technologically, but this is challenged as a plan to suppress the public.

In the third statement, the author referred to the different types of schooling system, which ranges from elite private, low fees charging private, public to madrassa types. It confirms the quality of education in these different types of schools, which offers admissions based on the socio-economic class of the public. Such a system is perceived to be challenging by authors like this one for the commonality of the population and the growth of the nation state.

4.6 Views on Different Types of MoI

Having looked at some common themes in all the texts, the focus will now turn towards the separate groups of language advocates, i.e. English, mother tongue, Urdu and a uniform system.

4.6.1 Type I: English as MoI

The texts from writers supporting English as MoI consist of 11 different items and a total 4,675 words in its favour. This group is mainly made up of people who support English as MoI and its implementation for positive change and the progress of the country.

4.6.1.1 Wordle Image of English as MoI Texts

When the texts were analysed in Wordle the following image came into view.

Figure 4.3: Wordle image of English as MoI text

The frequently used items in the texts in support of English MoI are Words such as *modern, global, international, change, market*. Such words according to the supporters of English can be the expected outcomes in case English is selected as MoI in Pakistan.

4.6.1.2   Wordsmith Presentation of English as MoI Texts

The group of texts compiled from of 4,352 words in its support were then analysed using Wordsmith which came up with the below given table.

Table 4.3: Frequently used words from 4,352 words in support of English as MoI

Frequently used words in texts supporting English as MoI	Total appearances
English	66
Modern	27
International	15
Global	14
Change	11
Job	11
Private	9
Class	9
Market	8
Quality	6

The table shows the number of times a word is used in texts in support of English as MoI. For the sake of an example, a sample of a text is given from each type of MoI to represent the stance of the participants and the frequently used words. The selection of these texts is based on the clarity of their comments. When I assessed all the texts, I found the selected texts clearer in describing the issues of the debate, the logical organisation, and the strength of the points given. Another reason for picking this particular sample could be that the authors were from different fields of life i.e. politicians, students, teachers, journalists, educationists, etc. In this way representation is given to people from all groups. It is important to mention here that the participants of the debate were not from a similar field of life (i.e. neither all Urdu supporters were politicians, nor were the English supporters all foreign-qualified). Thus under each sample text the profile of the particular participants is elaborated in detail. Such a distribution helped in linking the debate and the debater and made it easy to know who the participants of the study were and helped in discussing their viewpoint in a better manner.

4.6.1.3   Text Sample

The text below is selected from the English as MoI supporting group. In the text the frequently used words are *italicised* for clarity.

> 1EPD: On the second day of Eidul Azha, a *private* TV channel celebrated Eid with senior citizens, which undoubtedly was a highly commendable gesture.
>
> What I didn`t like though was the programme host using the word `old` over and over again for senior citizens. I recall a couple of weeks back one of your readers also used the word `*old*` while addressing senior citizens in his letter to you. It has been decades now since the word `*old*` has been discarded from use for older people and considered rude if used for older men and women. All references and address to them has been replaced by the word `senior` all over the world, like senior citizens or senior citizens` homes instead of `old people` and `old people`s homes`, etc.
>
> Likewise, the word `disable` for children (special children) or `abnormal` child has been replaced by children with Down Syndrome, which is caused by chromosomal disorder.
>
> The *English* *language* has gone through a humongous amount of *change/ changes,* alterations, and additions; chopping of *modern* words, various expressions and different *accents*.
>
> After living in North America and Europe for 15 years, I found why a large number of Pakistanis are unable to adjust themselves in *western society* and *job markets*. It is because they do not try to adapt to *change* and *global* cultures and want to live a *typical* `*home life*` there as well.
>
> No doubt, Pakistanis are found all over the world, but merely their presence is not enough unless seen often on higher positions all over. *Accent, broken English* and preconceived *local sentence* translation into *English* before speaking are the main hurdles.
>
> A saying has become quite popular, "Pakistanis are the last to be hired for *job*s and the first to be fired." Chinese, Polish, Africans, Arabs and people from the Asia Pacific region and South Asian countries have a *terrible accent* but they are *better off* and *modern* as compared to Pakistanis.
>
> Actually, we stubbornly lack *adaptability* and *adjustments to change and global market*. We prefer to blame others for our misfortunes and faults and love pointing fingers. After 9/11, it appeared that the Americans had gone centuries behind and might be taken over by extremists very soon. However, only nine years have passed since the incident, but the US is still ruling the world.

The author of the above mentioned text is a private school teacher who lived in English-speaking countries for more than a decade. He writes in the renowned English daily of Pakistan called *'Dawn'*. The highlighted words show the values he wishes to present. He criticises Pakistanis for their lack of adaptability and positive change and declares that the negative image of Pakistan in the world is because of the traditional ways of teaching and learning. The author blames the Pakistani people for their accent and broken English, which is the reason they are unemployed. This, as the participant of the debate mentions, can only be changed through quality English.

Although most of the authors in support of English agree on the point of learning English and implementing it as MoI, they are against the author on the point that the accent of Pakistani people is not up to the demand of the international market. At one point the author is angry with Pakistani people e.g. '*Pakistanis are the last to be hired for jobs and the first*

to be fired', we stubbornly lack adaptability and adjustments, and '*but they are better off and modern as compared to Pakistanis'*. It is important to note that, the author has frequently used '*they and them'* instead of '*we'* or '*us'*. He differentiates himself from other Pakistanis because he was able to adjust and work in Western culture whereas his fellow countrymen were not.

The English language has changed over time in relation to the changes in society. Thus, there are terms not accepted for use because they degrade the referents, i.e. '*old'* replaced by '*senior citizens'*. In order to join the international job market, one has to be able to be competent in English, and by having such competency, a person adopts change and becomes a member of the global culture. Higher position in the job market (international) can be attained through proper accents, grammatically correct and a well contextualised interpretation of English language concepts.

This line of thinking brings me to the need of looking at a wider picture of teachers and the teaching profession in Pakistan. Such arguments are common with most private school teachers in Pakistan because they are themselves a product of the same system. As Khan (1997) pointed out, the same system reproduces itself in generation to maintain the status quo of the private sector. The role of the teacher is in the training of students to make them able to face on-going challenges. Therefore, teachers have a central role to play in society in terms of the promotion of personal development, social progress and national affluence (Rowe, 2003). Due to this role, education policy generally and MoI policy in particular have strong links with teachers. The policy speaks about factors that touch on their profession, e.g. the promotion, status, qualification, training, wages and class size. The policy document is considered as an important document because in many respects, it defines the future of the teachers (Das, *et al.* 2006). As such, as soon as the policy is announced, they would start debating about it in the classroom, in the public arena and in the media. For example, the rural primary school teachers will discuss it with the people of the village and the teachers in the city, at a higher level of education or those who work in the private sector have more expertise and better access to technology which makes them more likely to speak to a larger population through social media, blogs, forums, seminars, conferences or processions. Thus, the audience may also vary due to the status of the speaker.

As can be noted in the above exploration and as Sheikh and Iqbal (2003) explain, teachers in Pakistan are divided on the grounds of region, qualification, training, and gender. This division influences their views about education policy and the selection of MoI. For example,

as stated by UNESCO in GoB (2011), teachers who have secured their jobs with the help of a political party or if they are political workers, will ignore the evidence in their views and may exclusively represent the manifesto of their political group. Similarly, the under-qualified teachers may not understand the reality of MoI and its implementation on the ground. They may give a different meaning to the policy from those who are qualified and well-trained. Apart from all this, since the policy is written in the English language, it may be hard for some teachers to understand it due to their low level of this language. Gender and geographical locale is another factor related to teachers in Pakistan. According to Chaudhry and Rahman (2009), the home is the ideological and physical liberty of women while the male controls the outside world. Men have more opportunities, skills and training to compete in the public sector. According to UNDP (2008), there has been increasing gender disparity in Pakistan, which affects women more than men. For example the policy may well be made for male teachers and might be questionable by female teachers and vice versa. In such cases both genders will debate on the policy document with a different point of view.

There are also disparities in teachers' characteristics between rural teachers and urban ones (Sheikh and Iqbal, 2003). The urban teachers have more opportunities for training and skills development while their rural counterparts are generally less-qualified and untrained. The rural schools often lack instructional materials in the classrooms (UNESCO, 2010), and in case they have any equipment, they will be unable to use it effectively because of their unfamiliarity with the tools. Teachers in major cities however, have better access to teaching materials and are better supplied with other necessities for teaching technology and equipment such as the Internet and computers. Also, the quality of infrastructure differs in rural and urban settings e.g. space, lightning and ventilation as well as fire and security. Therefore, the teachers who are placed in better-equipped schools are more likely to focus more deeply on the quality of policy implementation rather than on dealing with minor or major administrative issues.

An increase in private schools in Pakistan has brought with it a division in the education sector. For example, as stated in Chapter 2, the private school teachers are highly paid, use English as MoI, and have international textbooks. The public schools are government-run; they are free of cost and famous for their low quality and out-of-date curriculum. Their teachers, particularly in the rural areas are less qualified and lack training (Alderman, *et al*, 2001). Due to these differences, background of the teachers from these different types of schools may see the same policy document in a different way and commit to it differently.

Those teachers, whose work is appreciated in terms of pay or recognition, are more likely to show higher commitment to the teaching process and strive for excellence. The bottom line here is that the selection process for teachers to work in public school has an impact on the quality of education the students receive.

Moreover, the way policy is communicated to teachers is according to whether they are in rural, urban, primary, secondary or higher schools. In the urban areas, for instance, the provincial and area education departments circulate the policy documents to the head teachers who then pass them to the teachers. In Balochistan, the urban areas are functioning similarly to other provinces, but in the rural areas, the schools are very remote, and often have only one teacher for all stages. The education officers hardly visit these schools for months (Craig *et al*, 1998). The teachers have no access to the technology or equipment and are often late in receiving information on the new policies. For these teachers, the language of the policy document is also a challenge. Most of the teachers in the province do not fully understand English - the language used to write the policy - which may harm its implementation.

Given this general picture of teachers and the teaching profession in Pakistan, several questions arise. The first is, how do the views and opinions of the private school teacher in the debate represent the views of the population of teachers in the country given the classification and categorisation of the teaching force in Pakistan? Seemingly, it does not, given the classification and categorisation of the teaching force in Pakistan. My view is that, he (the private school teacher) is representing the elite class of teachers with teaching experience of private schools, which are well-stocked and well-resourced in terms of human capital and materials. A rural public school teacher cannot orchestrate the use of English as MoI because he cannot express himself well in it even if it is said to open better opportunities. The second question concerns the opportunity of teachers to participate in the debate. Rural Pakistan lags behind in technological development such that rural teachers are not likely to get such opportunity to air their views regarding the education system they are serving. I wonder what they would have said about this education policy if they were offered such opportunity. The third question concerns culture and traditions; as described earlier, teachers in Pakistan are an output of a system characterised by control and boundaries such that a person who jumps over them is regarded an 'out cast'. In school, a pupil is expected to respect the authority of teachers just as at home children respect the authority of elders. It is therefore not likely that a rural schoolteacher can criticise the authority of the education system under which he is working.

Related to this, is the issue of gender. That is, would a female teacher in a public school give such opinions regarding the country's education system? This question can have a positive and negative answer. The former can be related to the mushrooming of NGOs geared to advance the rights of women in Pakistan through education and advocacy. As a result a cadre of women in the country is now being prepared to stand up and speak out against practices that they see are limiting their freedom. This however is just a handful of amongst the population of women in the country. The negative answer to the question regards the majority of girls and women brought up in a gender-separate education system. The public education system separates males from females from Grade 1 to Bachelor's degree level (a period of about 14 years of schooling). Co-education begins at university level; such a system affects women's confidence to speak their minds and ideas. With this upbringing, one would generally not expect a female teacher to be able to contribute to and criticise the system.

The author has generalised the issue of English to all Pakistanis. He also sees English as the only guarantee for jobs while rejecting the skills, expertise and experience of the people. If only English was such a crucial requirement for jobs in international markets, all the people of the English speaking countries would be employed. The author has tried to show his close links with the international market by pointing out the time he has spent abroad. This may help him in convincing the audience.

4.6.2 Type II: Mother Tongue as MoI

The group in support of mother tongue as MoI is made up of 6,380 words in 11 texts. Mostly, this group is made up of the people who support the mother tongue as MoI and official language.

4.6.2.1   Wordle Image of Mother Tongue as MoI Texts

When the texts were analysed in Wordle the following image came into view.

Figure 4.4: Wordle image of mother tongue as MoI text

As can be seen in the Wordle image, words such as *mother, tongue, education, culture*, etc. are bigger in appearance than others, which show their frequent use over the less visible words.

4.6.2.2   Wordsmith Presentation of Mother Tongue as MoI Texts

These highlighted words were analysed in Wordsmith to see the number of appearances of each frequently used word. The list of words and their numberings are presented in the table below.

Table 4.4, lists frequently used words in mother tongue as MoI type

Frequently Used Words in MT Supporting Texts	Total Occurrences
Regional/local languages	162
Mother/tongue	96
Culture	53
Tongue	41
Medium	28
People	26
Sindhi	23
Punjabi	19
Pashto	16
Identity	14

The table categorises the frequently used words in accordance with their appearances. It can be seen that the authors have presented regional languages as a promoter of *mother tongue, culture, people, identity, local,* etc. For the sake of example, among the 11 mother tongue supporting texts one is given hereunder. The author is a journalist who writes for the well-known English daily *The Nation*. The newspaper is published under the ownership of the *Nawa-e-Waqt group,* which sees Pakistan as an Islamic state (a detailed description of this media group can be found in Chapter 1 of this thesis). The text gives an idea about the stance of the author on mother tongue and highlights the frequently used words, which are *italicised* for clarity.

4.6.2.3   Sample Text

21MTNN: Education in *mother tongue* has been a demand for years made by different veteran educationalists of the country. Unfortunately, our policy makers have *not paid much heed* to it despite innumerable arguments presented in its favour. *Pakistan lags behind* as far as the education sector is concerned. One of the main causes of educational backwardness is indeed the *language* in which the students are being imparted knowledge: *English*. Students are compelled to learn it as it is the medium of instruction. This has *ruined* the *future and culture* of many brilliant students who could have excelled in their respective fields.

If the government is not willing to introduce *the mother tongue as medium of instruction*, it should then make the English language compulsory in schools for the initial five to eight years so that in this span of time students can learn it fairly well. China, Japan, Germany and many other countries have made progress by imparting education to their students in their *mother languages*. Here in Pakistan, feudal system encouraged by the colonial rulers has been the main obstacle in the development of *mother tongues* and *dissemination of mother tongues* and *dissemination of culture and knowledge*. Not only feudalism, onslaught of foreign *culture*, globalization, economic policies dictated by the IMF and the World Bank, had an adverse impact on the development of *indigenous culture and local language.*

If we could teach children in their *mother tongues*, this would help them understand concepts better. But here our Education Department thinks that to adopt English from Class 1 will help improve the quality of education. One wonders how the quality of education will improve when a child does not understand what he is being taught. In Pakistan *not many people speak English*. The use of English has *divided the people* into groups: the one that speaks the language and the other that doesn't. During the past 63 years, English has remained the elite language and has created big gap between them.

The inability of our planners to think clearly and decide on our priorities is at the root of the crisis in education in Pakistan today. *Language* is the key factor of *culture* and communication within the country and internationally. Yet we have no national policy in this regard. The *class*, which produces our bureaucrats, is educated in an 'alien' language with *distorted culture* and concepts. In China, they do not understand English, which is said to be a universal language, and the only way of communication is with the sign language. There is no or very little sign of English in China and still it is continuing to dominate the world in every field. It is now the Second Super Power of the world. Train stations, bus stations, building names, hoardings and visiting cards all are in their *native language*. It would be pertinent to mention here that when Mahathir of Malaysia took over, his government first took the decision to provide the best possible education available. Now the Malaysian *people* are one of the most disciplined and highly *educated people* of the world because of good education.

Finally, since the political system is *inefficient, regressive and unenlightened*, the question arises who is going to implement it in a country which is *under the clutches of western culture*, feudal lords, bureaucrats and generals.

It can be seen from the language used in the text that the author has used emotive words (such as *much heed, distorted,* etc.) to attract the attention of the readers while criticising the education system of the country and the role of the policy makers. The author also blamed the ruling elites and the international financial organisations for their oppression and negligence of regional languages. Although,

the supporters of the mother tongue believe it to be the best MoI but in the above given text the author has exaggerated the information by claiming, *'in China, they do not understand English',* in another place he claims that, *'it is (China) now the second super power of the world'*, and that *'Malaysian people are one of the most disciplined and highly educated in the world'* due to their use of mother tongue as MoI. These information and statistics are not correct and as stated by Mehrabian (1972), inappropriate to the situation.

We might say he is typical of journalists and journalism in Pakistan. Journalists are the agents of information. Ideally, they know their ethical conduct in the profession and ideally, they do not make up stories or take sides, but try to convey the information at hand in a realistic and professional manner. They present different views on certain burning issues so that the public can have a choice as to who is right and who is wrong (Weaver and Willnat, 2012). Journalists are thus there not just to write articles for newspapers or broadcasting nightly news bulletins, but rather they influence and even construct the perceptions of the public towards certain political parties/politicians or certain policies. They are therefore another major stakeholder in the educational policy debate.

The main reason why the politicians cooperate with the media is to publicise themselves and their policies as well as to be closer to the public and get feedback (Bennett, 1996). As a result, they provide journalists with access to information and news through their press attaches and/or press releases, through their web sites or directly through interviews. Journalists on the other hand are in search of news, and thus politicians are one major source of information for them. This symbiotic relationship puts them both in direct contact with the education ministry and the policy updates. Once the policy is announced, they often get copies to make them publicly available for comments. The journalists in rural areas may know and have access to the documents through their main office or the regional education department (Commonwealth Journalists Association, 2010).

Usually, journalists analyse policy documents critically by looking at them from different perspectives. They may for example look at a policy from the implication point of view in terms of the policy actions towards different people in different areas based on where they live, their socio-economic class, their age, gender and ethnicity. They often conduct research to find out the actual impact on the policy recipients. The major advantage journalists have is that they have an important platform of electronic and print media to convey their message. Additionally, they may talk in public gatherings, ceremonies and functions. In Pakistan, the

message the journalists spread often depends on their political ideals (Mezzera & Sial, 2012). For example, if a journalist is pro-government, he/she may appreciate the policy statements and action and, at the same time, may try to defend the gaps mentioned by the critics. On the other hand, if the journalist supports the opposition, then the policy may be seen from a critical perspective to highlight the gaps.

One of the reasons behind sharing and spreading information is that it is their profession. Journalists 'hunt' for the information, which, beyond the wider social benefit, is a way of earning their 'bread'; generating income for them and for the organisations they work for. Moreover, journalists may want to spread the word among the public to get their reaction about the policy and how to make it more effective and efficient (Bennett, 1996). Feedback is thus a vital part in the policy making process.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the media plays a very important role in Pakistan. The public views it as a source of information about the changes that happen in the country. The journalists are transmitting this information to various groups (Mezzera & Sial, 2012). This importance can be evidenced by the availability of a radio, a television set, an Internet connection and a telephone in almost all homes, which enable people to get connected to the outside world and receive updated information. But it can be noted from the above illustration that journalists are also different in terms of political and ideological affiliations. The various media outlets (e.g. newspapers, television channels, etc.) also differ in their political orientation. Given this general overview of journalists and the way they operate in Pakistan, a more or less similar picture with teachers comes into view.

The journalist I have quoted above in this section portrays certain nationalist tendencies by his frequent use of the possessive pronoun 'our' (country, education system, planners, etc.), and feels pity and sympathy for the way his country's education system is planned and managed. He also feels that there is a certain group of elites somewhere in the hierarchy of the system who are forcing policies and compelling the other groups to do things their way. In this way, he feels that the country is heading towards a dead end in as far as education is concerned. The journalist therefore expresses his heartfelt anger and frustrations by using strong words and phrases like '*distorted cultures, ruined future, regressive, inefficient, unenlightened system*, and '*the country is under the clutches of the western culture*'.

This particular journalist seems to be a victim of the Pakistani education system, which according to him is unfair to commoners, and uses an imported system of education in

disregard of the people's culture. He is therefore standing out to fight on behalf of the downtrodden. Whether he wins the 'fight' or not is out of the reach of this study.

Although Pakistan is a democracy in which people are allowed to exercise their freedom of expressions, there are still other elements that believe certain viewpoints are too extreme to be said out loud. The views expressed by this particular journalist belong in this category and seems to be tolerated and published in pro-English or pro-government newspapers. If the managing editor of a pro-English or pro-government newspaper decides that such views are publishable then the decision will still need to be made to reproduce them verbatim or with editing. And if the words are edited them to what extent would the original meaning be kept as intended by the writer? As mentioned above, the newspaper used to air this journalist's view is called *'The Nation'* published by the *Nawa e Waqt group* (Urdu word), which means '*voice of the times'*. As mentioned in Chapter 1, this media group is pro-Islamic. It consequently supports preserving this 'status quo'.

4.6.3 Type III: Urdu as MoI

Urdu as MoI has a total 6 supporting texts with 5,675 words. The supporters of this group are from different regions, languages and fields of life.

4.6.3.1 Wordle Image of Urdu as MoI Texts

The Urdu as MoI supporting words were analysed in Wordle, which came with the following image.

Figure 4.5: Wordle image of Urdu as MoI text

Wordle was used to highlight the frequently used words in the Urdu supporting texts i.e. *national, Pakistan, Islam, Muslim, country, identity*, *ideology*, etc.

4.6.3.2   Wordsmith Presentation of Urdu as MoI Texts

The words were analysed in Wordsmith to find out the number of times each frequently used word is repeated. The process thus led to the following table.

Table 4.5. The list of frequently used words in texts in support of Urdu as MoI

Frequently used words in Urdu as MoI type	Total Occurrences
Nation/al	83
Urdu	79
Islam/ic	27
Muslims	20
State	20
Identity	13
Culture	9
Ideology	9
Unity	7
Religion	5

It can be noted from the above table that Urdu is the only language, which can earn Pakistani nationwide *unity*, *national identity* and *Islamic norms*. Similar arguments and the above-mentioned frequently used words can be seen in the given text below. This text is a reply to a supporter of mother tongue education who demanded Pashto as the official language and MoI in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Pashtun regions of Balochistan province. The text was published in a social forum called '*Pashtun forum'* which according to their website is the 'world's largest online Pashtun community'. The respondent is a student, who speaks Pashto as mother tongue but supports Urdu as MoI. This makes it clear that not all Pashtun are demanding the mother tongue as MoI. To distinguish them differently from the rest of the words the frequently used words are *italicised*.

4.6.3.3 Sample Text

33UrGP: Hey, *Urdu* is our *national language*. It is the *language of Muslims* and *represents Islam* and our *identity*. How dare these Indian agents try to implement Pashto (of all languages) on us?! Long live *Urdu*! Death to Indian agents!
This is a report of the 21st of February 2010, 21st Feb being the *International* Day of Mother Languages. This was the day when the Pak Army killed 30 *Moslem Bengali students* who demanded official status for the Bengali language in Dhaka. PkMAP also held a seminar in Peshawar Press Club on the same day and demanded that PASHTO be made the *official language* of education, state institutions and media in North, South and Central Pakhtunkhwa.
And here is the peak of *******ism: I recently came to know that the Pak Govt instituted a commission to find proposals for the *national language* of Pakistan in 1951. This commission decided that Bengali should be made the *official language* if and only if, listen to this, if the Bengali is converted from the Indic script to the *Arabic script*.
Lolzz you people failed to make Pashto as *official language* in real terms in Afghanistan and you are getting angry over the same for our country. And BTW what's the use of making any *language* as *official language* when all official work is done in English. I am not against the demand i was merely pointing out to your double standard and Unfortunately Pukhtunkhwa did not maintain the pashto language in true sense. there are *different systems* of schools here ranging from Govt to *Public schools* and then those govt schools where they had syllabus in Pashto in the past but almost none currently. I remember my father was very disappointed to see that Pashtun teachers were even unable to teach read and write Pashto so he used to teach me read and write the Pashto at home.
And when i go back to my school i used to teach the *class* when it was turn of Pashto subject. The bottom line is we need to have some dedicated time for teaching Pashto along with teaching all other major specially foreign Languages like English.
Lets make Pushto the *Official Language* of Peshawer than worry about Afghanistan. You guys speak well but do nothing lolllzzz.
Ive met Tajiks who speak Fluent Pushto from Afghanistan, show a single Punjabi or Indian Mojjahir who speaks Pushto in the 1000's?

The author addresses a fellow contributor in a very informal way, e.g. calling the opponent *'hey'* and also uses phrases such as *'lolzzz'* and *'you guys'*. He also identifies himself with the language and therefore with the province and the country, e.g. *'this is our language'*, *'this is our identity'*. The author then appeals to the common knowledge of history by pointing out the opponents of the debate as *'Indian agents'*. Here, an attempt is made to link Urdu with Islam and the demand for any other language as an un-Islamic act. Such differentiation would possibly weaken the number of followers of the mother tongue as MoI because most of people would not like to challenge the religion. To make this differentiation clearer, he revisited the painful historical facts, e.g. *'the killing of Muslim Bengali students'* for the purpose of linking the Pashtun and Bengali cause. Such examples speculate that

Bengalis were wrong in their demand and so too the Pashtuns who follow in the footsteps of Bengalis; furthermore, he states that both groups are handled by a similar enemy, India.

Students are the most important human asset of Pakistan and a vital stakeholder in the education policy-making process. They are direct beneficiaries or victims of the policy as they are on the receiving end of the policy process. This is one of the reasons the students take an active part in state politics. Student unions are widespread and are affiliated directly or indirectly with the political parties of the country (Nasr, 1992). Consequently, they are divided into the supporters of Islamists, neo-liberals and ethnic sentiments. There are other students who presume a status quo and avoid taking part in student politics.

Being on the receiving end, students know comparatively better than other stakeholders about the education policy announcement and implementation. Their source of information is different at various stages of education. At primary and secondary level in the public sector, the students will be informed through their teachers in the class. In the rural areas, where the teachers are very authoritative, the students have to obey the rules. The higher the educational level, the more exposure the students have in terms of the sources of information which include the media, the teachers, the student unions, and the Internet. What students know about the policy depends on who is telling them at the time. For example, if the teacher is telling the students in the classroom, he/she will probably convey the information from the point of view of the party the teacher supports. When the information comes from the student union, it would probably be skewed to the political ideology that the student union supports.

Students will often talk about the policy, in the classroom, the cafeteria, or in their own families, during debating contests or in the student union forums. They discuss the policy because it is vital to their future and the learning processes and it is an opportunity to share their concerns on the policy (Nasr, 1992). It was mentioned earlier in Chapter 2 that the policy treats public, private and madrassa educational institutions differently in Pakistan in terms of MoI; a factor that affects their levels of achievement and future career prospects. Gillani, *et al.* (2010) for example found out that students in English medium schools performed and achieved better than those in public ones. At the higher level of education, this discussion may change from personal likes and dislikes to the manifestos of political parties because the students take part in politics and have no interest in the policy; rather they support the party stance on policy.

The audience of the students are mainly their family members and their teachers who are directly involved in the education process. Teachers are always in a face-to-face relationship with the students in the classroom. The students may address their concerns to the teachers regarding teaching and learning environment as well as the quality of teaching, and may even request certain improvements to be made. The political groups may also pay attention to what students have to say as they are future voters and potential elites and may escalate the issues at a higher level (Nasr, 1992). Due to the absence of technology and media in rural areas, the students become the most important source of information about the day-to-day policy implementation process. Media can also easily get access to students' first-hand experience and the impact of the policy and make it available to the general public.

Here in this text, the author is using insulting language to show his anger against a specific mindset such as, *'death to Indian agents'*. He also uses an abusive word which is replaced by asterisks by the publisher, i.e. *'and here is the peak of *******ism'*. The author exercised rhetorical questions to show the contradictions of the claims and actions of the Urdu opposition e.g. *'what is the use of making any language official...'* to convince the readers. In other words, he is saying, there is no use of doing so. He concludes by challenging the opposition to either take practical steps or otherwise stop opposing Urdu. Using the word *'double standard'* for Urdu opposition means that such people use MoI as a controversial matter to gain political benefits otherwise they know that Urdu is the right MoI and suitable for all. The participant of the debate is using religion (Islam), which he knows because it is a sensitive issue, and the population will oppose anybody seen to be against it. In this way he will be able to convince people to support his point of view.

The line of thinking of the supporters of Urdu as MoI is more or less the same with the arguments in social media. For example while talking about Urdu 31URrF explains that it is *'means of Brotherhood and Unity'* (1158). Similarly 28UrTD puts emphasis on Urdu by stating that, *'Educating the masses without a national language is a misnomer'* (925). 30UrCN shares a parallel view in a slightly different way. He asks *'is the medium of instruction a nation building, identity promoting and ideology (Islam) friendly?'* (1082-1083). Overall the Urdu supporters link Urdu with Islam and nation building as did by this particular author.

4.6.4 Type IV: Uniform Education System

The last group in the policy debate supports a uniform education system. This type is made up of 5 texts and 5,880 words in total in its favour. This type is made up of the participants who demand uniform education system regardless of a specific MoI. So this could be English or Urdu all over the country, or it could be the mother tongue for early years education and then switching to Urdu or English in later years. Such views have been supported by a number of authorities like Coleman, (2010), Benson, (2004), and Rehman, (1997).

4.6.4.1   Wordle Image of Uniform Education Texts

Texts were analysed in the Wordsmith to locate the repetitively used words. The exercise came up with the below given Wordle image.

Figure 4.6: Wordle image of uniform MoI text

Wordle has highlighted the words such as *education, uniform, Pakistan, teachers, system, rights, problems, private, institutions,* etc. To find out the stance of the authors on this specific type of MoI and to give meanings to the texts in the next section the frequently used words were analysed in Wordsmith to categorise them according to their appearances.

4.6.4.2   Wordsmith Presentation of Uniform Education Texts

The words and their frequencies can be seen in the table below.

Table 4.6, lists frequently used words in favour of a uniform education system

Frequently used words in Uniform MoI type	Total appearances
Education/al	88
Uniform/ity	52
Government	17
Class/es	11
Private	11
Politics/al	10
People	7
Public	6
Quality	5
Access	4

The table categorises the regularly used words. It can be noted that the authors have presented a uniform education system as a guarantee of *class* eradication, *access* to *education* and *quality,* etc. (24UWN; 26UPBnP). It is important to mention here that the word *language* is used only twice while the word *education* 88 times. This does not mean that the supporters of this group are not concerned with the MoI rather they demand uniform system without supporting anyone language. Similarly, they do not disadvantage English, Urdu or regional languages, suggesting them as MoI in different stages of education. By searching the word *education* with the help of Wordsmith I found out that the supporters of the uniform education system are concerned with the divisive education system, for example,

> *4.14   Though 62 years have been passed and 23 policies and action plans have been introduced yet the educational sector is waiting for an arrival of a savior to make it uniform and productive (27UPE 879-881).*

Hereunder, one of the 5 texts is given for the sake of example to know the stance of the authors on the uniform education system. This text is a blog, which is written by a politician and is published in a social forum. Here too, the repeatedly used words are *italicised* for clarity.

4.6.4.3   Sample Text from Uniform Education

27UPE: Education is considered as the cheapest defence of a nation. But the *down trodden condition of education* in Pakistan bears an ample testimony of the fact that it is unable to defend its own sector. Though 62 years have been passed and 23 policies and action plans have been introduced yet the educational sector is waiting for an arrival of a savior to make it *uniform* and *productive*. The *government* of Pervaiz Musharraf *invested* heavily in education sector and that era saw a visible *positive educational change* in Pakistani society. Now a days, the economic situation in Pakistan is under stress and education is the *worse effected* sector in Pakistan. The *Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan* says, "The state of Pakistan shall *remove illiteracy* and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period."

In Human development Report Pakistan is placed at 136th position for having just 49.9% educated populace. The primary completion rate in Pakistan, given by Date Center of UNESCO, is 33.8% in females and 47.18% in males, which shows that *people* in the 6th largest country of the world are unable to get the basic education. Following are the **problems of education in Pakistan**. **Firstly**, the educational system of Pakistan is based on *unequal lines* lacking *uniform medium of instruction, uniform exam system, uniform standards* and *uniform* **curriculum**. Especially medium of education is *different* in both, *public and private* sector. This create a sort of disparity among *people*, *dividing* them into two *segments*. **Secondly,** regional disparity is also a major cause. The schools in Balochistan (The Largest Provice Of Pakistan By Area) are not that much groomed as that of Punjab (The Largest Provice Of Pakistan By Population). In FATA, the literacy rate is deplorable constituting 29.5% in males and 3% in females. **Thirdly,** the ratio of *gender discrimination* is a cause which is projecting the primary school ratio of boys & girls which is 10:4 respectively. For the last few years there has been an increase in the growth of private schools. That not only harms the *quality of education* but create a *gap* among haves and have nots. **Fourthly,** the lack of technical education is a biggest flaw in the educational policy that has never been focused before. Therefore, less technical *people* means less . **Fifthly,** the allocation of funds for education are very low. It is only 1.5 to 2.0 percent of the total GDP. It should be around 7% of the total GDP. **Sixthly**, the teachers in *government schools* are not well trained. *People* who donot get job in any other sector, they try their luck in educational *system*. They are not professionally trained so they are *unable* to train a nation. **Finally**, Poverty is also another factor that *restrict* the parents to send their children to *public or private schools*. So, they prefer to send their children to madressahs where education is totally free.

Recently, minister of education announced a new Education policy for that next 10 years. The interesting thing is that the previous educational policy from 1998 to 2010 is still not expired. Although it is projected to give new plans and to make more promises with the *nation*. It is said in this policy that all the *public schools* will be raised upto the level of *private schools*. No plan of action have been discussed, yet a notice is issued to *private schools* to induct *government* course in 5th and 8th *class* and these *classes* will bound to take board exams. This disturbed the students of *private sector* also.

Solutions for Educational *System***:** Estimating the value of education, the *Government* should take solid steps on this issue. Implementation instead of projecting policies, should be focused on. Allocation of funds should be made easy from provinces to districts and then to educational institutes. Workshops must be arranged for teacher staff. Foreign states are using LSS system. This should be inducted in Pakistani schools to improve the hidden qualities of children. Technical education must be given to all the *classes.* The education board of Punjab have projected a plan to give tech- education to the children of industrial workers. Promotion of the primary education is the *need of time*. Teachers, professors and educationists should be consulted while *devising* any plan, syllabus or policy. The state seems to give up her responsibility and totally relying on *private sector*. The *need of time* is to bring education in its original form to masses. Burdening a students with so much books will not work as he will not understand what the world is going to do next moment. Education is the only *cure* of the *stability* in the state and can bring revolution through evolution, by eradicating the social evils.

The author has pointed out the major issues faced by the education system of Pakistan putting MoI on the top. This explains that the participants of this group give similar importance to MoI issue as participants from other MoI groups do. It can be noted from the words of the text that the author has used emotive, but aggressive language (for example, *down trodden condition of education, education is the worse affected sector in Pakistan, the Government should take solid steps*) to convince the readers. He disapproves the government and the policy makers for creating policies, which are contradictory to the Constitution of Pakistan 1973, and the Laws of Human Rights. This participant complains that policy-making process 'lacks sincerity' and suggests uniformity of the education system to sidestep classification and division.

The above illustration brings me to the need of looking at a broader picture of politics and politicians in the country. Politics in Pakistan revolves around the thoughts of Islam, liberalism and ethnicity and is traditionally divided into two parts, i.e. the ruling party and the opposition (Esposjto, 1982). Historically, the ruling party defends its actions while the opposition opposes any new policy. This status normally determines their approach towards the policy and MoI. For example, the leader of an Islamic party will support Urdu as MoI because Urdu is thought to be the language of Islam and thus any other policy will be criticised. On the other hand, the view of an ethnic political leader may change if the mother tongue is not selected as MoI. The liberals will always support English as MoI as they consider it to be the language for change, global communication and economic prosperity. Similarly, the political leaders from the ruling party will support it because their own party makes the policy. But the opposition will always reject these claims to prove that the ruling party makes wrong decisions. So, in this power game, the politicians more often see the policy from the perspective of their political benefits (Esposjto, 1982). This is how the MoI policy involves the doctrine of Islamism, neo-liberalism and regionalism.

In Balochistan, where the will of tribal lords also matters, the situation is even more serious. The chief of the area is so powerful that he can refuse the policy implementations in their particular territory. Policy is only supported by group who feels the policy actions can benefit them. In the past also the overall impact of policy was mostly neglected and ignored.

The education policy document is equally an essential document for the politicians who are often informed through the central office of the party and the provincial, regional and area offices. The policy may be devolved to the targeted people in a different manner. For example, the ruling party will focus on the good side of the policy and will compare it with

the policies of previous regimes whereas the opposition will emphasise its gaps and flaws. Conventionally, the policy document will be seen in the light of short term political benefits which otherwise is not of any interest for these groups.

The way politicians communicate the policy depends on their political standpoints and interests. They may talk to people about education and MoI policy in party processions, political meetings and election rallies. For example, during the election campaigns politicians may fully concentrate on the government's MoI to achieve certain policy benefits. During a school visit, they may point out things in the policy that are relevant to that particular school or area. In the rural areas, politicians may not be well informed about the policy in detail, but traditionally, politicians from the ruling party will appreciate the policy to show their loyalty to the government.

Politicians have a high number of listeners from different groups, which include the general public, teachers, educationists, linguists and students; because they are major stakeholders in the policy making process and they represent people from their constituents (Cohen, *et al*, 2002). Therefore, they have first-hand experience, and the authority to make decisions that influence policies. They are more often appearing in the public media and thus, people tend to listen to them more often than any other stakeholders. Moreover, politicians are enjoying the status of 'celebrities' in some areas, and they think highly of their personalities. In Balochistan Province, the politicians act and present themselves in the same way. Their status is quite different from those in other provinces presumably because of the existing chieftain system and low literacy. They have the power to all decisions in their hands in some of the rural areas (Fair, 2012*).*

This debater above who is a politician begins by describing the importance of education i.e. '*it defends the nation'*. How education does this is not however clear. The debater then presents his argument quite systemically, i.e. 1) the use of statistics to portray the poverty of the Pakistani education system, 2) a look back on the education of the country's history and the efforts put by the government in an attempt to improve the sector (i.e. 23 policies), and 3) a list of 7 problems facing education in the country and possible solutions (8 of them).

Indeed, this is what should be expected of politicians, especially when giving speeches, i.e. logical arrangement of ideas. The debater does this quite effectively by using transition marks. It is easy for the reader to follow logical texts of this kind, and thus be convinced with the argument. The debater however presents his views in poor English language as is

evident in his frequent use of inappropriate words and phrases, incorrect grammar, poor sentence construction, inconsistencies and literal translation. For example, '*that not only harms the quality of education but create a gap among haves and have nots*' (898) and '*Technical education must be given to all the classes*' (916). This may indicate that he is a product of the public education system and thus has a low competency in English. Perhaps his joining politics was for the purpose of gaining status as politicians are considered to be people of high status in the country. And the likelihood is that he is from the opposition because a pro-government politician could not be so critical of the government that he is serving.

Relating this to the *Jirga* concept, the debater stands to represent the common people against the government and the issue under discussion is poor education, which leads to a low standard of life. The figures and measures he presents are meant to show that he is knowledgeable. In addition to this he also suggests steps for the improvement of education to convince the reader of his vision and concerns.

The following table gives a summary of the views of the different participants in the debate.

Table 4.7. Summary of Participants and their points of view

Participation in the debate		Views on medium of instruction			
Participants	Division	English	Mother tongue	Urdu	Uniform education
Students	For	.Language of modernity, and change .Language of job market	.Language of regional identity .Promotes culture	.National language .Represents Islam	.Promotes similar education standards .Promotes unity
	Against	.Foreign language .Imposed language	.Causes ethnicity problems .Has limited scope	.It has no relation with Islam .Conspiracy of the elites (esp. Punjabi and Muhajir)	.Provides option for parents .Encourages competition
Journalists	For	.Language of exposure .Gateway to global information	.Promotes local culture .Gives voice to minority groups	.Bridging language .Supports national agendas	.Repels social division .Promotes equity
	Against	.Foreign funded .Promotes foreign agenda	.Has limited literature .Limited demand	.The language issue is just sensationalized by the media	
Politicians	Pro-ruling party	.Language of global market .Language of reforms	.Promotes culture, norms and local heritage .Presents local languages	.Language of the people (lingua franca) .Language of religion (Islam)	.Assurance of equal rights .Discourages class system
	Pro-Opposition	.Makes citizens 'slaves' of the West. .Does not represent all groups	.Encourages 'provisionalism' .Strategy for political benefits	.Based on political conspiracy .Minority language	
Teachers	Private	.International language .Should be MoI in all levels .Language of change	.No enough t/l materials .Limited in scope to meet educational needs	.Not a global language .Provides less job opportunities	.Reduces competition
	Public	.Important but it should not rule replace other languages .Appropriate for high level	.Teachers not trained in the regional languages .No enough materials	.Rich in literature and scope .Supports national ideology	.Encourages social cohesion .Removes the sense of deprivation
Linguists & educationists		.Imposition .Best medium only for higher levels	.Best medium in early years	.Best medium from age 5 onwards	
NGOs	Foreign	.Language of reform, modernisation and progress	.No enough literature for education purposes	.Conservative .Less in demand .Less open to change, reforms and modernization	.Competition .Public-private partnership
	National	.A foreign-funded agenda meant to endanger national and local languages	.Preserve local culture	.Source of cohesion .Promotes national unity	.Promotes equity

In chapter 5 this table will be frequently referred to for purposes of exemplifications as I interpret and give meaning to the emerging themes. The following Chapter thus analyses the emerging themes, which came in the light of responses provided by the respondents of the debate.

Chapter 5 – Data Analysis II: Emerging Themes

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analysed the expected themes emerging from the data. At this stage the texts, which were first of all grouped and then analysed in Wordle and Wordsmith, came with the expected themes. As mentioned in rationale of the computer software in Chapter 3, Wordle and Wordsmith are helpful in organising sets and categories from large data, which is manually not possible or otherwise time consuming. The software, therefore, helped in organising four different sets of data i.e., English as MoI, Urdu as MoI, mother tongue as MoI and uniform education system. Similar software then assisted in finding the frequently used words, which were organised under different categories. The categorisation brought to the surface different themes i.e. neo-liberalism, Islamism, regionalism and uniform education system. The categories were grouped under the main themes on the basis of their characteristics. Means the frequent words used by the supporters in English as MoI category indicates a neo-liberal doctrine. The supporters of Urdu tended towards Islamism by frequently using words such as *religion, Islam, national* and *unity* in the Urdu supporting texts. The supporters of mother tongue education have a tendency towards a view that a regional focus is the solution to the MoI debate. Such authors are categorised under regionalism. The last group in favour of a uniform system represents the view of the participants who support a uniform system of education and uniform language policy in the country. Figure 4.7 summarises the process.
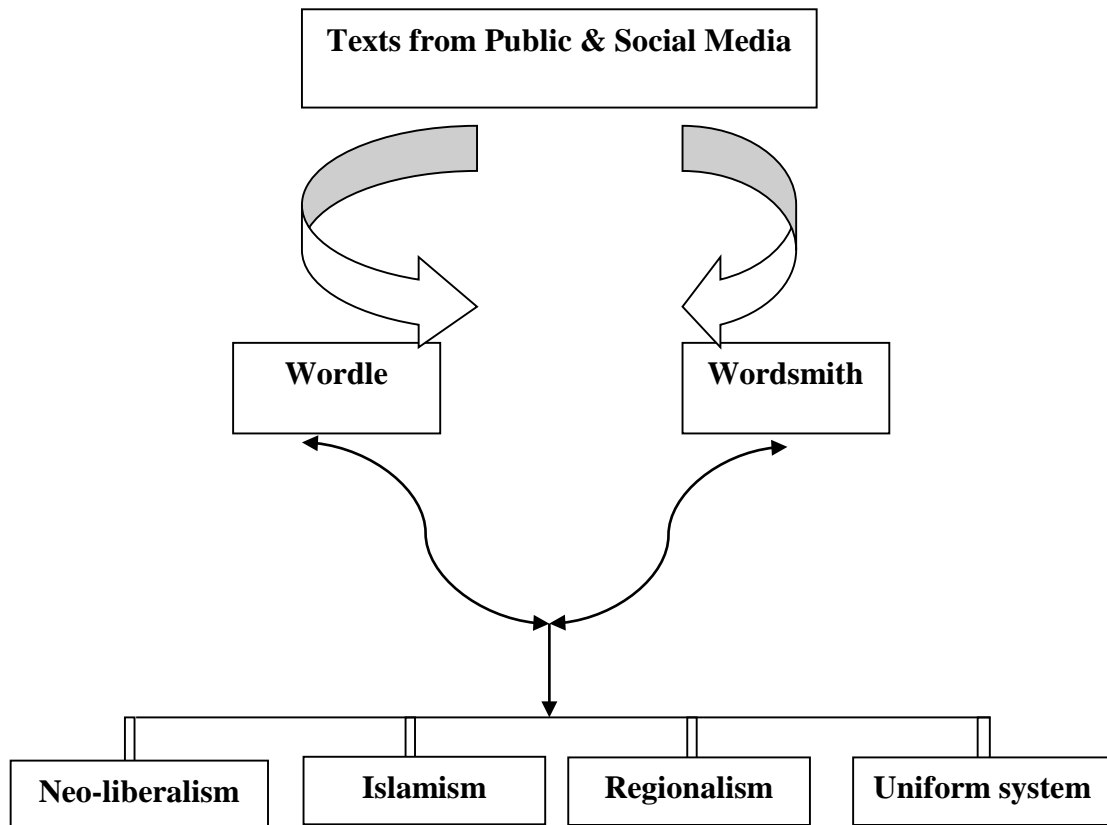
Figure 5.1: The process of how the themes emerged from the data

One of the main reasons for such themes is the ability to link the views of the participants with a broader perspective i.e. neo-liberalism, Islamism, regionalism and uniform system. Secondly, such categorisation may help the reader to a better understanding of the debate and the involvement of the power structures.

Hereunder, each theme is sub-divided in a way that represents its characteristics, which emerged from the data and is followed by a discussion in for and against.

5.2 Neo-liberalism in Education Policy Making in Pakistan

As described in Chapter 2, section 2.9.1, neo-liberalism has influenced education policy making in many developing countries because of its free market advancements, free trade strategies and the approaches of lowering the public sector contributions (Harvey, 2005; Campbell and Pederson, 2001). It seems like the neo-liberal doctrine has used education as a tool for competition and global economy. This is most likely why the Jomtien Conference

1990, the report of the Jacques Delors Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century, and the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were conducted. It is worth mentioning here that, one of the aims of the above-mentioned events was to emphasise the universality of education. Another effort to achieve this goal is to draw the world together via scientific and technological innovations, economic blocks and market-oriented regulations. These neo-liberalist approaches are recommended by the financial organisations such as the World Bank and IMF which makes it more acceptable worldwide either by choice or as an 'imposition' (Harvey, 2005).

There is a generalisation that survival in such an era is only possible if the nation or the person has the 'ability' and 'vision'. Thus survival in this age of 'competition' became a daunting challenge, which is speculatively achieved with the help of reformed policies and 'quality education'. The medium of instruction and education policies are, therefor, 'influenced' by such organisations to make them 'momentous'. Basically, influence is the ability of pushing others towards one's own point of view. From policy perspectives, it can be an art of persuading others towards a system one is advocating (Rose, 2003). From my observation, it is a contribution to the development of someone's thinking and even ideology in one's own direction. Generally, the best possible way for such attainments might be through debates.

I would like to argue that this seems to have been the case in Pakistan as well because the NEP 2009 confirms that, policy is 'formulated' with the help of International Organisations and it is an effort in bringing 'reforms' in education sector. This 'contribution' in the making of education policy to some of the participants of the debate is translated as an 'influence' from external pressures through international financial organisations (12MTND). Generally in Pakistan people see the spread of private sector institutions and English a neo-liberal agenda, which will possibly as stated by Harvey (2005) and Coleman (2010) limit the power of decision-making to a small class of elites.

But it is not the case with all participants. The supporters of English as MoI (1EPD, 10EWB, 3ETT, 2EPD) are in the favour of such influence and reforms, which are viewed as a guarantee of more competition, modernity and positive change. They believe such traits will eventually make the human expertise more significant, e.g.

> *5.1. People want English for jobs, international and global market and change (2EPD42).*

And

> *5.2. Private educational institutions in Pakistan are 'modern' and with international job market prospectus (6EEVnB121-122).*

Similar to the idea of neo-liberalism the participants in favour of English confirm that, surviving in such an epoch can only be possible if the nation is well equipped with modern expertise, international communication skills, global exposure and an international standard education system. NEP (2009) narrows down this speculation to English as medium of instruction because 'it earns Pakistan a global identity and a gateway to the international job market'.

Soon after the announcement of English as MoI in NEP (2009), a debate has commenced among the public on the place of English in the education system in public and social media, which I would use as the argument 'for' and 'against' English in public and social media based on the evidence of values relating to change, modernity, jobs and global market.

5.2.1 Change and Modernity

The term *modern* and *change* are used 27 and 11 times respectively in the texts supporting English MoI. These goals are targeted by neo-liberalism through education. Probably this *'change'* is from the *'old age'* Urdu medium or mother tongue as MoI. In this regard the participants who are 'For' English to be used as MoI in education attempt to convince the public of the relationship between English, positive change and modernity. Change in the people's way of life is becoming different from the traditional way of life of a common Pakistani person, e.g. dressing in western types of clothes instead of the traditional Pakistani *shalwar qameez.* They are seeking modernity to be part of the global competition because 1EPD believes that Pakistanis are struggling due to its lacking all over the world:

> *5.3. After living in North America and Europe for 15 years, I found why a large number of Pakistanis are unable to adjust themselves in western society and job markets. It is because they do not try to adapt to change and global cultures and want to live a typical `home life` there as well (12-14).*

The participants in the debate in this text is a private school teacher and criticises the Pakistani nation for its inability to mix with global communities and an inability to accept change. As stated in Chapter 4, private school teachers are typical of the writer in terms of change and openness. The author has described *Change* here as an important factor for

accommodating with other cultures and global communities. Due to lack of adaptability the language of Pakistani people abroad is faced with several accents and pronunciation issues. The author also judges that due to the non-native language people of other nationalities do struggle with language issues, but they are more modern and open to change if compared with Pakistanis. Consequently, improper or otherwise wrong communication skills always remain the reason behind the dismissal from the job of the people from this particular nationality (1EPD). This view is similarly shared by 10WSBE who offers two observations: 1) English is the only language essential for securing a 'good' job globally and 2) not English, but properly spoken English can only enable someone for positive change and a secure career.

The arguments of 1EPD and 10EWB raise questions on the place of privatisation in Pakistan, which is divided into two parts. The first one is famous for elite private institutions while the second one is 'poor quality English medium schools' (Abbas, 1993; Rahman, 2006). The former one is believed to be of a high standard, imparting quality English with a view to prepare learners for the demands of the international job market, but are very expensive, which keeps it out of the reach of the majority. The latter one is that low fee-charging schools with poor quality English and low-rated teaching and learning (Andrabi *et al*, 2002) abound. Thus supporters for English MoI are divided within groups over the privatisation of education and the standard of English. This division according to 12MTND is intentional and deliberate, because this is the only way that power will remain in the hands of a few and the status quo of the elites will be maintained. They aim to keep others away from the privileges they enjoy, e.g. *"… Centralisation remained the motto of the establishment dominated by the immigrants and Punjabi bureaucracy which strictly followed all the colonial tactics of governance to rule the people"* (12MTND 339).

Also the argument that Pakistanis have a poor accent and therefore have less chances of being employed abroad is challenged by 2EPD, and 7EMVnNE respectively. 2EPD notes that, English is an international language and therefore it is bound to go through several alterations and changes. In other words history has made it a heterogeneous language, a view shared by linguists like (Baugh and Cable, 2002). While 3ETT does not believe that Pakistanis abroad do not succeed or adapt to the new environment because of poor language skills. He is therefore speculating that there are other factors involved (such factors are not covered by this research study). Despite the inadequacy in English, a good number of Pakistanis abroad are doing very well as evidenced from 2EPD47-52 shows:

5.4. I myself have been in North America (Canada) for 13 years now and have had the opportunity of meeting with many successful Pakistanis. I have observed that of the overall landed immigrant communities here Pakistanis have proven to be well educated, modern, hardworking, honest and well respected. The Pakistanis that I have met in the past 3 years of recession and downturn in North America were the least laid off staff among others as well, as most of them have proven themselves as an asset for the organisations that they belong to. Hence were very well taken care of by most of the employers.

The author is an educationist and linguist who is currently in Pakistan, but was based in English-speaking countries for more than a decade. He writes in famous English Daily '*Dawn*' and appreciates the capabilities of Pakistanis abroad. This point of view brings me to the need of eyeing with a more broad representation of the educationists/linguists in Pakistan. Such views remained of high importance in the history of Pakistan and so do the views of educationists and linguists. These are people with a deep knowledge about educational and language theories and may have firsthand experience with policies. People other than educationists and linguists may access such information through secondary sources. Information to these sources is also provided by educationists and linguists. The source of information for a linguist may change the perspective about the policy as the linguists are usually divided into groups supporting a specific language as MoI. For example, if the linguist is the supporter of a mother tongue as MoI, he/she may see the document in light of cultural and mother tongue promotion. Whereas, if the educationist/linguist is an Urdu supporter, secular linguist or nationalist, the policy document will be interpreted in a different way with certain implications. There are linguists supporting each approach to MoI; regional languages, Urdu, or uniform English. Due to this support, those politicians who are trying to lobby certain MoI are using educationist/linguists as an asset to convey their message. These groups provide educationists/linguists with a platform to speak to people. Another platform can be lectures, social events and public meeting. This indicates the reality of the policy-making process i.e. a messy reality where the groups, in this case the politicians with more power wins and includes their values in the new policy.

Educationists and linguists are talking about the educational policy because it is mainly their area of specialty and they may have their own perspective about the policy, the implications of the policy, as well as the benefits and challenges. The listeners depend on the status of the educationists and linguists. If the educationist or linguist is related to the teaching process, then listeners may include students and staff members. If the linguist is a political leader then the listeners may include voters, for example. Apart from this, the

ideological ideas of linguists to a great extent determine the audience to which they convey their messages. For example, if the linguist is a supporter of the mother tongue or regional language as MoI, then almost all ethnic groups apart from a specific party might be among the listeners. The same situation happens with Urdu and English as MoI.

Basically in the above given example what 2EPD is saying is that most of the Pakistanis in Canada are professionally qualified and because of this qualification they are versatile, adaptable and respected in their professional fields. It is undeniable that professionally qualified people cannot easily be laid off. But the author in another place links change and modernity with exposure, which is described as an essential indicator of confidence-building. Reference can be made to 2EPD24-26:

> *5.5. Due to lack of quality education and inadequate global exposure to English language in everyday life, Pakistanis are not able to express themselves with confidence.*

And

> *5.6. Actually, we stubbornly lack adaptability and adjustments to change and global market. We prefer to blame others for our misfortunes and faults and love pointing fingers (20-21).*

The participant in this text is an educationist and linguist. The author in these statements blames the Pakistani education system for its poor quality, outdated structure and ineffectiveness. Perhaps this argument is based on the general belief in Pakistan where students who attend English medium schools and who are fluent in English are regarded as more confident and intelligent than others. Therefore English is defined as a source for better global exposure. But the critics see this perception based on the exemplary status of English, which is linked historically with the well-off socio-economic class. This class as argued by Haque (1983), Rahman (2002), Rasool (2007) and Mansoor (1993), helped the English language to be the prominent one, declaring it powerful and comparing it with its counterpart languages spoken in Pakistan. This can be one of the reasons why almost every education policy has emphasised English as medium of instruction or at least as a subject. Thus the 'emphasis' on change and modernity might be as stated by 12MTND for the happiness of the Western lords by the 'mental slaves of the West' (140).

Though the attitude of the people towards English is ambivalent, at the same time, English in Pakistan is being promoted rapidly. This rapid growth is due to the attitude of the

majority towards it being a necessity of the modern day. There is a tendency of some Pakistanis relating the use of English and positive change and modernity. They argue that:

> *5.7. Education is the first and foremost condition for the development of any nation. Just look at the history of nations, every nation of the world reached at the zenith of prestige and power with development in education. Government educational institutions are not modern and not delivering due to corruption and lack of funds. Private educational institutions in Pakistan are 'modern' and with international job market prospectus (6EEVnB118-123).*

This particular author is a student and praises the role of English as a language of power. Students always played an important role in the history of Pakistan and thus are vital stakeholders in the education policy-making process (for further details about characteristics of the students see chapter 4). At the same time he blames the public sector schools for being poor. The author seems a product of the private English medium system because he has good English, which is hard for an Urdu medium student. This view is shared by (3ETT 85-87 and 88-92):

> *5.8. None of the native languages, including Urdu, have the literature, research, modern day demands, translations and terminology of modern scientific advancements to become teaching languages (84-86).*

And that

> *5.9. …English in Pakistan is seen as a language to help you progress in your studies as well as jobs in global market. According to the language policy of 2009, English has been made compulsory for primary classes because it's modern, global and the language of market. English is a modern language and essential for change and thus there is a dire need to produce English language teachers (86-90).*

The author of the above statement is a journalist who is quoting a linguist in his newspaper report. Journalists convey information, influence public and construct the perception on specific issues: therefore they are another major contestant in the national educational policy debate (more on the characteristics of the journalists can be found in Chapter 4). The words are the speech of the linguist who rejects Urdu because of its limited scope and literature. Equally, the linguist appreciates English as a modern and market oriented language. This line of argument is strong and perhaps acceptable to a substantial number of Pakistanis. However, it has been countered by other participants in the debate who take the view that English benefits only one group.

5.10. This resulted in the emergence of English medium schools which prepared students for examinations offered by foreign universities, for higher education in order to get handsome jobs in international market and in the multinational companies at home and abroad. The institutions that sprung up to meet the demand of change and quality were expensive. But they became popular with the families who wanted to climb the social and economic ladder of change at all costs. This led to corruption, illegal practices in offices and business. However, nobody cared for these illegal and unethical practices, because the main purpose was to provide quality and education for change to one's progeny (7EMVnNE 188-194).

The writer is a teacher and appeals to common knowledge of history for evidence. As with other participants in the debate, teachers are also an important role-player in the policy-making debate. Due to their role in the classroom, teachers always remain the first hand receivers of the policy, which makes them appreciate its value and worth better than others. Additionally, due to their direct relationship with the students in the classroom they hold vital role in conveying the policy issues. When it comes to MoI issue in Pakistan, the teachers are divided along the lines of English, Urdu, mother tongue and uniform education system. Here in the above statement, the author blames the English speaking class and this is typical of public school teachers in Pakistan. As stated earlier, the public sector teachers supports Urdu as MoI (for further details see Chapter 2 and 4).

It can be seen from the statement that the author has used emotional language (such as *sprung up, for change to one's progeny, corruption, illegal practices in offices and business*) to catch the attention of the readers while disparaging the private sector English medium schools and the elites of Pakistan. The author also blamed the elite families as self-interested and self-centered who for the sake of power escorted the country towards corruption and illegal practices.

In terms of Balochistan, the case of English is in no way different from the rest of the country, i.e. people are divided within groups over the role of English. The Urdu supporters see *'change and modernity'* as the promotion of Western culture, while the mother tongue supporters see it as imperialism. The supporters of a uniform education system however believe this division is deliberately maintained to safeguard the status quo that keeps the ruling elites in power.

Judging from the examples in support and opposition of English above, one can conclude that the use of English in Pakistan is still unfinished 'warfare'. Debaters who have found themselves in privileged positions are linking it with modernity of the state and change

whereas the underprivileged are against this notion. I would like to argue here that, 1EPTD and 2EPD, who have been in Canada for last 13 years, are two of the privileged. Their level of English shows as if they belong to elite social class and are presumably a product of the elite private sector school and college; it may be this English language competency that was a factor supporting their case for Canadian immigration. Online Sources of the Canadian Immigration Regulations require an applicant to possess at least a minimum 7.0 band of International English Language Testing System (IELTS) which is very difficult to secure for a good number of people from an Urdu medium or public sector schools.

5.2.2 Job, Market and Economic Prosperity

Securing jobs in a world dominated by an open market as favoured by the neo-liberal philosophy is more competitive. Therefore, the participants in the favour of English believe that only English can be a possible gateway for entering the present competitive world. As stated by 3ETT88, "English in Pakistan is seen as a language to help you progress in your studies as well as jobs in the global market". This section looks at evidence to support this view.

Not only do the supporters of English language instruction convincingly claim that it is the only language, which can improve the lives of the people, they also criticize the government and the policy makers for their unproductive and outdated policies of Urdu as MoI. As shared by 2EPD:

> *5.11. No more excuses or exploitation in the name of national languages!*
> *People want English for jobs, international and global market and*
> *change (41-42).*

The participant in the debate in this statement is an educationist and linguist. As stated earlier, educators and linguists in Pakistan are divided on the lines of different types of MoI. At this juncture, let me point out that the author (2EPD) opposes the role of Urdu as MoI, which according to him has subjugated and oppressed the masses. As stated previously in Chapter 4, he is typical of English medium educationists who have always rejected the notion of Urdu as the language of Islam along with the supporters of mother tongue as MoI. It can be seen from the language of the statement that the author has pointed out Urdu and mother tongue as a source of exploitation. The Author also used the word 'we' to show that he/she represents public views. He is therefore positioned to struggle on behalf of the powerless ones.

But it is not the case with the opposition to English and neo-liberalism who see this language as a threat to the social cohesion of the country. 7EMVnNE196-203 summarizes the impact of English as MoI in the Pakistani context as follows:

> *5.12. But the emergence of the English medium stream of education has created a divide between the offspring of the rich who could afford the expensive schools, and those who were obliged to enroll in the local medium institutions. This has divided the society into two distinct classes having their own worlds – one famous for being modern the other backward, one almost breathing in a modern day of the 21st Century West, and the other trying to just survive in the conditions of yore. This divide has intensified with time. Apart from the bitterness, this new class system based on medium of education, effectively keeps the less privileged class of society, confined to their current positions. The distance between these groups has widened to an extent that no ordinary scheme will be able to bridge it.*

The author of the above statement is a teacher who critically analyses the education system of Pakistan. This statement is strong and possibly summarizes the view of a considerable number of Pakistanis. The author has concluded that the system is divisive and class-based. Consequently, a specific socio-economic class holds the power. A similar text (6EMVnNE) also points out the risk involved in the division of society on the basis of socio-economic status, which portrays itself in grand dishonesty, illegitimate and immoral practices in offices, business and general societal insecurity.

Although, most of the participants accept the widespread importance of English, their concerns are very clear when it comes to the background of English in Pakistan. Two texts (10EWB and 11EIU) believe that English works as a bridging language connecting people all over the world. International communication is thus impossible without knowing English. Therefore, they stress the importance of Pakistan working out how to promote English. Here is a sample from 10EWB.

> *5.13. The importance of English is very wide. Our government and official language is English. Our constitution is also in English but there should be more and more institutes for improvement of English especially in urban areas. Scope of English is very large, you can see that every field, demand English. If you want to get a job whether it is related to bank, teaching or it can be any other profession, but it demands English. A person must be fluent in English and he must know all the rules and regulations of English language. So, scope of English cannot be ignored. You cannot survive in the modern world without English (10EWB 298-203)*

This statement is written by a student. Mostly, as stated in Chapter 2, students in Pakistan are divided in support of different MoI, i.e. the private school-goers support English, the

public school ones favour Urdu while students in the rural set-up encourages the mother tongue. The situation in this text is different as the author recognizes English as a guarantee of bright future in his statement published in a social forum. His English has punctuation and grammar mistakes (*that every field, demand English*). This suggests that he is perhaps from an Urdu medium (public sector school) and has probably suffered due to his poor English and realised to bring the issue to in the attention of people. But this view is challenged by 8EGP (an educationist) who accepts the importance of English but not at the expense of other languages. The statement argues that modernisation is not linked with the job and market only and that for the sake of the job, it is not worth sacrificing one's culture and traditional values:

> *5.14. English is a global and modern language but we should maintain our mother tongue and learn English as well (8EGP21)*

Similarly, 28UrTD1211 believes that English is a threat to the Islamic way of life, which cannot be compromised at any cost. An example of China and Japan is given, whose students are performing very well in higher education abroad without having English as medium of instruction in their early years. Many of those opposed to English MoI perceive English as a symbol of imperialism, which intends to break the spiritual and social heritage of the people of Pakistan.

But one of the major arguments the supporters of English MoI make against using the vernacular languages (Urdu and MT) as a medium of instruction is their limited scope and literature. They argue that with Urdu and other mother tongues it is difficult to acquire jobs in the global market. If a language has a limited written script, then it follows that it is not going to be an effective medium for knowledge. The participants claim that these languages are the demand of a small minority rather the general public. As stated by 3ETT:

> *5.15. Bilingual education in Pakistan will be hindered by a lack of materials in vernacular languages, limited support for high quality language instruction and the "ambivalent" attitude towards the value of vernacular languages (71-73).*

This seems to be a reasonable argument if regional languages are compared with English. The author of the statement is a linguist who sees English only as a rich language and appropriate MoI. Additionally, the supporters of English argue that due to a range of regional languages, the selection of a medium of instruction and the division of areas is a difficult task. In case regional languages are the media of education, in a country like

Pakistan where a small amount of budget is allocated for education, the production of books, instructional materials and teacher training in a range of languages will be difficult to manage (3ETT). Instead, efforts need to be placed on the promotion of quality English so that Pakistan can earn economic prosperity and access to the job market. Furthermore, it is easy for a child to learn English in the early years (primary stage). Studying in any other language rather than English may create difficulties for a child to compete with the children who have studied English from class one. As stated below:

> *5.16. ...in the presence of more than 70 spoken languages, it will be difficult to identify major languages of instruction. English is "a tool for individual change and national development" and it can only be acquired easily if it is learnt in the early years (3ETT 74-76).*

Obviously, this statement written by a linguist can be a reply to the Urdu and mother tongue supporters who blame private sector for having English as MoI in early years. They claim this action has given them an advantage in fluency, which they use in acquiring jobs. The author has also pointed out that people like English more than Urdu and mother tongue.

But supporters of regional languages and Urdu blame the English speaking class for building this attitude (28UrTD). They claim that a large sum of money is spent on the promotion of English, which if spent on Urdu or mother tongue would have changed the negative attitudes into positive ones. Supporters of mother tongues have a strong demand that psychologically a mother tongue is the best medium in the early years of a child's education. They make a point that English can be learnt in later years effectively. In this regards I would like to quote 3ETT80-83 who explains that,

> *5.17. I studied in Urdu till Intermediate and still managed to learn English late. Making English the teaching language may work for people whose families also speak it but those from poor socio-economic backgrounds, whose native language is the home language, may have to struggle to express and think in one language.*

The statement is part of a conference speech delivered by a linguist. The report of the conference is published by a journalist in the prominent English daily of Pakistan called 'The NEWS'. The statement shows that the linguist went to publicly run Urdu medium schools and colleges. As stated in Chapter 5, he/she is typical of an Urdu-supporting linguist in Pakistan. Through the writer's own example there is evidence that English can be learnt at any stage without imposing it on young minds in the early years. This is probably because thinking in a second language makes learning difficult and complex

(Coleman, 2010). Also an unfamiliar language as stated in another place by 3ETT can cause low achievement and poor performance. If this is the case then English in Pakistan can negatively affect the performance of the students.

It does not mean that the English opposition does not want English at all. Rather, most of them agree with 4ETT, 5ETT and 7EMVnNE, who pointed out English is an important and widely-accepted language that cannot be totally ignored.

In Balochistan the majority blames the MoI policies due to their controversial nature. The rich class on one hand supports the promotion of English while on the other hand the ethnic groups and Urdu supporters oppose it. Although as Jahani (2005) mentioned in her study that the majority of people believe English is a language of market and economic prosperity, but at the same time they are not satisfied with the quality of English in public schools. Additionally, they think English is a threat to Islam and the local culture of the province and thus not are ready to sacrifice their traditional values and religious norms.

5.2.3 Internationalisation and Global Identity

Supporters of English as MoI consider neo-liberal doctrine as a chance for Pakistan to acquire international identity, which is essential for living in a borderless world. This section discusses evidence for this point of view. It is an acceptable fact by debaters from almost all groups that the quality of English used is poor and not up to the standards of the international market. 7EMVnNE thinks that:

> *5.18. There are no two opinions about the importance of English as an international language essential for job market (208).*

A teacher who speaks in support of English shares this statement. As stated earlier, teachers are split on the issue of which language is to be the MoI but in this text the author confirms on the behalf of all the groups in the debate that English is the language of the job market. He thus suggests that policy-makers and the government implement proper English in schools throughout the country. To support this view 2EPD advocates that:

> *5.19. It is time to work with English the way it practically works, and serves varying global situations and international purposes (2EPD32-33).*

The author of the above statement is an educationist/ linguist and supports the idea of the teacher in statement 5.18. Regardless, English is already accepted as MoI in the Education Policy yet it is not universally implemented throughout Pakistan. Obviously, if the government has already planned to implement English as MoI then there is a need to properly manage the resources required for it. It is worth mentioning here that English has remained the MoI in the previous policies, but due to a lack of resources and teaching staff the policies did not achieve the targeted goals (NEP, 2009). This is probably because English did not entertain a large time-period being MoI in Pakistan.

> *5.20. According to the language policy of 2009, English has been made compulsory for primary classes because its modern, global and the language of market, ... said, stressing that English is a modern language and essential for change and thus there is a dire need to produce English language teachers (3ETT88-91).*

This statement is part of a report of an educational conference by a journalist who has quoted the wording of a conference speaker, i.e. a linguist. To confirm English as a compulsory subject in primary classes the speaker has referred to the education policy of Pakistan. Thus he/she has stressed in a way that, to successfully implement English the government needs to produce English teachers. Apparently, as stated in Chapter 2, it is not possible to implement a medium of instruction successfully if teachers are lacking in that language (Winkler and Hatfield, 2002). This will bring a double loss to the country, i.e. money and unproductive learning of which the debaters are already complaining. It cannot be denied that a world based on competition needs significant talents, which according to 6EEVnB our education system is unable to produce.

> *5.21. Our universities are producing a mass of good-for-nothing and half baked educated persons without any purpose and international or global planning. Our students seek degrees, not knowledge. The government may be increasing number of colleges and universities but is neglectful of the worsening standard of modern education in the country (124-127).*

This text is part of a conversation published on a social forum; the above-mentioned statement is shared by a student. Putting aside the emotive language, the statement suggests that, along with the selection of the medium of instruction, there is a request for the government to upgrade the education system. The author is a teacher and is angry with government, policy-makers and the students. He is in a more suited position to judge the education system and its outcomes based on his career and background, but it is not clear if he is blaming the government as an opposition supporter, or a well-wisher of the

ruling party. He is right in pointing out the past policies implemented in the public sector, which were faced by the issues of inadequate research and a lack of scientific evidence. Also, the selection of teachers involved corruption, recommendations and the process as a whole lacks accountability (Sheikh and Iqbal, 2003). It is generally agreed by all groups that a poor education system and a conflicting MoI has affected the country a lot in terms of progress and development. To avoid the past mistakes and to fill the gap 6EEVnB demands that:

> *5.22. The standard of teaching also needs to be raised to global standards and international level and teachers should only be qualified and competent persons 137-139).*

The author (a student by profession) in this statement seems to be a representative of the participants of almost all the groups. It looks like the writer is using the topic of NEP 2009 to complain other aspects of education. It is clear that to raise the standard of education to an international level there is a serious need for an increased budget. Even though education is integral to the economy and is worth investing in, still the government is not doing so, which is why the education system has become poor and less demanding among the masses (6EEVnB). Although the private sector and international aid is contributing to the GDP as stated in the NEP 2009, but due to lack of checks and balances the private sector is becoming a commercial commodity. This sector is rising up as a business affordable by a minority, which is criticized by the same author (6EEVnB) in the following way:

> *5.23. Private educational institutions in Pakistan are with international job market prospectus but very expensive and that too are not productive for country (120-123).*

This participant in the debate (a student) does not deny the fact that the private sector is not of good quality, but complains about the high fee-structure charged by this sector. The author has also made a point about the results of such schools, which he has mentioned as *'unproductive'*. Probably, he is pointing at the double standard of the education system. In the data it was found that along with the participants of mother tongue and Urdu, English language supporters are also wary about the quality of the private sector.

In Balochistan province, people do agree with English being used as an international language and a source of global identity but the policies are watchfully associated with

political party politics and not the significance of the policy for the general good. Thus people value their local and national identity over the global one.

5.3 Islamism in Education in Pakistan

This section introduces the values invoked by writers for and against Urdu as MoI. Basically, the term Islamisation is taken out from Islam and has a two-fold meaning. 1: peace and 2: submission to God. The later meaning of 'Islam' is submitting oneself to One Almighty God wilfully and conscientiously (Al-Jamali, 1998). This means to act on what Allah enjoins to do (in the *Qur'an*) and what His prophet Muhammad (PBUH) encouraged to do in his *Sunnah* (his lifestyle and sayings).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, ideology is a factor, which influences the policy. This ideology in Pakistan is Islam and is the one that backed the independence movement for a separate country. Due to this important place almost all education policies and the Constitutions of Pakistan declared the laws of the country to be influenced by its religion, Islam. The selection of Urdu as medium of instruction after gaining independence and a national language (though small in number speaker wise) can be one among the major indicators of polices made under the influence and power of religion. This status was and is mainly given to Urdu because it is the language of Muslims and represents Islam (Jabeen *et al,* 2011). But this status seems to some people political (Haqqani, 2004) and this has made the place of Urdu in education and MoI controversial and be strongly debated. Hereunder, I will explore that debate: outlining the points in support and in opposition.

5.3.1 Islamic Norms and Culture

As mentioned in Chapter 2, in Pakistan, Urdu was declared as a national language and MoI soon after the country gained its independence in 1947. Since Urdu is itself a minority language, the decision was challenged by speakers of other major languages. But 28UrTD and 31UrRF supports the decision arguing that Urdu was the right choice and speculates that if Muhammad Ali Jinnah had been alive, he could have handled it properly, avoiding all the opposition. 28UrTD further argues that the language issue was politicized by a small minority for achieving timely benefits.

> *5.24. The Quaid-i-Azam unfortunately did not survive long enough to implement his ideas; otherwise the destiny of this country would have*

been different. There would have been no infighting on the language issue; East Pakistan would not have separated (1140-1142).

This text is published in the prominent English daily of Pakistan called '*The NEWS'* by an educationist who is linked with the teaching profession at university level currently. He has mentioned in his text that he is the product of government-run Urdu medium schools that have represented Pakistan in the United Nations as a chair. The statement confirms that the author has a strong belief in the abilities and decision-making power of Jinnah and not in current leaders. As stated in Chapter 2, Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared Urdu as the language of Muslims and thus stated that it was suitable for the 'state that existed on the basis of ideology'. The writer supports this idea and condemns the politicians and policy-makers who did not maintain it. 31UrTD also judges that the ideas of Muhammad Ali Jinnah were appropriate and needed to preserve the Islamic norms and cultures.

> *5.25. Urdu serves as a means of communication and is a binding force between all the four provinces of Pakistan. People living in different provinces realize that in spite of speaking different languages, they are joined together by one national language which is the heritage of all Muslims because this is the language of Islam and the identity of the Muslims (1362-1365).*

The author of the above statement is a student who has shared his views in a social forum on the issue of MoI in Pakistan. In the above statements, he has offered the evidence to support the decision of Urdu as a national language and MoI made by Jinnah. Clearly, Urdu in Pakistan is a bridging language, but while talking about Urdu as the language of the Muslims, the supporters of Urdu polarise English by portraying it as a language of the British lords, which has kept them colonised. There is also a general perception among the supporters of Urdu MoI that the language issue is raised by a specific lobby who do not want Pakistan to progress as an Islamic country. But 12MTND thinks if Urdu represents Islam, then why was it not implemented in the private schools, which are all attended by Muslim children? What makes them different from the children of the public sector schools who went through the experiments of MoI time and again?

On the other side of the debate, there are supporters of mother tongue MoI who perceive Urdu as imperialist just as the supporters of Urdu MoI see supporters of English MoI. A case in point is Bengalis who were the majority, but their language was denied the status of national language. They therefore consider this decision against the Islamic principles of justice and note it as oppression from Urdu speaking elites. But 28UrTD1197-1200 rejects this notion arguing that the language issue in Pakistan is about British interests

made to keep the country under their influence. The debater then quotes Lord Macaulay's speech in the British Parliament in February 2nd, 1835:

> *5.26. "I don't think we will be able to conquer India unless we break their spiritual (religion) and social heritage. Therefore I propose that their old system of education and norms of culture should be drastically cut down. When the Indians start to realize that the English language is good for them, they will automatically lose their culture, ideology and self respect."*

The author who is an educationist appeals to the past information to create a centre of attention and persuade the readers. Doing so will help him in arguing that the language issue in Pakistan is imported from abroad. He shares the widespread perception among the supporters of Urdu MoI that the segregation in Bangladesh was supported by external pressures from those who were anti-Pakistan. Undoubtedly, there are still several ethnic groups who are demanding their mother tongue and at some point separation from the country, and are labelled as the 'traitors of Pakistan and Islam'. The speech of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in 1947 can be linked with building this insight among the public, who, concerning the selection of national language, openly declared (as quoted by 32UrTT):

> *5.27. "Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what shall be the language of your province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no Nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned, Pakistani language shall be Urdu". (1390-1396).*

32UrTT further quoted Jinnah, saying,

> *5.28. "Quite frankly and openly I must tell you that you have got amongst you a few communists and other agents financed by foreign help and if you are not careful, you will be disrupted" (1397-1398).*

It can be generalised from the statements that the speech of Jinnah is an effort made to convince the people of Pakistan concerning Urdu as an Islamic language. Mentioning countries with no language issue in his speech above means that Jinnah wanted the people to concentrate on the progress of the country rather than fighting over the national language, which is Urdu and cannot be changed.

But the ethnic groups never agree with the fact that Urdu is the language of Islam. They rather link it with power structures and extensions of political regimes. This way, the language issue according to 33UrGP and 29UrHD has segregated the nation into classes and are leading the education system to its worst form. They claim that each new government comes with an education policy and MoI, which ignites the issue further. Time and again the government on the behalf of the international financial organisations have made English-friendly policies, which failed due to an unsuitable climate for this language. Now is the time the government has to understand and announce Urdu MoI to avoid further decline. 28UrGP1209-1214 explains a similar idea in a different manner:

> *5.29. Money spent on educating in a foreign language does not build a nation or identity, it only promotes class segregation as we have seen in these 62 years. At best it helps in earning some foreign exchange. But education in the national language is an investment and helps in building a strong nation and ideology which was stated during the independence as Islam. There is no hope of building a strong Pakistani nation or culture unless we change our attitude. In fact the rift is widening by the day and may result, God forbid, in further disintegration of the country.*

Being an educationist this author is an expert and a direct sufferer of the MoI policy. He/she has evaluated and at the same time criticised the education system of Pakistan being a source of widening the gaps. It can be noted from the statement that the policy-makers have designed an education system inspired from market agents rather than producing good human beings. The author has probably pointed out the Islamic ways, which stress the acquisition of education for character-building. Additionally, this statement highlights the issue of foreign exchange and economy-building through MoI. As stated in the previous section, generally English is believed to be the language of the market and helps in improving the economy. But here we see that the supporters of Urdu MoI deny this claim arguing that Urdu cannot be undermined or neglected. Rather, it is much more important than English because it represents an identity and offers a chance of nation building. The participants thus want to say that one of the main factors of economy building is a strong nation, which in Pakistani contexts only Urdu can make.

On the other hand, the supporters of English and mother tongue MoI are also concerned about the limited scope and literature of Urdu. They believe that being a minority and a historically-new language, Urdu lacks the ability to deal with the issues of global competition and a rapidly-changing world. The status of Urdu is thus challenged because if seen globally it benefits the culture of a small minority, putting the larger population at stake. But 28UrTD and 31UrTT deny such arguments, defending the

status of Urdu as a fully-resourced language. An example is given from Usmania University, which was established in 1917 with Urdu as MoI and English as a compulsory subject. The academic status of Usmania University was then accepted by well-known universities across the world:

> *5. 30. Within 10 years, all the renowned universities of India, Oxford and Cambridge recognised its degrees for entry in post-graduate courses without further coaching in English. Graduates could sit for all India competitive exams (28UrTD1158-1160).*

The author of this statement is an educationist and an advocate for Urdu. He might also be supporting Urdu at the higher level of education because he is a successful product of similar system. The writer in the same text offers evidence that 1) Urdu has a rich literature and is able to deal with global demands and 2) good planning and management is more essential for making any language a medium of instruction.

Apart from this, the opponents also blame it for its lack of technical terms. They argue that Urdu has borrowed most of its terminology from other languages, which refutes the claim of Urdu as a language of Muslims. 31UrRF rejects this notion and explains that borrowing is an ability of assimilation, which increases the beauty of any language. But 28UrTD presents a counter argument, citing the origins of English by saying that,

> *5.31. English language was also poor in technical terms. It has borrowed almost all its technical terminology from Greek. Similarly Urdu has based terms in Arabic, which was used by even Europeans in the middle Ages. Algebra is an Arabic word (1186-1188).*

The supporters of Urdu MoI (28UrTD, 29UrHD, 32UrTD and 33UrGP) believe that, they have all the arguments to defend their language as eligible to be MoI. They claim the government need not spend huge sums of money on the MoI issue. Rather they suggest it concentrates on the quality of education system. It would be better for the country and future of education if the policy makers concentrate on the improvement of achievement in English as a subject. 29UrHD criticises that:

> *5.32. It is sad to note that these degree holders have superficial knowledge and scanty information. They are not going to Urdu medium because it is old age. And although the medium of instruction at the alma maters is English which generally the nation is deprived of (in public sector it is Urdu), the degree holders in higher education unfortunately can hardly express in English correctly (29UrHD1132-1135).*

The author is a journalist. He uses emotive language (such as unfortunately, superficial knowledge, scanty information, old age) to highlight the harms of the recent system of education. He also blames the policy makers for establishing a private sector without the ability to manage its quality and standards. This statement also shows the complexity of the issue of MoI in Pakistan. He agrees with 28UrTD said that, MoI is supported mainly by a ruling elites in business who have created the issue of language to keep people busy. This is thought to distract the people from social issues of poverty, unemployment and security, etc. Also this helps in extending the ruling regimes of the elites and politicians. One might question whether the selection of MoI is complex and difficult that the government was not able to overcome it in the last 62 years? An alternative view is that the reason is because the quality of education is so poor because of an improper MoI only. Additionally, why are the students of the public sector institutions only affected by the experiments of MoI? Such views are generally spreading in Pakistan and people are concerned about asking these questions. For example, 30UrCN is persuading the general public by asking:

> *5.33. Why are we so spineless and spiritless? Why are we suffering so quietly and wailing around so cowardly? Are we not in absolute majority? Is Pakistan not our sweet homeland for all of us as well as that of our children and grandchildren, in other words for whole nation? Are we not equal sons of the soil and are we not (as per our constitution and the teachings of Islam) masters of our own destiny? What is lacking in us? Why don't we stand up and challenge all the characterless usurpers, vultures and greedy opportunists around us (30UrCN 1321-1326).*

The author is a politician as well as a journalist. He has frequently used the word *'we'* which is commonly used by politicians to appeal to the public. The author seems to be from the opposition party because it is not normal for a politician to criticise his own government and ask people to stand up against them. He has used abusive language (such as *characterless usurpers, vultures and greedy opportunists*) while highlighting perceived wrongs and unproductive decisions of the ruling politicians. Additionally, they are not expecting any good from the ruling elites and the politicians. They are now thinking about using their own ways towards the solution of the problems. He is encouraging action, so they claim agency.

In Balochistan province, however, the Urdu and Islam relation has kept a number of people away from criticising its status. This association probably helped Urdu in sustaining its status as MoI in the past policies. But with the passage of time doubts are being raised and people are beginning to question this idea. As far as the Baloch and Pashtun ethnic groups are

concerned, they have time and again confronted the standing of Urdu. As stated in Chapter 2, these groups blame the *Punjabi* and *Mohajir* elites for using Islam for upholding the status quo. This situation led to short-term MoI policies and consequently a poor quality education in public sector schools.

5.3.2 National Identity

As stated in Chapter 2, before the partition of the sub-continent the Muslims of India protested for a separate country because they claimed they were living there without an identity (28UrTD). In 1947, the country became independent and Urdu was declared as the national language to secure a national identity. The reason behind Urdu as the national language was its link with Islam. This section discusses the topic of national identity. This decision as supported by 28UrTD was essential for the unity of the nation and the education system.

> *5.34. Educating the masses without a national language is a misnomer. This is what was in Quaid-i-Azam's mind when he declared Urdu to be the national language soon after he took oath of office even though at that time more than 50 per cent did not speak Urdu (28UrTD 1137-1139).*

The author of this statement is an educationist and has highlighted the importance and place of the national language in the education system of a country. He has also tried to defend Jinnah's decision of declaring Urdu a national language and praising the foresight of that policy. Of course one may wish to question the debater's (28UrTD) comment regarding what was in Quaid-e-Azam's mind because the speech was made 65 years ago. And the likelihood is that he/she was not there. The contributor is speculating again on what was in Quaid-e-Azam's mind and is found to be castigating those who propose multi-MoI and their right to do so just because they were not born then.

> *5.35. Perhaps the Quaid-i-Azam had this in mind when he declared in his first speech at Dhaka that Urdu shall be the national language of Pakistan and Islam. The persons who are now fighting to adopt nine languages as national languages were not even born at that time (28UrTD1175-1177).*

The statement criticises the supporters of regional languages who are supporting mother tongues and are in opposition to Urdu. The author has passed judgment on the Urdu opposition using the phrase *'not even born',* which means they don't know the reality of

the decision and are brain washed. The contributor thus defends Urdu as the language of national identity which otherwise would produce a nation with an identity complex.

The argument about language functioning as a unifying and identifying agent is again emphasised by some other participants of the debate as pointed out in the following.

> *5.36. National language is the identity of a nation. When we are abroad we are identified as Pakistani because of our national language. That is why, every nation gives out respect and importance to national language (31UrRF1344-1345).*

Obviously, this fact cannot be denied but many people define Pakistanis as people from Pakistan. This says nothing about language yet. From my perspective Pakistan has many languages but speaking any one of them does not necessarily make one a Pakistani yet, only accounting for a component of that. One reason why there is conflict about this because Urdu, MoI and English-speaking supporters all claim to be Pakistani in a different way.

In Pakistani contexts people are concerned about regional cultures and regional identity along with the national ones. Only Urdu as the national and provincial language of Pakistan may deprive the speaker of other major languages of their identity (22MTGP). But Urdu supporters contradict this claim, arguing that using regional languages as MoI will raise the issue of ethnicity and provincialism, which will endanger the national identity of the country. They argue that Urdu is adaptable and valuable. 31UrRF1347-1349 goes further to point out the cultural items within the Urdu language as identifiers of the Pakistani nation.

> *5.37. The Urdu language possesses a very valuable treasure of poetry and prose. The poets and writers have contributed their most in its development. Maulana Shibli Nomani, Maulana Hali, Deputy Nazir Ahmed, Mirza Ghalib, Ameer Khusro and many others adopted this language in their poetry and writings.*

Many Urdu supporters believe that if people can praise Arabic poetry, Chinese poetry and Persian poetry, they should also be allowed to speak about Urdu as a poetically beautiful language content of the Urdu language? Other participants in the debate come up with more politically motivated arguments regarding those who are against Urdu as MoI and national language. The debater (33UrGP1295-1297) considers these

conspirators represented by India, which historically has ideological differences with Pakistan. He even curses *'death to Indian agents'* and *'long live Urdu'*.

The supporters of Urdu witness the opposition against their language as a conspiracy that is 'enemy planned' (28UrTD). They also believe (like the followers of regional languages) that selection of national language and MoI is political and is controlled and dealt with from abroad. If this was not the case then Urdu must be implemented in its real spirit as mentioned in the NEP 2009 and the Constitution of the country. Although, Muhammad Ali Jinnah declared Urdu the national language and MoI, according to 28UrTD this status of Urdu is spoiled by mixing English into it. This is because the Urdu opposition wants to pave the ground for a positive attitude for English among people. The 'class' which is not letting Urdu flourish is thought to be the foreign-qualified rulers and as stated by 12MTND, the friend of the colonial West. 28UrTD gives an example of such practices.

> *5.38. Recently, I took upon myself to teach mathematics in the Urdu medium to Matric students, and I find that this so-called Urdu medium is a hotch potch of Urdu and English. It is a mockery of the Urdu medium. In fact those who have been chosen to establish an Urdu medium university themselves do not believe in Urdu medium (1181-1184).*

This educationist is a supporter of Urdu and has blamed the policy-makers for their insincerity with the Urdu language. The statement also points out that the Urdu language has been mixed with English loan words, which is of considerable concern for the writer. Fundamentally, Urdu supporters are very clear about Urdu the provider of national identity, which the factions supporting the mother tongue and English always challenged. For such a situation the latter groups are blamed for creating an issue out of nothing (33UrGP). These groups are blamed for getting funding from external groups and countries to weaken Pakistan. To prove such 'conspiracies' evidence is given of the political leaders who are demanding the mother tongue as MoI but at the same time sending their children to English medium schools. The example is given of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan where the Pashtun ethnic political party (Awami National Party) is in government.

> *5.39. I am not against the demand I was merely pointing out to your double standard and Unfortunately Pukhtunkhwa did not maintain the Pashto language in true sense (1504-1505).*

This statement is shared by an Urdu supporting student and is a reply to a mother tongue supporter published in a social forum. The respondent supports Urdu and accuses political leaders of their 'double standards'. The author has explained that the politicians and the elites no matter what language background they are from, select English for themselves but Urdu or regional languages for the masses. In other words the MoI issue is thought to be a 'political game'. According to 25UCN, in this 'game' the masses are the cheerleaders applauding ideas and actions they hardly understand. Otherwise how is it possible that a political leader will choose two different languages, one for him and another for the masses? I would say that this perception might be because of the back and forth of the past policies, which the participants of the debate believe to be made without the representation of all groups. All such policies have been formulated and implemented in the public sector, which as contemplated by 25UCN helped the politicians in extension of their political regimes. In Balochistan contexts, however, the ethnic groups are concerned about the regional while the rich class prefer global identity over a national one. These confronting views about which identity to prefer keep the debate a never-ending one.

5.3.3 Social Cohesion

This section discusses evidence from the texts on the topic of social cohesion. As stated in Chapter 2, selection of national language and MoI issue is as old as the independence movement in 1947 where Muslims were mainly Urdu-speaking and the Hindus, Hindi. After independence Pakistan inherited the language issue because of its multilingualism within. Among the 4 provinces of Pakistan, some of the provinces demanded autonomy in terms of selection of language. Such demands were denied because of the fear of 'ethnicity'. Urdu was thus given preference over other languages for the sake of social cohesion and unity among the speakers of provinces. As explained by 31UrRF:

> 5.40. Language is the only media by which one can express his ideas and feelings and show identity. It plays a vital role in building the character of an individual as well as a nation. Languages bring closer each other and it creates a sense of harmony and nation –hood among the people (1327-1329).

The author (a student) has highlighted the importance and advantages of any language in a country. No doubt that this importance is realised and accepted by all groups. The author has generalised 'language' as a source of identity, unity and bringing people together without specifying any -one language in particular. Elsewhere, in the same text the author has disclosed the language of preference as Urdu. But there are references

available from the ethnic groups who even in recent days deny Urdu as a language of social cohesion and harmony and its status as a national language. One example to illustrate this is be an interview of Bilour (a member of the parliament representing the Pashtun ethnic Awami National Party) who stated that Urdu is neither the national language nor the language of Islam or Muslims. It is only a language used for bridging. Obviously, this is not the perception of all politicians. As pointed out by 32UrTT, these comments annoyed other parliamentarians who criticised the speaker and walked out from the session. 32UrTT replies to such comments by saying that:

> 5.41 ...No doubt Urdu is a national language and represents Islam and Muslims. It is a source of identity and unity. Now it's upon us to accommodate different point of views or be in the state of denial and declare other agents or commies or separatists as unfortunately our founding father has said in the written speech (1485-1488).

This statement is shared by a politician who has different views from that of the above one. Here the writer has labelled someone who challenges the decisions of Jinnah as a 'separatist' and 'agent' of the enemy. There are aggressive words used (such as *agents, commies, separatists, unfortunately*) which shows the anger of the author and as if the Urdu opposition is conflicting with Urdu deliberately, to make this language controversial. The link between Islam and Urdu is probably because people are different on the lines of languages, regions and colours, but they share a similar belief, called Islam. Islam in Pakistan is thus an agent of social cohesion. And the role of Urdu in Pakistan is as stated in the NEP 2009 of a bridging language among the people, provinces and different languages of the country. It therefore unites people.

Responding to one of the comments on 'Pashto forum' a participant commented while denying the mother tongue that, *'Hey, Urdu is our national language. It is the language of Muslims and represents Islam and our identity'* (33UrGP1489). In another place the debater 31UrRF pointed out that the progress of the country is hidden in the Urdu language because it brings prosperity through social cohesion.

> 5.42. People of Pakistan are one nation, therefore their identity, thinking, aims and objectives are common i.e. Islam. Their progress and prosperity depends upon their unity and brotherhood. An important factor for achieving this unity, identity and brotherhood is Urdu (1355-1357).

This author is also a student who supports Urdu as MoI and who has responded to an Urdu opposition blog. He has outlined the Pakistani nation as a single unit and later

credited Urdu for this binding. Obviously, social cohesion is an important factor for national progress, but the second part of the statement lacks consensus because of the concern from the supporters of regional languages. They argue the Bangladesh assassination, the Sindhi muhajir riots in Sindh province, the Pashtun ethnic and Baloch separatist's movements are all due to this so-called status of Urdu as the language of the nation. The Urdu opposition views social cohesion through the realisation of the rights of minor languages by the Urdu-peaking elites (12MTND; 13MTRD). Apart from allegations from opponents, the Urdu as MoI supporters are looking for the answers to questions such as:

> *5.43. What is the function of education? Is the medium of instruction a nation building, identity promoting and ideology (Islam) friendly? Or is it divisive? (30UrCN1290-1291).*

The above question comes from an educationist and linguist, which seems like a criticism on the policy makers and the government coming from an Urdu-supporting journalist and educationist. The author has evaluated the government using the *'Function of education'* to remind the audience about the teachings of Islam where the role of education is character-building, not market-oriented. He assessed the policy makers by taking the readers back to Urdu as a *'nation building, identity promoting and ideology friendly',* which in recent times is challenged by the mother tongue and English followers. The thinking is that Islam teaches equity while the private sector has divided the nation into classes: the rich select for their children while Urdu is for the general public. Thus the goals of Urdu-supporting do not seem realistic because Urdu in the early years of schooling was believed to bring social cohesion and strengthen the nation (32UrTT). The above debate confirms, as stated in the conceptual framework of this study (see Chapter 3 section) that the supporter of each MoI groups have their own social reality and they are attached to it.

In terms of Balochistan, the population is divided on the lines of public, private and madrassa schools. This as a result is increasing the pressure on the social cohesion of this province where various groups are already involved in physical confrontations against one another (see Chapter 2 section 3.2.1.1 for details).

5.4   Mother Tongue as an Agent of Regionalism

This section brings in the key values evoked by the writers for and against Mother

Tongue as MoI. As stated in Chapter 2, due to the multilingualism, regionalism has remained significant throughout the history of Pakistan. Historically, the issue of regionalism and local languages emerged with the independence of the country in 1947 when Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his first speech rejected regional languages to be national or provincial because of the fear of provincialism and ethnicity. To avoid these negative aspects of regional languages as MoI Urdu was placed in a priority position. 7EMVnNE judges that:

> *5.44. The issue of language was practically born with the establishment of Pakistan. The Bengali-Urdu problem was triggered by the speech of the Quaid-i-Azam at Dacca, after which the language riots followed. Many people still surmise that Quaid-i-Azam meant the use of Urdu as lingua-franca and not as the official national language (154-157).*

The author refers to the anger provoked by this decision among Bengalis and other supporters of regional languages. A similar view is shared by 12MTND (a politician) in another place. Historically, the Bengalis announced a language movement to challenge this decision in 1951. The movement rose in strength and number and finally East Pakistan became an independent country in 1971. But the issue of regionalisation did not end here as expected by the elites and the policy-makers. Rather it has moved to other provinces where the speakers of regional languages protested in demand of their languages to be official and provincial because the number of the speakers of these languages is higher than Urdu. Below, I will investigate that debate with the help of the participants of the debate in support and opposition of regional languages.

5.4.1 Regional Identity

Due to high pressure from the ethnic groups, the education policies of Pakistan have remained influenced by the power of regionalism time and again. On the other hand as stated earlier, failure to take account of regionalism in education policies has posed serious challenges and issues which include the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan, the Sindhi Muhajir riots in the Sindh province, the issue of accent in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the separatist movement in Balochistan (Jahani, 2005; Haque, 1983). Almost all such issues are led by the questions of why English and Urdu instead of mother tongue as the MoI? And why are the regional languages not national or provincial? Although the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) gave the right

to the provinces to choose a suitable medium of instruction 12MTND believes that people are kept deprived of this right by the elites:

> *5.45. The last amendment in the 1973 Constitution empowers the provinces on education, which states that it is the total provincial responsibility to organise and fund the education system as it likes irrespective what the other three provinces are practicing or planning (314-316).*

This statement is written by a politician highlighting regional languages as the right of the people. It reminds the reader that the Constitution of Pakistan has given autonomy to the provinces to manage the education system which obviously includes MoI but which appears to be denied by the federal government and the elites. As stated in Chapter 2, one of the common arguments is about the Bengali language (which was most numerous 'speaker wise' among all the majority languages of Pakistan), which has been confined to the provincial level. It is argued by 12MTND, 20MTPG and 21MTMA that this confinement was a mutual plan of the Punjabi and Muhajir elites to keep Urdu in a dominant position.

> *5.46. The main reason which led to the chaotic state of affairs in education is that right from the inception the provinces were not given enough freedom to frame their curriculum and medium of instruction, to include history of respective areas and cultural heritage in the courses. On the occasion of Partition, the mother tongue of two out of five provinces mother tongues was the medium of instruction in their schools. The real establishment did not like this arrangement.... (12MTND317-321).*

The author, who is a mother tongue supporting politician has appealed to history to criticise the Pakistani establishment over their intention on keeping the regional languages deprived. To convince the readers, the writer has reminded them about the era of partition when two of the major languages were MoI, but currently they are not. He probably wants to draw attention to the fact that regional languages are disadvantaged by their past status. The account also discloses that the language issue and the controversy concerning educational matters rose with the denial of power the Constitution has granted to the provinces.

It is thought by many supporters of mother tongue education that after the independence of Pakistan the elites (Punjabi and Muhajir) changed their stance on the mother tongue to be the MoI (7EMVnNE). This is speculated to be because the Pakistani ruling elites felt that regional languages, especially Bengali, if instituted as a

national language, may shift the power from them. The demands of the speakers of the major languages are similar to that of Bengalis: that if their language is in majority (compared to Urdu) why is it not the provincial language? The example of Sindh province would be most appropriate here, where Sindhi is spoken by the majority, yet Urdu remains the provincial and national language. This has led the province towards ethnic riots and hatred between the speakers of Urdu and Sindhi languages (12MTND). The issue remains alive even in recent days.

A counter argument offered by the ethnic groups against the supporters of Urdu MoI is that Muhammad Ali Jinnah has given the mother tongue the status of MoI, but it suits the elites to omit that part of his speech. According to this line of thinking elites are against provincial autonomy because it will empower regional languages. 12MTND has referred to the wording of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the following way:

> *5.47 … the status of Sindhi and Bengali was recognised and it was recommended that other mother tongues also be taught in schools if they could not be made medium of instruction.… The philosophy of centralization or the so-called strong centre remained the motto of the establishment dominated by the immigrants and Punjabi bureaucracy which strictly followed all the colonial tactics of governance to rule the people (12MTND335-339)*

The writer is a politician and typical of mother tongue supporting politicians who strongly criticise the establishment and the government which is subjugated by Urdu and Punjabi-speaking people. The author has presented the Urdu-speaking people as 'immigrants' and Punjabis as the 'followers of colonisation' due to their imposition. This statement also discloses concerns about centralisation, stating that the provinces are controlled excessively by the federal government. In response, the provinces have rejected centralisation and demanded autonomy in terms of making decisions regarding language instruction.

In Balochistan too, the separation movement and the chaos in the province are based on the similar demands for autonomy. The agents of separation claim that the centre is imposing policies force of will, which are not in any way beneficial for the province. But when it comes to regional identity both the Baloch and Pashtun believe that their identity is the only acceptable one and thus confront each other, too. Ultimately, as seen in the past, Baloch and Pashtun ethnic groups disregarded the question of international and national identity in their opposition of each other.

5.4.2 Resisting Cultural Promotion

As stated in Chapter 2, the supporters of the mother tongue as MoI believe that Urdu represents imperialism by the Punjabi and Muhajirs as was English before the partition. This resistance can be commonly seen in political slogans, such as *Punjabi istimar murdabad* which means _'death to Punjabi imperialism'_; _'*Punjabi samraj murdabad_'*; '_death to Punjabi kingdom_' and _'*hamari manzil, subai khudmukhtari_'* which means _our goal is provincial autonomy_' painted on walls by ethnic groups in Balochistan, rural Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. These groups are also resisting universal English-langauge instruction equally because they see it as a movement supported by international financial organisations to endanger (not protect and promote) the local languages and cultural norms of the people (14MTPD; 12MTND; 15MTSD; 20MTPG; 21MTNN). One reason posited for malicious intent behind such generous funding from financial organisations is, as speculated by 12MTND, to spread a similar language and culture globally, in order to more easily control the world. A similar author also criticises the government of Pakistan, which allows such policies for the sake of funding. The writer notices this 'imperialism' as a conspiracy of the internal and external pressure-groups that are otherwise afraid to lose their dominance.

> *5.48. Under the existing policy, aid is accepted with dictations that English should be made a compulsory subject and medium of instruction at the primary level. The World Bank has already extended generous aid to the `mental slaves of the West` to establish English medium schools instead of mother tongue (341-344).*

The writer has used emotive language by denoting the Urdu and English supporters as 'mental slaves of the West', who for the sake of money make wrong choices. Apparently, he/she is engaging history to persuade the readers to resist such groups. The supporters of this group tend to research findings that highlight the harms caused by the of second language as MoI, such as a lack of confidence, poor performance, alienation between home and school, drop out and cowardice (Coleman, 2010). Additionally, the promotion of such languages may also endanger regional languages and limit the economic mobility. In Pakistan currently 95% of children are acquiring education in languages other than the mother tongue (Coleman, 2010). The figure shows real concerns of regionalists regarding the future of these children and the country as a whole.

But the supporters of Urdu and English languages challenge these claims. The main issue with regional languages is not the MoI, but is their place in a corporate world. In the 21st century where the world is becoming a global village, a language merely promoting the

regional culture is not enough. In addition to this they also raise concerns on how it is possible for a country like Pakistan to make the regional languages MoI if there are 5 major and 59 minor languages spoken? Due to low allocation of a budget for education it is impossible to publish textbooks in this range of languages, resources and teaching materials (17MTTT). Ignoring these important aspects of teaching and learning will cause severe problems in the education system of the country. Apart from this, each major language is made up of several different accents, e.g. the Pashto accent spoken in Swat is different from the accent in Balochistan and so on. In such situations in case mother tongue is the MoI what accent ought to be preferred? It is important to mention here that in the past Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province has announced Pashto as MoI, which led to several riots, protests, opposition and burning of textbooks because the selected accent was representing only one group of Pashtu speakers. This is why probably the Urdu supporters refer to the speech of Muhammad Ali Jinnah, who repressed mother tongues with a fear of provincialism and ethnicity.   Concerning mother tongue 17MTTT fears that:

> *5.49. …bilingual education in Pakistan will be hindered by a lack of materials in vernacular languages, limited support for high quality language instruction and the "ambivalent" attitude towards the value of vernacular languages (mother tongue). In the presence of more than 70 spoken languages, it will be difficult to identify major languages of instruction (559-563).*

This statement is made by an English-supporting linguist reported by a journalist. The writer is honest about the problems of mother tongue as MoI. The first one is a lack of materials, which according to the supporters of the mother tongue, the Urdu medium public schools face too. They cite the public's negative attitude towards Urdu medium schools as evidence. The complaint the ethnic groups are raising is that the 'ambivalent' attitude towards regional languages is because the dominance of Urdu and English has never let these languages flourish. When it comes to learning Urdu and English, it can be learnt in the later years as well without endangering the child and his mother tongue (12MTND). Some claim that it is psychologically not appropriate to teach a child in a language, which is unfamiliar to his parents. Obviously, the followers of the mother tongue do not deny English or Urdu rather they demand them to be taught at a higher level of studies. Some claim it is very difficult for a child to cope with many different languages at a time, i.e. the school language and the language spoken at home, e.g.,'…*teaching in an unfamiliar language can also cause alienation between home and school.…'* (17MTTT340). However, at the same time, others find that in some cases young children can cope with multiple languages at the same time (Shamim, 2008).

Another major concern of the people in favour of mother tongue being MoI is their fear about their languages and culture dying out if not taught at the school. Apart from preserving their language, MoI may also shift the power and attitude from Urdu and English to the mother tongue. This can be a chance for the supporters of mother tongue MoI to get access to white-collar jobs, which are now only possible through English or Urdu. It is also suggested that the mother tongue helps in enrolment and attendance rate. If this is the case then, why does the government not opt for mother tongue as MoI? And why do the international organisations find other factors to increase enrolment and control high dropout rates? 20MTPG doubts the commitment of the government and the actions of the international organization commenting on the NEP 2009, which recommended further encouragement of the English medium:

> *5.50. ...English remains the preserve of the country's elite minority who are educated privately in English-medium schools and who can make an easy transition into English-medium higher education and higher-paid government jobs that require English-language qualifications. Current government strategy seeks to widen access to this English-only social strata.... (642-646).*

This statement is shared by a journalist who seems unhappy with the 'elite minority' of Pakistan who on the basis of their wealth are enjoying quality education and better jobs. The writer also blames the policy-makers and the government for allowing themselves to be hijacked by such groups. The statement reveals a belief that the government encourages the role and place of English and intends to promote it further. The supporters of the mother tongue have already rejected such notions as mentioned above, declaring it a decision made under the personal desires of the elites, which may only benefit a small minority. They also oppose the education policy due to its lack of relevance to all groups, which may once again lead it towards unsuccessful implementation (15MTSD; 21MTNN). This 'irrelevance' according to the ethnic groups of Balochistan is intentional, which overturns the regional culture. They are thus there demanding autonomy in terms of selection of MoI. As a result of rejection of this demand, as stated in Chapter 2, they are now physically against immigrants from other provinces who they think are the beneficiaries of the policies. Consequently, this situation leads towards confusion among the speakers of different languages in the province.

5.4.3 Local Norms, Values and Traditions

At the same time as being tempted by modernity, people are so entrenched with their culture and local traditions that they do not want them to be affected by global changes. There is a prevalent belief in the rural areas of the country that international organisations are sponsoring non-government organisations (NGOs) with the intention of altering their cultural norms. They resist attempts to change their culture and see little benefits in any suggestion. Eventually, the role of such organisations may diminish and their support in its development will be less central. A question in the mind of many is why these Organisations are sponsoring education and education policies in the first place? Are there any hidden benefits in it for them? It is clear that funding gives such organisations an authority to dictate to policy- makers and to influence the policy making process (Rose, 2003). These Organisations are either not aware or are not ready to know the place of the regional languages and regional traditions, which is why the education system is faced with the issues of access and equity.

Support from such wealthy organisations will promote English. Additionally, it will pave the road for a globalist idea, which is ultimately perceived to be a threat to local norms and values (12MTND). This can be seen from the evidence that, "…*since 2002 the US has given $640m to improve education in Pakistan, with a further $7.5bn in civilian aid due over next five years*" (20MTPG463-464). It also mentioned that this amount is issued with conditions of reforms in the education system, which include the promotion of English among several other languages (12MTND). Therefore an education system can be 'reformed' when it is able to produce 'global' and 'liberal' citizens rather than the 'traditional' or 'regional' ones. This condition of reform is an 'influence' which will isolate regional languages and their status in the society as stated by 20MTPG,

> *5.51. People from most of these minor language communities are facing a kind of social stigma that their mother tongue, culture and identity are symbol of backwardness. They hesitate to use it and many believe that education in the mother tongue is inferior to education in Urdu or English (659-661).*

The author, a journalist, has highlighted the problems of negative attitudes of the people towards regional languages. One of the major reasons for the ethnic sentiments and why people, particularly from the rural set-ups, are so concerned with the mother tongue is because they see their mother tongue as a promoter of their traditional values (12MTND). MoI is rivalry between the rich and the poor, where on the one hand the 'global forces'

are busy in creating a view about the low calibre of the regional languages while on the other hand the regional groups are emphasising how to connect with their identity at any cost. They believe that tradition and culture can never be compromised and that without language their identity cannot be promoted.

> *5.52. Pakhtunkhwa has maintained its Pashto language and culture, for that we are proud of the Pashtun mothers who taught us that, and this is a plus point in Pakhtunkhwa. However, we are a minority in Pakistan, and a minority in a country where the majority don't have an identity and culture but an identity complex. Why should we lose ours to become like them? (22MTGP733-736).*

The author is a student who supports mother tongue and writes in a social forum famous for highlighting the issues of marginalised groups. In this thread, the writer has responded to one of the fellow Urdu supporters. The argument makes it clear that the author is a Pashto speaker while saying that Pashto (the regional language) survived although it was challenged and blocked by other major languages (probably the writer means Urdu and English). The writer refers to the Pashtun identity with a pride, which he believes the speakers of some languages have already lost. The writer used the word 'them' to compare with Pashto speakers, which is often used to refer to those who tried to learn and follow English and Urdu and at the same time remain Pashtun. The writer believes that such people have no real identity and rejects that they have adopted a global identity.

In the same text the author has quoted in the Pashto language that 'mother tongue (Pashto) is intentionally blocked by other groups without realising its importance'. MoI is presented as a tug of war among the local, national and international forces which everyone is trying to pull their way. The general public can be specified as the ropes that are played by these forces where the benefits go to the elites while the negative implications to the masses. In Balochistan, particularly in the remote areas people similarly consider traditional norms and religious values. They are happy with the way things have been and thus resist any reforms as contamination of the tradition. This attitude of the people sometimes keeps them away from enrolling their children into English and Urdu medium schools and thus results in low literacy rates in the province (Jahani, 2005).

5.5   Uniformity and Education System

Another issue, which has emerged from the data, is the desire for the uniformity of education, whose supporters I have categorised as a separate group. The supporters of this

group are campaigning for an equal education system all over the country without mentioning any specific language as MoI. This is probably why the word *language* is used only 2 times, while the word *education/al* is used 88 times in the texts in support of a uniform education system. Word frequency usage can indicate preferences and motivations of the speakers according to many post-modern linguistic theories. The followers of this group see the education system of Pakistan as out-dated and less productive. They link poor quality education with a system of variable quality (24UWN; 27UPE). The government of Pakistan has intended in the NEP 2009 and the White Paper on Education (2007) to overcome this issue, but the followers of this group doubt it. Hereunder, categories are made which came after the Wordle and Wordsmith analysis of the texts in support of a uniform education system in Chapter 5.

5.5.1 Uniformity, Equity

Uniformity has appeared 52 times in the texts of this group, which tends to highlight that the education system is divisive. One of the major beliefs the supporters of this group has, is that, education in Pakistan is a privilege rather than a right which the rich classes have better access to than the poor ones (23UIN; 24UWN; 25UCN; 26UPBnP). To eliminate this line of thinking, the government has announced a committee responsible for implementing a uniform education system in the country for sake of equity.

> *5.53. Federal Minister for Education Sardar Assef Ahmed Ali Khan has finally constituted a three-member implementation committee on uniform education system in Islamabad Capital Territory (23UIN756-757).*

But the supporters of a uniform MoI doubt the aim of announcement of such a committee, which came soon after the NEP 2009. They question why the government did not declare uniform MoI and education in the NEP. And also, how it can be possible that the government has encouraged the privatisation of education in NEP and only one year after bringing uniformity through a committee? If this was the intention of the government, what would be the point of announcing a policy designed for public-sector institutions only? Another important point to be noted is that, the government is initially intending to start the plan in the public sector schools in the capital city of Islamabad only. This means that success or failure in Islamabad will decide the further extension of this plan. All such moves according to the supporters of the uniform group are for political purposes. Otherwise, why would this simple problem take so long and let the country grow between the different streams of public and private? As criticised by 24UWN:

5.54. We are deprived of a uniform medium of instruction, uniform examination system, uniform syllabus, uniform fees structure and uniform standards. Yes, in 63 years we haven't been able to put together a common education policy for the country (882-884).

Here the author is a journalist as well as a politician who has claimed the issue as an uncomplicated one, which should have been easily solved within 63 years. He appeals to the common knowledge of the readers and invites disapproval of the government and the policy-makers by criticising past policies. The last part of the statement also gives an idea of a lengthy period, which seems enough time for successful creation of and implementation of a uniform policy. This contributor uses a very charismatic style of presentation while putting an issue in front of the people. He has created a rhythm in his language by repeating words as well as by contrasting negatives such as 'deprived' and positive 'yes' words. Similarly, in the traditional *Jirga* good speakers are valued because of their ways to influence the audience and the judges.

The reason the masses are deprived of a uniform education system is probably a question which goes back to the earlier discussion of the place of *neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism* in the making of education policy and selection of MoI. Basically education seems central to all powers and thus they strive to '*reform', 'improve' and 'modernise'* it their way. In this process each group is given a share according to their influence. Eventually the education system is divided into parts benefiting people in different socio-economic backgrounds. It is also important to mention here that, all different MoI supporting followers believe that education system is divisive the and thus poor in quality. At the same time each group blames the other for being responsible for this division.

5.5.2 Access

Although, the word 'access' is used only 4 times in the texts in support of a uniform MoI, the authors supporting this group link access with education. The examples below illustrate that the word confirms the argument of the participants of the debate, who believe that accessing education in Pakistan is not possible for all. This, they deem is because of the public and private sector divisive education system. These two sectors seem like they are from two different worlds. It is important to note that the selection of the students for these two types of schooling is not based on their intelligence, merit, age or region, but their socio-economic positions. Eventually, this process of educating the masses denies access to quality

education for some. 24UWN blames the policy-makers and the government for this differentiation:

> *5.55. The elites have access to the kind of education they want. As for what we call the people, the awam, they are the cheerleaders of democracy, fodder for the political parties, the subject matter of the most fiery slogans. But Pakistan as we know it is for the privilegentsia. It was never for the masses and never will be because the gap between high and low, rich and poor, instead of shrinking is now as wide as the Arabian Sea (24UWN 890-894).*

The author is a journalist and a politician who served as a member of the national assembly in the past. His point can also be confirmed from the phrase *'we know that'*, which is mostly used by politicians to symbolise themselves as a representative of the public. It can be seen through the language of the author that he has used emotional language to strengthen his point about the bias and discrimination found in the education system. The writer seems to be from the opposition party who is blaming the ruling elites who are supposedly from 'rich' families and do not care for the 'poor' people of the country. Clearly, a politician from the ruling party will never blame the policies of his own government. The statement also reveals the disappointment of the author who does not see any hope of uniformity of the nation and declares the masses as a tool of the elites who use them for their political benefits. This policy of elitism probably comes through education, which gives an advantage to the English-speaking class to acquire white-collar jobs. The writer in another place blames the education system for keeping power limited to a specific class and enslaving the general public.

> *5.56. In fact we haven't given the time of day to this problem. Largely because of our multiple education system -- English for the sahibs and their offspring, Urdu for the masses -- serves the elites just fine. English being the language of power and government, English-medium schools give the better-off classes a clear head-start when it comes to jobs and related matters. The system of entitlement which is our dominant culture is underpinned by this apartheid in education (24UWN885-8)*

This journalist has pointed out a uniform education system, as *'this problem'* which he believes is a serious issue in the way of quality education ignored by the government. The statement also highlights the gap and division in society due to a varied education system. The statement verifies that the supporters of a uniform education system are also blaming the English-speaking class for a divisive education system, as did the supporters of mother tongue.

Most of the texts of English opposition groups consider blame to lie with the private sector as the English medium. However, there are several Urdu medium private schools. For the sake of an example, I would like to mention the countrywide chain of Urdu medium private schools such as *Tameer-e-Nou schools*, *Ghazali trust, Mihaj ul Quran, Hira schools network,* etc. Following are some of the nationwide educational networks with several schools in the urban and the rural set-ups. Thus if we see in a broader viewpoint the Urdu medium private sector schools can also be made accountable for the splitting up of the education system and the society. In Balochistan province education is divided into public, private and madrassa schools and thus denies equal access to all. As stated in Chapter 2, Balochistan is the poorest province with the least number of public schools, which keep the people of this province at a disadvantage. This denial of equal access is an active slogan of the ethnic groups, demonstrating mistreatment by the federal government.

5.5.3 Overall Progress

This section deals with the overall progress of the country, i.e. economic, political, social, etc. Progress is presented by words such as *quality, unity, people, Constitution* and *progress,* selected from the texts in favour of a uniform education system. The authors referred to the following words while describing the disadvantages of a dual education system. They judge such an education system as an obstruction in front of the progress of the country. The authors also blame the English-speaking elite class, who they believe are intentionally keeping the country backward so that they can easily rule the common people. Apparently, when everyone will get quality education it will be hard to impose any idea on them or to suppress their rights (Khan, 1997). 25CANU estimates that:

> *5.57. Our fractured education system is a gift, paradoxically, of our English-speaking classes which have never felt the slightest need for framing a common education policy – the same books and curriculum, the same medium of education – for the entire country. The history is evident that the country has never seen a uniform education policy; a policy based on uniform curriculum, uniform exam system and uniform standards (958-961).*

This writer is a politician and appeals to the 'evident' knowledge of history in an emotional way while defining the poor quality of education in the country. Before the partition of the subcontinent _'the English lords'_ had selected their loyalists to be the

heads of the region. The children of such people were provided education in English medium schools of that time. Despite Pakistan's independence, generally it is believed that a similar elite class is ruling Pakistan, who is now dictated by the West. The contributor mentioned an education system without uniformity as a 'fractured' one.

Another reason behind the writer mentioning the English -speaking class responsible for the slow progress of the country can be the background of the writer who is a politician and represents a pro-Urdu political party. In case the writer was qualified in mother tongue or the public-sector Urdu medium, he might have equally blamed the Urdu ruling elites for the subjugation and oppression of ordinary people. Of course, regardless of who is responsible the consequences of such a system as mentioned by 26UPBnP challenge the strength of all institutions and administrative units in the country. Though almost each ruling regime came with a new policy aiming at an improved education system, but none of them tried to implement a policy, which equally benefits all countrymen. This view is correspondingly shared by 27UPE:

> *5.58. Though 62 years have been passed and 23 policies and action plans have been introduced yet the educational sector is waiting for an arrival of a savior to make it uniform and productive (1093-1094).*

The author is a journalist as well as a renowned politician who complains about the policy makers and the rulers not making an education system that act as a tool of progress and development. The statement also criticises the lack of capability of the politicians who are unable or else not willing to resolve the issue. Otherwise, why after several education policies has the government still failed to come up with a successful one?

As stated earlier, the participants in the debate in favour of a uniform education system do not discuss any specific language. This means that they are concerned with quality education for all rather than in what language the education needs to be imparted. As stated in Chapter 4, texts in favour of uniform education emerged from the data as a separate type because the supporters of this group discuss MoI the first and most important one. Also, the texts in favour of this group did not support or oppose any one language. Rather suggestions were made about the use of the mother tongue, Urdu and English at different stages of education.

The authors in support of this group have speculated that a uniform education system should be prioritised; otherwise all the efforts taken for policy-making and educational reforms may

benefit a single group of people as in the past. Such a situation will not change the destiny of the country; rather social cohesion and equity will be at on stake, as it is now. The texts suggest the uniformity of the education system, which can take away the sense of oppression and division from people. In such a way only the policies agreed on will be accepted by all (27UPE).

In Balochistan a large number of people are concerned about the quality of education rather than the MoI issue. It is because they believe that the MoI issue is created by chieftain-lords with foreign qualifications who want the masses to be deprived of quality education (Jahani, 2005). Such notions have created distrust and misapprehension among different groups. Ultimately, the demand of uniform education continues as an on-going subject.

5.6 Conclusion

These two chapters have focused on the overall analysis of the results based on the 37 texts collected from a one-year snapshot from public and social media. The overall data show that the NEP 2009 is highly debatable with regards to selection of MoI. MoI is seen as problematic because of its linkages with the opposite and conflicting doctrines of neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism. Participants in this debate represent almost all people from all spheres of life. Although, the supporters of one type of MoI have contradictory views from the others, but almost all of them have a negative perception towards the policy-makers and the government. The findings show that even though the scope and importance of English is highly-rated however, the overall attitude towards English and the private sector show variations.

The texts in support of English as MoI show that the position of English is accepted in the education system of Pakistan. They show strong support to give this language more importance and quality to bring up the education system and standard of life of the people. To support their argument, the authors have presented English as a language of the international market, modernism and positive change. The data in support of English as MoI shows that the participants do not see any negative influences of English or any other language in the country. However, they show a negative attitude towards Urdu and the regional languages as MoI, because of their limited scope and literature.

The supporters of Mother Tongue as MoI are growing with a belief that regional languages are not considered as important ones in their own education system. Consequently, such

participants indicate that Mother Tongue is the best medium for learning, which enhances the academic aptitude and should be MoI. The supporters of this group are also not satisfied with the current place of Urdu and English in NEP 2009. The data also highlights that this group sees regional languages as a source of communication, identity and culture. It is also significant to emphasise that these participants do not deny the importance of English in higher education. However, a substantial number of the supporters of this group strongly believe that English should not be MoI in early years and Urdu should not be presented as an Islamic language.

Regarding Urdu, the texts in its support show that Urdu is considered very important as MoI in Pakistan as a bridging language. There is strong support to giving it more importance and a belief that it should not be replaced by English or the mother tongue. Almost all Urdu-supporters believe that Urdu is the language of unity and brotherhood. Therefore, there is a strong support to strengthen its position and safeguard the Islamic heritage and values. In the meantime, there are a substantial number of authors whose texts present the view that the demand of Mother Tongue and English as MoI is a Western and Indian conspiracy designed to weaken the country.

Concerning a uniform education system the data shows that the supporters of this group believe that the education system and MoI is not uniform in the country. Consequently, they indicate that a uniform education system should be introduced in the country. It is worth mentioning that the respondents of this group do not support any one language as MoI. However, some of the authors suggested Mother Tongue in primary, Urdu in the middle and English in higher education. As a whole, the participants of this group believe that the education policy-making process does not involve presentation from all available groups, research and scientific evidence. From the overall findings, it can be surmised that the language in Pakistan in particular revolves around thoughts about of neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism. Based on the overall results, it can be argued that education policies and selection of MoI involves power which each of the group wants to maintain.

The next and final chapter outlines the major findings of this research study and offers recommendations. It also discusses significant education-policy implications for Balochistan province.

Chapter 6 – Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to explore the debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI through views expressed publicly through digital media in the course of a one-year snapshot. More specifically, this research considered the views expressed by participants in the debate in terms of the implications of the NEP policy for MoI in Balochistan Province, the least literate, most ethnically marginalised area of Pakistan, which harbours one of the most confrontational separatist movements in recent times. The thesis explores the extent to which the concept of the Jirga, the traditional forum for managing conflicts in the region by engaging in public negotiations and discussions, to solve issues within the community could be extended to encompass debate conducted on-line as a *'virtual Jirga'*.

The preceding two chapters presented the main findings of the study. In this chapter, the aim is to draw on these findings to suggest some practical implications and recommendations, and to highlight some theoretical contributions. To achieve this aim, the chapter first of all presents the review of the findings beginning with the traditional *Jirga* and *Virtual Jirga* concept. Recommendations are then suggested which, if adopted, may contribute to solutions to the challenges arising in the study. Specifically, I am referring to the religious-cultural, social-economic and political issues raised by various participants in the debate on NEP with regards to MoI. The recommendations are provided in terms of the Pakistani Federal Government, the Balochistan Provincial Government and several non-state institutions operating in the country. It then moves on to consider some theoretical implications and limitations of the research. Finally, it concludes by suggesting possible directions for future research. As stated earlier this research is exploratory and questions (hypothesis) generating in nature which, if answered can help the policy-makers in to settle the issue.

6.2 Jirga

As noted in Chapter 1 and Chapter 5, the Jirga is a philosophical and social institution with its genesis inherent in the values, culture, and traditions of the people of Pakistan especially in the rural areas. It was and still is 'a weapon of peace' and a 'mechanism of peace building' in times of conflicts (Shinwari, 2011). In the tribal areas where the government could not maintain the rule of law and social justice due to a lack of resources or poor administrative

structure, Jirga is the only mechanism for conflict management. This traditional mechanism is thus trusted by the communities and legitimised for use whenever peace was under threat. Indeed, one may even have thought of its use nationwide in Pakistan at this particular time when there are some areas that have never enjoyed a harmonious relationship with other areas; and externally-oriented solutions have failed to bring peace.

The contributors of the Jirga sessions are members of the community led by respected and influential tribal elders and religious figures. And here, it is important to emphasise once again, that old age in the country is highly respected. In Jirga, this role is because of their experience and knowledge about the culture and traditions of the area. As the individuals or group representatives engage in the verbal exchange, points are noted, not in writing of course. The leader will then recapitulate everything and give a verdict based on evidence, experience, tradition and religion that are profoundly deep-rooted in the collective conscience of the community. Basically, the Jirga in the rural areas of Pakistan portrays all the features of a disciplined traditional court, but devoid of the infrastructure that one is likely to find in a modern court of law.

As far as the human rights are concerned Jirga is different from the virtual Jirga. First of all, the face to face debate in the Jirga setting usually leads to a profound sense of approval and impartiality with both parties but is often questioned and criticised for giving no representation to women. Secondly, although as stated by Shinwari (2011), Jirga is quicker and easily accessible if compared with the state justice system but the Jirga verdicts and resolutions are not institutionalised. Thirdly, the Jirga decisions are not available in written form which means they are less clear and knowable. This also questions Jirga's legality. On the other hand, in social media, the contributors contribute in writing. They are the people who are interested in the theme, but not necessarily knowledgeable. There is no nobody to give a verdict so that means the debate is continuous. Virtual Jirga however gives equal opportunities to both male and female contributors.

The contributions, or rather the agenda in a Jirga session can be anything social, e.g. robbery, misunderstandings between neighbours or even murders. In most cases, conflict is due to land grabbing because land in rural areas has no legal documentation of ownership. In such cases ownership is based on competing claims, which the formal court is unable to resolve. With a rapid increase in the population and speedy urbanisation, the competition for land and areas by different tribal castes increased, and so did the disputes. The formal courts, which are already burdened, are presumably unable to bear the load of such issues. Thus the

Jirga is never challenged by law-enforcement agencies, rather it is used to maintain the peace process. As a whole, in spite of the severity of the issue, the Jirga would come up with a solution and all parties will have to abide by it.

Education as a social phenomenon has also been an agenda under the Jirga system. A good example is given in FATA Timeline (2013), when the Jirga discussed the destruction of schools by extremists. The Jirga reached a resolution that this should be stopped immediately or the people will take arms to defend their area against the extremists. However, as noted earlier, the Jirga is an historical reality in rural areas of Pakistan, particularly the Pashtun communities of Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. However, as stated above, Jirga is often criticised by the NGOs and human rights organisations for being noncompliant with modern and international standards as being gender biased and hence a call for transformation.

Obviously this is an era of globalisation of the social, economic and political relationships. The once-secluded communities in Pakistan and elsewhere in the world are now connected via the various technological means of communication, i.e. they are part of the 'global village'. Even within a village, one may, not necessarily need to physically go to a neighbour's home; instead he can simply call him through a landline telephone or a mobile phone. What happens in other distant villages in the different provinces in Pakistan can be seen within seconds in other villages via the television or heard over the radio. The Jirga needs to embrace a wider meaning. It also needs to shed some of the negative aspects such as gender discrimination in order to be a viable and more meaningful bridge towards national and global peace.

6.3 The Social Media as Virtual *Jirga*

As stated in Chapter 1, the Internet in Pakistan has made great leaps forward while public and social media became a driving force in the country. With this development, mobile technology and online communities became fundamental to the way people communicate. Together these make a digital world, which has reduced the distances and joined people across the globe. In such a realm technology is used as a powerful tool for debates over different regional, national and international issues. Together these technological applications helped people in believing in a digital world integral to achieving significant improvements in human and scientific development.

Thus the rise of technology and the spread of globalisation reconfigured the modes of participation. These new driving forms enable the user to exchange ideas, to join debates and activities, while sharing their interests. In Pakistani contexts, these practises gradually altered the traditional *Jirga* into a *virtual Jirga* where participants from various user-communities contribute to online debates. For example, almost all television channels in the country have a trend of talk shows in the evening made up of political leaders with various ideologies. Sometimes they are experts from different fields of life discussing over social issues in the country. In such shows, the anchor-person plays the role as a *Jirga* leader whilst the listeners become the community. Similarly, the Internet plays more or less the same role. Facebook and other social forums are open for all to present their views about any social issue they feel to be discussed. Through this mode of interaction people have now access to all infinite knowledge and its sharing unlike ever before. This as a result helped the public in discovering the reality. In such settings media plays the role of a leader and decision-maker. This new form of *Jirga (virtual jirga)* is wider in scope, larger in audience and bigger in implications. Its role is also appreciated because it involves both males and females and seems to be more democratic in nature. In this modern version of *Jirga* the public and social media plays the role of the chieftain and the elderly people to make a ruling.

However the participants of the virtual Jirga are not limited to any specific group of people rather a mixture of people from different fields, origins, age and gender. They included classroom practitioners, political leaders, students, journalists, linguists, educationists and non-government institutions. In this research study, these were analysed in terms of their attributes and contexts as detailed in Chapter 4. Knowing their attributes and what they said, where and when and to whom was considered the context of understanding why they said what they said. As acknowledged in Littlejohn & Foss (2008) and Griffin (2006), in communication, meanings never occur in isolation; rather they should always be interpreted in contexts. Teachers who are the practitioners at the classroom level were considered in terms of their gender and whether they were in a private or public school. Political leaders were seen from the perspective of their social status and their opinions. Students, who are often regarded as the primary stakeholders in the debate and victims of educational policies, had a variety of audiences. Journalists are skilled representatives of information and their participation in the debate was to be expected, especially for the fact that the media was the web. But again in Pakistan, as stated in Chapter 5, these have a very close relationship with politicians, as they are sometimes not used for their own interests but the interests of politicians. Linguists or educationists participated in the debate as experts in education and people who knew the gist and significance of MoI in education and the whole issue of who

gets the chance to enrol in school. And finally, the non-government organisations, in Pakistan especially, are institutions that have been suspected of wrong-doing for the fact that they are externally-financed and thus perhaps they were there to further the interests of their funders.

6.4 Implications for Balochistan

The study contributed to the understanding of the forces affecting policy-making and implementation process in Pakistan and especially in bringing to the surface the critical issues of the MoI. The study also contributed to the body of literature about policy-making and implementation in education in Pakistan. In the light of the findings, it can be argued that there are three major dogmas involved in the education policy debate both at national and provincial level, i.e. neo-liberalism, Islamism and regionalism. There is a fourth notion as well, which is considered here as Uniform Education.

The first group is neo-liberalism, which is made up of people seeking to promote Pakistan as a modern state. Mostly these people are the product of the private sector and from well off socio-economic class. While reading through the data, I have revealed that, the participants of the debate from all types of MoI are supporting positive change in the country. They also favour a better quality of life with improved facilities. But when it comes to the modernity of the society, the participants can be seen in opposition to each other. It is seen in the data that modernity itself means something different for the supporters of each MoI type. For example, the English supporters assume modernity as a reform in culture and religious values, which the supporters of Urdu and mother tongue are not ready to accept. They rather think such modernity is immodesty and adulteration of the values. The parameter for an Islamist positive view about modernity is the progress under the teaching of Holy Quran and Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).

Another point of interest, which was revealed from the data, is the promotion of a private sector, which according to the NEP is a guarantee for quality education. The participants here again are split and accuse such a system of education as being expensive and not affordable by all groups. An additional reason behind a strong resistance against this sector is its linkage with English, which the supporters of Urdu and mother tongue feel it has harmed the ideological values of the country and the local norms of the people. The participants against privatisation mentioned it as an oppression, which gives advantage to the children from the first day and so helps in maintaining the status quo. The case of

province of Balochistan is in no way different from that of the country where the rich support the promotion of the private sector. Obviously as stated in Chapter 2, the province is poor and people already have problems with accessing education due to the serious lack of schools and teachers. In such situations, the private sector can play its role to promote education. But because privatisation of education is market-oriented then why would investors invest in a poor province with a scattered population? This is taken to be one of the reasons for fewer private schools in Balochistan as compared to other provinces. Thus if the public sector is unable to meet the educational needs of the people and the private sector is not ready to establish itself in this province, people would be convinced easily that there are double standards of the federal government towards this province. Such a situation may turn them against the state (as in recent instances of Balochi speakers openly declaring a war against the state), as they have no fear of losing anything. They think they are born and raised with nothing.

The data also suggest that proper accent plays an important role in communication exchanges, but as stated in Chapter 5, accent is no longer important because of the emergence of 'Englishes' rather than a single English. For example, there is American English, Nigerian English, Indian English, Singaporean English, etc. Such a range of 'Englishes' made it acceptable as long as it is understandable for the listener. It can be personal experience or realisation unless it is proved by the research. Therefore the Pakistani people abroad need not to be blamed and criticised for their accent. Of course it cannot be denied that correct English is essential for any type of communication. If allocation of jobs were linked with the accent of the people, its impact on this particular province would be rather negative. The Baloch and the Pashtun speakers have their regional accents of speaking English and Urdu. They do suffer because of their accent issue.

The data disclosed a wide perception that children going to the English medium schools are more intelligent and smarter than the ones going to the public sector. This generalisation helped the private sector to rise as a necessity in the contemporary Pakistani society. Consequently the parents send their children to such schools to be able to compete and meet the demands of the market. This is a misconception spread among the common public to hide the failure of the government in terms of providing education to the population. As long as the matter of the higher grades comes, it can be said that the standard of the education and grading system in these sectors is not similar. The private sector schools are better off in terms of buildings, qualified staff and curriculum while the public sector faces issues of lack of resources. A combined examination for both sectors thus goes in the favour of the private

sector. The elite private schools have a separate examination board, marking style and grading system. With such visible differences in the teaching and learning process, grading cannot be guaranteed as the key of intelligence or smartness. In case English as MoI is the only sign of intelligentsia, what about those countries then where English is not the medium of instruction (e.g. China, France, Germany, etc.)? Do they not have clever and intelligent people? Such a misconception is highly spread in the province too where observably English and Urdu speaking groups think themselves superior and intelligent. Such a realisation has harmed the attitude of the people and thus led to the situation of frequent conflicts.

Data also revealed that in Pakistan securing a better job is linked with fluency in the English language. But it is not clear if 'better jobs' are regional, national or in the international market. No matter what level it is, but the criteria may advantage some over others. For example, an engineer working in a gas company in the Balochistan province need not be fluent in English, but needs field-related skills and experience. As stated in Chapter 2 and 5, there is a chance if he will concentrate on his language fluency, he will not be able to give proper time to his related field.

Despite the fact that economy is the base of any country in a neo-liberal world, arguing that economy stands on the shoulders of English-speaking elites in Pakistan is open to challenge. The fact that Pakistan has several foreign qualified people, who hold 'better' jobs because of their ability in the English language, cannot be denied. But the other side of the coin needs to be looked at as well because these people at some point have a lesser role in the economy and prosperity of the country than the local people who worked in Urdu or regional languages. A prominent example can be Allama Iqbal who helped the independence movement of Pakistan through his poetry in Urdu. His poetry made him a national poet. Let's pretend that English is the only language of job and market all over the world. The non-English speaking people have no chance to get job and contribute in the economy. Why then is the government not implementing English as medium of instruction in all types of schools? Why is there no similar quality English in all schools and regions? Surely lack of social cohesion will harm Pakistan more than the contribution of the English class to the economy.

Internationalisation and acquisition of global identity are the dynamics of the neo-liberal agenda. Thus to reach to that stage one needs to go through many challenges and much competition. Pakistan is also, as stated in the NEP 2009, intending to reach that stage and acquire its position globally for its citizens. But the question here is whether there is any

possibility of Pakistan reaching that stage with such a divisive education system. The nation is divided and so are their thoughts around the policy-making process. Some groups have no opportunity to acquire education at all; others only have access to poor quality schools whilst elites are enjoying an international standard of education. Will it not lead to a wider gap between the rich and the poor? Is it possible for the country and for this particular province to progress with such widening gaps? I think not as the poor will always feel themselves oppressed by the rich. Such situations may even put at stake the peace and harmony of the country and so prohibit let alone achieve global identity. I would like to take the example of Balochistan province, where the majority blames the policies of the federal government for the backwardness of the province. Their dislike and hatred towards such policies can be seen as the slogan of ethnic groups on the walls of this province. They demand to know why they are dealt with differently from the people of other provinces. Why gas and minerals produced by this province are supplied to people all over the country, whilst the province itself has no gas? Their demands and protests seem reasonable, given that, as stated in Chapter 2, the standard of education in Balochistan is the least effective as compared with other provinces. This hatred turned human since 2002. Immigrants from other provinces who are doing jobs or businesses in this province are warned to leave the province. In this process several people have been killed and harmed and many have left the province already. The killing continues with a straight-forward demand of separation from Pakistan. Looking at picture of this particular province, one can easily question if Pakistan is able to acquire internationalisation and global identity through such an education system!

The second group is named as Islamism, which is made up of the people who seek to promote Pakistan as an Islamic state. As discussed in the previous chapters, after the partition the issue of language was not discussed, rather the final decision was imposed by linking it with Islam. This linkage was because the people were so attached to their religion that they may not even be able to protest against Urdu as the language of the country. If it was the case that Islam was the reason for promoting Urdu as the national language and MoI, then probably Arabic would have been a better option. It is the language of Islam, older than Urdu, broader in scope and wider in usage and would link Pakistan with the Arab world, which was necessary as it was newly established. Except for the maximum 8% of the Urdu speakers, all the other 92% of the population needed to learn Urdu and people who need to learn Urdu will learn Arabic too. Thus the relation of Arabic is wider and more acceptable by all groups compare to Urdu. But it seems like Urdu made the job easy for the Urdu speaking elites who were already using it.

After the partition Urdu became the language of Pakistan, because it was claimed by the policy-makers at the time that people are demanding a language for their national identity. The question is if people were demanding a national identity, why did not they demand regional identity as well? Otherwise the people whose mother tongue is Urdu would enjoy it as an advantage. For example, the performance of a child whose mother tongue is Urdu and one whose mother tongue is another language than Urdu would be different. It is similar to when the child first of all learns English, then transfers his thoughts from his mother tongue to English. This process affects his learning and performance as shown in the data analysis. Thus for people whose mother tongue is not Urdu, this language plays the same role as English is playing with them. Especially in the province of Balochistan where majority of the Balochi and Pashto speakers have time and again challenged the place and importance. Most of the white-collar jobs are taken by the people whose mother tongue is Urdu or Punjabi, who have migrated to this province because here they have an edge of language in examinations and interviews on the Balochi and Pashto speakers. With the passage of time, the people of the province have realised this fact and strongly protested against them. In the current chaos, the separatists have a major demand that all the jobs of this province need to be filled by the people of this province only. Such acts and demands have created misunderstandings among the provinces and the people. The question of national identity remained unclear and is an on-going problem.

The views in the texts supporting Urdu were that Urdu is able to support social cohesion which is an essential agent for the development and progress of any country. To achieve this, Pakistan opted for Urdu as national language and MoI. Similar was the argument of Muhammad Ali Jinnah in his speech while declaring Urdu as the only national and bridging language. But this begs the question that if Urdu was a bridging language and the language of social cohesion, then why was the private education sector and the English MoI schools exempted from following it? Since independence in 1947, Pakistan saw several education and language policies, but there is hardly any policy, which applies equally to both private and public sector institutions. The former grew with English while the latter with Urdu as MoI. What makes the children studying in these institutions different? Even in the Zia ul Haq era (Army General who took power from Zulfaqar Bhutto and centralised all institutions. His regime is known for the *Urdusizing* of almost all the institutions) the elite English medium institutions were left undisturbed. It seems to me very surprising because if Urdu is the basis of unity, then why have experiments with Urdu as the MoI been conducted only in the public sector schools? Of course people still avoid challenging Urdu because of its association with religion but it seems that doubts are being raised in their minds and they

are beginning to question the issues. In the event that they find that it is because the elites have been using Islam for their own benefits, this will harm the society. In Balochistan the ethnic groups have already started the debate on the place of Urdu and its links with Islam and this is generating an environment not different from the one Pakistan has seen while dealing with the Bengalis of East Pakistan in 1971.

The third group is named as regionalism, which is largely made up of the ethnic groups or people from the low middle socio-economic classes living in the rural areas. Historically, the multilingualism of the provinces and involvement of the range of languages within the provinces is a serious challenge for the regional languages to flourish. This is why probably in the past the choice to the provinces to select regional languages as MoI did not encourage regional identity. Rather the decision went against it. For example, in the province of Balochistan the Baloch and Pashtun speakers challenged each other in different regions of the province. Particularly in the Baloch speaking areas the Brahvi speakers demanded their language to be MoI in the areas where they are in the majority. In a way the ethnic groups forgot about Urdu and English, which they were jointly opposing in the opposition of each other. The data reveal that such opposition saw riots, protests, strikes and hatred among the speakers of different languages within each province. Such actions are alarmingly dangerous for the education of the children and the overall progress of the regions. The lack of consensus and the failure of the regional languages in gaining regional identity have created a positive attitude in support of Urdu and English which means the whole process went into the goodwill of Urdu and English medium children, because the MoI was later replaced by Urdu while the private sector was already English MoI. The data raise questions that in case the government is declaring mother tongue as MoI as demanded by the ethnic groups or the supporters of regional languages what solution will they come up with this time to avoid the past controversies and conflicts? Or maybe the opposition to English and Urdu is a political motto, which the elites are using as a tool to gain public sympathies to enlarge their vote banks.

The data exposed that the ethnic groups and the supporters of the regional languages are concerned about their culture. They are afraid that their culture will die out if not promoted. They firmly believe that their culture can be promoted, thus they seek its promotion through the medium of school. This emphasis is probably because of their belief that culture offers an identity whose absence weakens society. But in reality there is very little evidence available to support the sincerity of the political leaders of the ethnic groups to practically support and promote the mother tongues. For example, most of the tribal chiefs who are the

leaders of the ethnic groups have a foreign education or are from the elite educational institutions of Pakistan. For example, Asfandyar Wali Khan who is leading the largest Pashtun ethnic party and is currently the ruling party in the province states that mother tongue as MoI is the political manifesto of this group. He himself on the other hand is qualified from Aitchison College, Lahore (a purely English medium and a renowned institution which was established before partition for the children of the elites) (Aitchison college, Lahore, 2012). Similarly there are several other ethnic leaders whose children and they themselves hold foreign degrees or studied in elite English medium schools. An example can be Akbar Bugti (the Baloch ethnic leader whose death in an Army operation piloted the separation movement in the province of Balochistan) went to Oxford University (OUPS, 2009). I do not understand why the elites like private English medium schools for themselves and their children, but public schools with mother tongue as MoI for the masses? Obviously, if the mother tongue is treated in such a dual way, acquiring a status for it is then a difficult task. This confirms as Jahani (2005) stated, that a negative attitude exists from the speakers towards their mother tongue. The negative attitude is responsible for giving an edge to English and Urdu over regional languages. Apparently, such an attitude towards the regional languages from the leaders of the political parties makes the promotion of culture a difficult task. It rather seems that the ethnic parties are using cultural promotion through mother tongue as a political slogan. Otherwise why would they not maintain the status of mother tongue when regional languages were given the status of MoI in the past?

Norms are a standard behaviour for a specific group of a people. Data revealed that the ethnic groups and the followers of the mother tongue believe that they are both linked with each other. Especially in the tribal areas of Balochistan, the majority consider local norms and values equal to the religious ones. Challenging or reforming them is thus not acceptable. This is why probably in those areas the demand for a mother tongue is stronger than in urban areas. I would like to argue here that many parents oppose education in a second language because they consider it as a reform and an excuse to abolish their culture or the tradition they have inherited from their forefathers. Probably the low enrolment rate is one among the consequences of avoiding English or Urdu. This situation however means that the tribal areas are less developed and less educated; a situation used by the political parties to their political advantage. They consider the ethnic parties as their sole representatives who can safeguard their values and traditions, but the political leaders themselves are unaware and do not practically follow those norms. Examples have been given above about the ethnic leaders qualified from the foreign or elite institutions. Of course it is difficult for any person or group to endorse a tradition without following it.

The last group is placed under the category of uniform education system, which is made up of the people who want an equal education system. Basically, equity is the provision of equal opportunities to people from different classes of a group or region or a state. Obviously this is a vital agent of social cohesion and unity among people. Education system in Pakistan both at national and provincial level as seen in the data is missing this trait, which is why the issues of classification of education system, selection of MoI and disappointment among the people exist. As stated earlier, this highly visible issue is realised by the government too and they formed the committee to resolve the issue soon after the NEP 2009 was announced. The committee will commence its action in the Islamabad treaty and intends to spread it to other cities and provinces. The report mentions public schools only to be made equitable. It did not mention anywhere if the private sector, especially the elite schools will be the part of the equity process as well. Most probably they will not, because the government in the NEP 2009 document encourages the private sector and appreciates its enlargement for literacy promotion. In the Pakistani context, the private sector would never want to be equal to the public sector otherwise why would people pay them money rather than send their children to the public ones? And for the public sector, it is impossible to raise its standard to the elite private institutions, because of lack of funding and resources. It is important for equity purposes in the education system to bring together all types of institutions in all provinces otherwise the 'equity' will be challenged and will be seen as another experiment made in the public sector schools.

One among the reasons behind illiteracy in Pakistan is a lack of opportunities for accessing education. As stated in Chapter 2, the effect of unequal access is high in the villages if compared with the cities. This is because investors see urban areas as suitable for promoting education as a market. Similarly the rich provinces have a higher number of private institutions than the poor and troubled ones, i.e. Balochistan. Although such regions have private schools, their quality tends to be low. Lack of access to quality education is an alarming fact, which challenges the ideology of Pakistan i.e. Islam. Furthermore, all parents are not rich and cannot afford the elite or even schools charging low fees. Meanwhile the lack of a public sector school, denies access to their children to acquire education. It means that people who are born in the villages or in the rural areas remain uneducated or poorly educated by default. Obviously this denial of access to quality education deprives them of other opportunities as well.

Whilst NEP 2009 aims at achieving global standards and economic prosperity through education, actions on the ground disapprove such claims. The majority of the population in

the rural areas are deprived of their basic rights to education. A generalisation is already built into the rural areas about the quality of the schooling, which is why most of parents are sending their children to earn a livelihood for their families as they see this to be more productive, at least in the short-term. Moreover, three different schooling systems mean that the nation is divided into parts. The thinking of the elite school's children can hardly match with the children of the madrassa; these madrassa children cannot think the way the children of the public schools do. These differences will surely challenge all the writ of the government and may lead to conflicts in almost all institutions. How is it possible for a country to grow together with such wide and growing differences? The current situation can be linked with this division where people are in physical conflict with each other. Thus there is a lack of understanding and the country is in chaos. Of course such a situation highly affects the economic growth and overall prosperity of the country.

To further narrow down I came up with following factors i.e. social, economic, linguistic, educational and political factors that affected the policy.

I: Social implications can be as stated in Chapter 3, that NEP has led to contradictory opinions about medium of instruction. One option is the authority to the provincial government to choose a language of their wish in the early years. The policy statement increases the fear of the ethnic sentiments and may further complicate the issue because (i) it gives limited autonomy to the province and (ii) the choice can initially be made for 5 years only. Obviously, as the data suggests, if the policy is made for the extension of the political regimes, rather than the betterment of the education sector, the province will face further backwardness and divide. It will also lead the province towards cultural and sub-cultural clashes. This way the parents will tend to prefer dropping their children from schools.

II: The economic factor determines the successful implementation of the policy in the province. As discussed earlier the degree of deprivation and the population living below the poverty line is highest in Balochistan among all other provinces. With such poor economic conditions of the province implementing a new policy would be a very expensive and risky undertaking. Production of books in one of the local languages and distributing to schools on time before the school opens would imply diverting a larger chunk of the provincial finances from some other public services. Additionally, such a policy needs trained teachers in different languages, which, as revealed from the data and the literature review, this province does not have. Subsequently the education sector of the province will be negatively-affected and further complicate the economic growth and overall development of

the province. This may leave the people of the province far behind in the run of 'change' and can push them aside in a competitive economic environments.

III: Linguistic-educational implications can be described by considering the regional languages given from which the schools were to make choices. First of all, as stated earlier, such a decision ignored the rights of minority groups. Supposedly with the possibility of Balochi, Brahvi and Pashto as MoI, the NEP does not include minority languages as an option. In addition, these are languages that may be rich in terms of oral substance, but too weak in that they have no orthographic system, no sufficient lexical and technical vocabulary for school use. Any one language adopted would require all these to be developed from scratch. As stated in the literature review the British Council Report declare the pace of education growth in the province as 'the slowest' and that the province will not be able to reach the Millennium Development Goals in near future. In such circumstances making and implementing a new MoI policy may further worsen the entire educational development. There is no doubt that every language in the world is a valuable cherish but as the data showed, declaring anyone language as MoI is not the guarantee of quality education rather the education system needs other modifications (such as teacher training, resources, up-to-date content, etc.), which unfortunately the regional language of the province are lacking.

VI: Political implications have to do with the fact, as data suggest, that policies in Pakistan as well as in the provinces are closely-related to party politics rather than to the content or significance of the policy for the general educational good. Lack of education and awareness gave space to politicians to make policies on peoples' behalf without engaging them. A policy made on the personal will of the politician favouring the regional languages without estimating the costs and effects, the province will further struggle to achieve social cohesion bearing in mind that it is already broken into competing ethnic groups.

6.5 Tensions between Traditions and Modernity

I learnt from the data that the Pakistani society and decision-making process regarding policies is growing between the extremes of old and new, i.e. the traditional ways of life and globalisation. The data revealed affirmative interpretations of local traditions' communal place and rights, while the opposition attacks such acts, accusing them as undemocratic.

As far as the tradition of the communities are concerned, the Urdu and mother tongue supporters defend that the way things have been is the way they should continue to be. Or in

other words, the best thing would be for things to go back to the way they were. These groups value the traditions even though it is getting difficult to grow with them in a rapidly-changing world. They have the confidence that keeping a successful balance of life for many years is due to following traditional ways of life. They are thus there to embrace and defend them at all costs. Although there are examples of some of the traditions, which are strongly challenged by the modern day innovations, people are following them, ignoring the impacts. The other extreme is called globalisation, which sees the world a 'global village'. In the Pakistani context this doctrine is mostly supported by the English-speaking class (Haqqani, 2004). The idea starts with the assumption that the world needs to be free from the old age and local traditions: rather a singular way of life is encouraged globally.

Living between these two extremes, it is difficult for Pakistani policy makers to keep both groups happy. There is rather a need for realisation that in a society where the majority is attached to the traditions; thus separating them will be difficult. Even if the traditions are completely thrown away, the society will not cope because people are coloured with former practices. Similarly they are the old traditions, which lead to the new ones. Thus there is a need for both the groups to build understanding to go ahead without rejecting the good of both traditions and globalisation. Noticeably there are some changes made in the society of which the traditionalists are mourning over. At the same time, there are some reforms in the society, which they cannot live without appreciation. People have already started realising the impact of new technologies, which they choose not to embrace, but the perception among people is also growing that they cannot stop change. The question thus rises, can people preserve their traditions, or will the old age experience die out with the passage of time? Or is there any chance to grow with sharing the good from both? Possibly in such conditions *Virtual Jirga* can play the role of a *Jirga* leader to accommodate both old and new ways of life. Otherwise, as the data show, the policy-making processes will be endangered with mistrust and suspicion. Although the data revealed some points of similarities in the debate, mainly these groups are there, blaming each other for the failure of the policies.

6.5.1 Suspicion

I found out from the data that such conflicting views led the participants towards suspicion and mistrust. Each group counts the other one on the better hand regarding the MoI policy. Similarly the followers of each group believe that they are excluded from the policy-making process by competing groups. Therefore lack of trust from all types of MoI has created an environment of disapproval and dismissal. For example, the policy of English is always and

totally unwanted by other groups though it has benefitted the country at some points. Likewise the policy of Urdu is rejected and discarded by the English and mother tongue supporters, claiming it an Urdu and Punjabi-speaking elite imposition. On the other hand, the policies in favour of regional languages, did not achieve the targeted goals because they were always linked with ethnicity and provincialism. This denunciation is still in existence.

But in an era of globalisation where competition and quality are thought to be the important factors of success and progress, Pakistan may lag behind. Clearly, any society based on mistrust will hardly allow policy-makers to create policies acceptable to all. This situation also portrays the political situation of Pakistan where the ruling and opposition parties are always in conflict against each other. Consequently the country has seen several unfinished or defectively completed projects including educational policies, which obviously outlay a lot in terms of development and finances. After all is there any likelihood the education system will find excellence in such an atmosphere of suspicion? Also with an increased contest in the field of education will Pakistan still be able to accomplish an international standard of education for the masses with such thinking of refutation?

6.5.2 Points of Similarities

Despite the factors of suspicion and mistrust regarding educational and MoI policy, there are some points of similarities raised by the participants of all MoI types. Firstly, although the participants of the debate are divided on the point of selection of MoI, almost all of them agree on the poor quality of education. They see low quality education as being responsible for poverty and joblessness. Although the participants refuse to accept the allegations of other groups, all of them equally blame the government and the policy-makers for being insincere with the education system of the country.

Secondly, the participants of the debate are critical because of the divisive education system. All the groups including the English supporters raise questions over the public and private sectors. They are also settled on the insight that the divisive education system has disturbed the whole education system and the social cohesion of the country. The data suggest that although Pakistan was claimed to have been formed in the name of the ideology of Islam, this is not a healthy trend for its unity. Unity is the most important factor of the religion of Islam and the practices of the forefathers. The class system on the basis of MoI or the socio-economic status of the people may guide the country towards a corrupt system, a corrupt society and a corrupt product.

Thirdly the participants of the debate have equally condemned the government for lack of funding and low allocation of budget for the education sector. The participants have also pointed out the outcomes of such an education, which are listed under the category of lack of resources. Such points of similarities in the public debate raise the question that, why if the public equally demands quality and uniform education the government is unable to provide them with it? Obviously, an excuse from the government declaring it a conflicting issue like MoI will not be enough.

6.6 Limitations

Overall the strength of this research study, in my view, was its capacity to offer unique data, bringing the voices of participants who otherwise have been left out or unheard of in the NEP 2009 with regards to MoI debate. The online search also offered accounts on the multifaceted MoI issue and its effects on educational achievements, unity of the country and the overall progress of the country from the perspective of less-powerful participants, who are often ignored in the official policy discourse. This thesis, therefore, has advanced a valued and reliable experience in education policy and MoI related issues. However, it is essential to acknowledge the limitations of this study so as to ensure credibility of this thesis on the education and MoI related policies in Pakistan. There were certain limitations in this research study; a few of them were expected but several were unforeseen.

First of all, it would have been convenient to give more time to the data collection, as documentary data is a time-consuming task. This meant that delays were inevitable, sometimes, with large texts and sometimes searching through the irrelevant material. But my familiarity with the research settings, in a sense, was a shortcoming as Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) cited has reduced the time spent on understanding, interpreting, categorising and coding the texts. The research context was not entirely strange since I was able to relate to the cultural nuances, prior to and after embarking on this research.

Another important concern was related to the sample size (one year snapshot), which means that the data may not equally represent all the regions of the country. For example, the province of Balochistan and rural Pakistan as a whole is more adversely affected by MoI issue, illiteracy, ethnic conflicts, poverty and marginalisation. This proves that access to media and voicing on the MoI issue in a *Virtual Jirga* set up in these areas are likely to be lower than the rest of the country. It would have been useful to conduct face-to-face interviews with the policy-makers, politicians and government officials to know their

opinion on the MoI. Conducting interviews were not possible on the other hand as the country was adversely-affected by terrorism, insecurity and political chaos. Thus access to the participants in such situations was hard to obtain.

The selected time-frame (January 2010 to January 2011) for exploring the current debate on NEP 2009 with the help of texts from public and social media was a major challenge of this research study. Due to the one-year snap shot many more texts on the issue of MoI in Pakistan written in 2011 onward, but have been left out. At the same time, a larger period for the collection of the data might have made the analysis unmanageable.

As far as the text presentation from data was concerned, initially I wanted to present each text written in any language other than English in the context, followed by the translation. I wanted to do it so that the number of the texts and variety could be clearly appreciated and understood by seeing that the voice of those who do not want to write in English or otherwise are not able to write in English are not left out. But soon I have realised that translating these many languages was not possible. Additionally, due to a large number of words, it became laborious and very time consuming task; and I apprehended that it would severely curtail the time for data interpretation and analysis. Therefore, finally I decided to include the texts written in English language. However, I included the English version of those texts which were written in regional languages but translated into English by the same author.

In terms of categorisation and interpretation of data there was problem of frequently used words that fell under more than one MoI group. This overlapping generated problem in the analysis. Thus, I devised the categorisation procedure i.e. neo-liberalism, Islamism, regionalism and uniform education with the help of Wordsmith and Worlde. Such words were analysed in a separate capacity to make sure there was no repetition or overlapping in the entries.

As a whole, the strengths of this thesis overshadow the weaknesses. However, these and other limitations outlined here cannot be ignored.

6.7 Recommendations

6.7.1. To the Federal Government

The literature review and the data analysis confirm that the history of relationship between federal government and the ethnic sentiments of the province of Balochistan has a long story

of unfulfilled promises, economic exploitation and political incompetency. As a whole the federal government, being the major runner of the state affairs, is to be held accountable for the crisis.

First of all the federal government in its successive education and MoI policies have overlooked the linguistic and cultural particularities of people, although these demands were protected and guaranteed by the constitution of Pakistan. The negligence of the educational needs created massive despair and created polarisation due to which the masses did not identify themselves with the state. Resultantly, people became more vulnerable to the appeal by the ethnic political parties and insurgency. The situation calls for strongest possible political will to deliver and implement the solution among all concerned.

Secondly, because historically policy-making in Pakistan has been a top-down affair, the government should revisit the process by adopting democratic and participatory approaches. This can be done by involving representatives of the key stakeholders. In education policies, these would be representatives of teachers'_ unions, student unions, parents' associations, publishers associations and non-government organisations. These will create checks and balances to make policies realistic, implementable and less contradictory.

Finally, the Government should also revisit its priorities and allocate more funds to education as a way of scoring an improved economic stability. By taking serious and urgent socio economic measures and by providing quality education and fair play as basis of governance, the back of the insurgency can be broken and the people can be brought back into the mainstream. Time is now up for the government to realise that it is quite costly to lead a nation with an illiterate population.

6.7.2 To the Provincial Government

Due to its position in the economy of the country and the ongoing separatist moment, Provincial Government needs to give urgent attention to MoI issue in Balochistan. The data showed that the selection of MoI in a multilingual and multi-ethnic province like Balochistan is not the problem of one class, region, or one dimensional. Therefore the response needs to be wholesome. As stated earlier there remained suspicion among the supporters of different groups, the most fundamental and urgent requirement then is trust building. And the only way this can even begin is, by governance measures from the provincial government that are urgent, transparent and reach the door step of the people for whom the language matters.

Keeping pace with the international job market is the need of time however, international constraints can never be an excuse to neglect or deprive its own masses from their culture or language. To solve various problems of national interest through wide consensus, provincial government should work on creating and implementing concrete policies that will lead to socio-economic development and problem resolution. Provincial and ethnic autonomy could enhance the participatory approach which will help to have wide consensus over national affairs. The need now is to acknowledge the educational needs and economic grievances of the people and deal with them directly and effectively. Jirga model presented by this study can be an ideal mechanism in solving the MoI issue by given presentation to all the concerned groups.

Below are given three comprehensive solutions for a successful MoI policy in Balochistan province.

(i) Appropriate Prioritising: As stated earlier, Balochistan is a poor province comparatively and implementing public policies is often a costly affair. So it is important that the provincial authorities make the appropriate support measure available when implementing policies originating from the Federal Government.

(ii)Appropriate Interpretation: Federal policies need to be translated into implementable policies down into the provinces, because of the existence of different contexts. This is *official* policy versus *enacted* policy dichotomy. In the case of MoI as described in NEP 2009, the right interpretation should have been based on its economic capability in providing funding for textbook production and distribution and retraining of teachers.

(iii) Appropriate Presentation: As the Federal Government does allow provinces to make their policies and choices, it is imperative that the authorities in the provinces adopt participatory approaches to policy-making by inviting representatives of key stakeholders to participate in the process. This may include NGOs.

6.7.3 To Non-state Organisations

Non-state organisations in Pakistan have always been seen as suspicious and especially because they have different sources of funding. These suspicions increased especially after the 9/11 incident in the USA. However, non-state institutions have an invaluable role to play in policy-making because they can take an advocacy-role or act as pressure groups. It is therefore important that they come up with a loud and clear voice to the government. For

their own safety however, it is important that they should do so within the social-cultural norms of the country.

NGO advocacy can be defined as the process of using information strategically to change policies, which affect the lives of disadvantaged people. To pursue their work effectively, NGOs need to analyse their situations correctly and provide collective evidence in order to mount campaigns that would improve the effectiveness of their areas of activity. In this way, they can become effective tools that can remind the provincial government about using education for poverty-eradication as core to development.

To conclude, I would like to make the following observations,

1: the virtual Jirga operates in a similar philosophy like the traditional Jirga system in Balochistan. The only difference is that participants are not physically present; there is no leadership that means there are no binding resolutions and thus the debate will go on forever. One big difference is that the virtual Jirga provides an opportunity for women to participate, thus it is gender-biased.

2: The study revealed key issues in the debate including suspicion and lack of trust among the supposedly participants supposed, lack of representation and lack of scientific and research based evidences. Conclusively, this has contributed to the existence of conflicts, unproductivity, and social division in the education system.

3: The participants in the debate are people from a variety of backgrounds including teachers, students, politicians, journalists, linguists and educationists. The debate involves people with the ability and capacity to access public and social media. The poor, disadvantaged people, marginalised groups are not represented.

4: As for implications for Balochistan it is revealed that NEP 2009 is unclear, controversial and conflicting and thus not implementable. There is a lack of realistic tendencies in as far as budget allocations are concerned. Furthermore the values, traditions and interests of the people have not been taken on board to match with the policy objectives.

6.8 Theoretical Contributions

Beyond its practical implications, this study promotes a more informed debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI, contributing to knowledge by exploring links between national,

international and regional related issues. This research study support the theory of Policy Sociology (Critical Policy Sociology) when exploring the debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI. In the literature there is an over-simplistic and superficial view towards the selection of MoI in particular and NEP in general, depicting these issues to be homogenous since people in the country have same religion and thus share similar values. By contrast with this, the empirical evidence provided in this study reveals that similarities and commonalities at the religious level do not necessarily mean homogeity at the regional level. Several cultures and subcultures, languages, ethnicities and types of schools exist within the country, and exert a signifant influence on the making of NEP and selection of MoI. Hence, it is argued that the homogenous views of values of the people is misleading. They misrepresent reality and misinterpret the links between the selection of the MoI and the religion.

MoI become a common and frequently observable phenomenon in Pakistan but no work has yet been done in Pakistan to explore the MoI debate through texts collected from different authors through digital media. Too many studies especially the comparative ones concentrate on similarities and commonalities at a larger level, omitting, subcultures and cultural diversities at the micro level. The study explored the debate and provided an insight into the selection of MoI issues from the linguistic, economic, cultural, religious and global aspects. This study has also contributed in furthering the understanding of MoI issues and contributed to the research methodology. It extends the understanding of cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversities, certainly in Pakistan and draws attention to contrasts and differences that are all too frequently neglected.

Moreover, this research emphasizes on the importance of the social constructionism theory. Previous studies have portrayed political wish and will as uniformed or unitary entities, assuming that political will is crucial for making the Education Policy with regards to MoI. By contrast, the findings of this study which came directly from the authors of the texts highlights range of issues involved in not successfully deciding the MoI issue in the country which includes social, economic, linguistic, educational and of course political among others.

6.9 Directions for Future Areas of Research

The findings of this thesis do not allow me to attribute the debate on NEP 2009 with regards to MoI on any one particular factor. My research remains tentative and inconclusive, like

most academic endeavours, leading to new questions to answer how MoI related issues could be settled in the country among the supporters of different groups.

Despite high and repeated rhetoric from the Qur'an, the Hadith and the Constitution of Pakistan, the field of education remained neglected. There is a wide gulf in MoI and education opportunities in Pakistan, linked to inequalities in income and wider life chances. With each new education policy there emerged a new MoI, which led to various conflicts, riots, hatred and most of all a deadlock in the promotion of education. Obviously, anything for which resources are not allocated and which does not receive the attention of the policy-makers, government officials and politicians is bound to languish. After a rigorous review of literature and the collected data for my study, I unearthed observable patterns of the persistence of educational and MoI differences since the existence of Pakistan. As a whole the negligence of the government, the hostility of the feudal, the indifferences of the rich elites and the double standards of the ethnic political leaders are primarily responsible for the divide and the confusion.

A well-functioning education system will have policies or programmes that specifically address the issues raised and faced by population groups (e.g. the supporters of Urdu, English, regional languages and a uniform education system, as well as the minority-language speakers). There is also a need for the government to come up with, as the World Bank (2011) stated, special resources to assist the concerns of these groups. With MoI as a continuous concern on policy agendas, this thesis finds several issues for further research for policy-makers, to formulate coherent and effective policies to redress the issues. Chief among them will be to focus efforts in following areas: clarifying suspicion among the participants of various groups, conducting a virtual Jirga for an acceptable policy for all, expounding the uniform education system from the equity perspective; investigating the low literacy and poor quality of education; and introducing a clear and long term MoI policy.

These notwithstanding, several issues are still questionable.

(1) Future research needs to investigate how and when the vulnerable groups (women, people from low socio-economic class, a rural population) in the country can be given a role in the policy-making process? Although, inequity in terms of representation of all groups is a persistent education and MoI policy concern that has gained prominence in almost all past policies, including NEP 2009. But in practice, as stated in the literature review and as found in the data analysis, there are no steps taken for giving opinions to the marginalised or

vulnerable groups. It means the rural areas, the poor and the women face comparatively low or otherwise no voice in the selection of MoI, in contrast with the relatively rich, urban elites and male population. It is confirmed that a policy with the representation of all groups can move the masses quickly and cost-effectively towards an accepted by all MoI and meeting the MDGs (UNICEF, 2010). Giving role to all groups in the selection of MoI is a democratic choice, strategically sound and the right practice, it is therefore important to find out whether the MoI policy is known and understood to all those concerned in view of the long-term implications for quality education, economic development and national unity.

(2) The UNICEF (2011) and GoB (2010) studies and reports suggested that the most-frequent changes in MoI existed in the public sector schools. This sector trailed the affluent private sector, thus underlining one challenge: inequalities are likely to persist, unless policies are implemented with due representation to all groups. The analytic approach employed herein concluded that, NEP 2009 falls far short of fulfilling the hope for the elimination of MoI issues and educational inequalities. Due to lack of clarity, scientific research and insufficient resources, the frequent changes in the MoI, the public-private inequality and the size and magnitude of inequities have not gone away. Future research thus needs to be conducted to find out what should be done to provide the country with uniform education system where the children, in disregard of their socio-economic background, will be able to access quality education. As the data analysis states, the education system in the country faces a long-standing problem in equal access along the income at all levels. With the rapid spread of privatisation the divide is further expanded. This inequality creates startling disparities e.g. children from affluent backgrounds go to the private sector with English as MoI, the middle class to the public sector Urdu medium while the poor to the madrassa. A uniform system can give an equal opportunity to all, which may help in bridging the divide. It also provides the nation with a sense of unity, equality and a more balanced educational system.

(3) Given the significance of public and social media in a democratic process and provision of voice to the masses, future research needs to investigate when and how the government address the issue of accessing it? As stated earlier, both public and social media constitute an important forum for communication in Pakistan. They provide a platform for public debates and propagation of information. However, the issue of limited and unequal access persist among the country's four provinces. Eventually, the voice of a large part of the population remains ignored and their participation in the *virtual Jirga* is refused.

4) The future research therefore needs to consider when the government of Pakistan can come up with policies that will help to bring the people of Balochistan into mainstream politics for the better future of the country? As stated earlier, Balochistan is the largest and the richest mineral-wise, but receives the lowest amount of funds. Eventually, this led the province to the smallest number of educational institutions, the highest rural urban divide, the slowest enrolment, the lowest standing in the Gender Parity Index and the nominal presence of private educational institutes (National Economic Survey, 2009-10). This Balochi and Pashtu speaking majority province has Urdu as MoI, which the ethnic groups have always protested against. These groups blame federal policies for supressing their identity and ignoring their representation. This line of thinking led some of the groups to demand separation from Pakistan. To settle down the issue there is a need of new policies in Balochistan's favour with due representation given to the people of this province.

This understanding, and by extension this research, opens possibilities for these critical issues, as well as the persistent indifferences between public and private and within languages and regions to be examined. This is the biggest hurdle - because it will directly challenge the privilege that some groups and regions in Pakistan have enjoyed.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Texts of all MoI types

Texts in Support of English MoI

1EPD: ON THE second day of Eidul Azha, a private TV channel celebrated Eid with senior citizens, which undoubtedly was a highly commendable gesture. What I didn`t like though was the programme host using the word `old` over and over again for senior citizens. I recall a couple of weeks back one of your readers also used the word `old` while addressing senior citizens in his letter to you. It has been decades now since the word `old` has been discarded from use for older people and considered rude if used for older men and women. All references and address to them has been replaced by the word `senior` all over the world, like senior citizens or senior citizens` homes instead of `old people` and `old people`s homes`, etc.

Likewise, the word `disable` for children (special children) or `abnormal` child has been replaced by children with Down Syndrome, which is caused by chromosomal disorder.

The English language has gone through a humongous amount of change/ changes, alterations, and additions; chopping of modern words, various expressions and different accents.

After living in North America and Europe for 15 years, I found why a large number of Pakistanis are unable to adjust themselves in western society and job markets. It is because they do not try to adapt to change and global cultures and want to live a typical `home life` there as well.

No doubt, Pakistanis are found all over the world, but merely their presence is not enough unless seen often on higher positions all over. Accent, broken English and preconceived local sentence translation into English before speaking are the main hurdles.

A saying has become quite popular, "Pakistanis are the last to be hired for jobs and the first to be fired."

Chinese, Polish, Africans, Arabs and people from the Asia Pacific region and South Asian countries have a terrible accent but they are better off and modern as compared to Pakistanis.

Actually, we stubbornly lack adaptability and adjustments to change and global market . We prefer to blame others for our misfortunes and faults and love pointing fingers. After 9/11, it appeared that the Americans had gone centuries behind and might be taken over by extremists very soon. However, only nine years have passed since the incident, but the US is still ruling the world.

2EPD: This is with reference to the letter Pakistanis and English (December 02), due to lack of quality education and inadequate global exposure to English language in everyday life, Pakistanis are not able to express themselves with confidence.

It is indeed shocking to observe that a number of English language teachers are unaware of the acronym `TEFL`, and the ABC of O & A levels. And it pains one a lot when those attached to modern `grammar schools` don`t know the very origin of the schooling system.

The language education based on out of context explanations and expressions is of little use, when it comes to varying everyday oral communication. It is time to work with English the way it practically works, and serves varying global situations and international purposes.

The use of the word "old" with reference to the "aged" is old-fashioned indeed. But being a nation with an undue belief in the notion `Old is gold`, we stay glued to olden times most of the time (realistically speaking, we have not yet learned to improve and change with time). English is no exception.

It being the only `International Language` is bound to go through an enormous amount of entries, alterations and accents.

But again English is only a part of the problem Pakistanis are faced with both at home and abroad. And, if we continue to refuse modern day norms, suffer from obstinacy, lack adaptability and adjustments and blame others for our own faults and follies, then we are to witness even worse isolation. No more excuses or

42 exploitation in the name of national languages! People want English for jobs, international and global market
43 and change. Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie / Which we ascribe to heaven —William Shakespeare.
44 This is with reference to the letter by Shafiq Ahmed Khan (Dec 2). I do not believe in the view that
45 Pakistanis abroad fail due to their language issues or do not adapt to the environment.

46 I myself have been in North America (Canada) for 13 years now and have had the opportunity of meeting
47 with many successful Pakistanis. I have observed that of the overall landed immigrant communities here
48 Pakistanis have proven to be well educated, modern, hardworking, honest and well respected.

49 The Pakistanis that I have met in the past 3 years of recession and downturn in North America were the least
50 laid off staff among others as well, as most of them have proven themselves as an asset for the organisations
51 that they belong to. Hence were very well taken care of by most of the employers.

52 Regarding their speaking English, I can only speak of Canada where I have lived and I know that most of the
53 Pakistanis settled in Canada have careers based on their professional and higher educational background
54 which is what brought them here in the first place. They speak good English and are well integrate

55 **3ETT:** KARACHI: If children, in the first years of their education, are not taught in a language they are
56 familiar with, they may drop out of school later.

57 University of Leeds UK Honorary Senior Research Fellow, Hywel Coleman, explained that teaching in an
58 unfamiliar language can also cause alienation between home and school, poor educational achievement, poor
59 acquisition of foreign languages, such as English, ethnic marginalisation and long-term decline of indigenous
60 languages.

61 Coleman was quoting his report during a lecture, which was part of the policy dialogue organised by the
62 British Council and the Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers (Spelt) to discuss 'Language in
63 Education in Pakistan' at the Department of English, University of Karachi, on Wednesday.

64 Dream policy for Pakistan

65 In his report on the dream policy for Pakistan, Coleman has suggested that the child's first language should
66 be the medium of instruction up till class III, Urdu should be the medium till class IX and English should
67 only be used as a mode of teaching from class X and beyond. Through this scheme, he proposes a bilingual
68 face to education.

69 However, not all participants at the seminar agreed with Coleman's model. Prof Fauzia Shamim, Department
70 of English, believed that bilingual education in Pakistan will be hindered by a lack of materials in vernacular
71 languages, limited support for high quality language instruction and the "ambivalent" attitude towards the
72 value of vernacular languages.

73 Shamim pointed out that in the presence of more than 70 spoken languages, it will be difficult to identify
74 major languages of instruction. English is "a tool for individual change and national development" and it can
75 only be acquired easily if it is learnt in the early years, she said, supporting her argument with the example of
76 India and South Africa, where such policies failed.

77 On the other hand, Dr M Memon, professor and director of the Institute of Educational Development at Aga
78 Khan University supported Coleman's model.

79 "I studied in Urdu till Intermediate and still managed to learn English later," he said. Making English the
80 teaching language may work for people whose families also speak it but those from poor socio-economic
81 backgrounds, whose native language is the home language, may have to struggle to express and think in one
82 language, he explained.

83 Dr Hina Kazmi supported the use of English by saying that none of the native languages, including Urdu,
84 have the literature, research, modern day demands, translations and terminology of modern scientific
85 advancements to become teaching languages.

86 English in Pakistan is seen as a language to help you progress in your studies as well as jobs in global market
87 said Spelt programme committee coordinator Fatima Shahabuddin. According to the language policy of
88 2009, English has been made compulsory for primary classes because its modern, global and the language of
89 market, Shahabuddin said, stressing that English is a modern language and essential for change and thus
90 there is a dire need to produce English language teachers.

91 Meanwhile, Tony Capstick, English adviser at the British Council referred to the role of his organisation in
92 the education sector. "Having commissioned Coleman to carry out extensive research across Pakistan, we felt
93 that it was important to use this as a starting point to consultation [on education]," he said.

94 Research cited by the researcher

95	According to Coleman, there are more than 70 languages spoken in Pakistan with over a million people

95 According to Coleman, there are more than 70 languages spoken in Pakistan with over a million people
96 speaking each of the six major regional languages. Urdu is the first language of only seven per cent of the
97 population but spoken by the greatest number of people.

98 In his research, Coleman divided the schools in Pakistan into four types: private elite (English medium),
99 private non-elite (nominally English), government (Urdu) and madrassas (Urdu). Since around 95 per cent
100 children in Pakistan do not study in their home language, their results are poor, except for children attending
101 private, elite English medium schools.

102 In conclusion, the foremost priority is to contribute to bilingual education through policy debates and raising
103 awareness on the importance of mother-tongue education in the early years of schooling, Coleman said.

104 **4ETT:** I appreciate the research on this often debatable issue "medium of instruction". Almost all the
105 nations that have developed did so by prioritizing their national language.
106 English is modern language and should, only be given a 'Second Language' priority in the early years of
107 education so that language constraint does not hinder with the grasping process

108 **5ETT:** RRK: sorry, I have to disagree. Learning modern English to the level required for academic study
109 takes a LOT longer than 6 months to 1 year. Most of these children don't speak or hear English anywhere
110 else except in school–in conditions like this, developing BICS (basic interpersonal communication skills)
111 takes about 2 years. Developing CALPS (cognitive and academic language processing skills) on the other
112 hand, takes a lot longer. CALPS is what these children need to understand their learning effectively.

113 The research is clear: mother-tongue for 8 years of pre-primary and primary school with English as a second
114 language. Thereafter, dual-medium education with effective code-switching in class by the teacher.

115 The problem is in resourcing good subject teachers who are genuinely bi-lingual and have been trained to
116 code-switch correctly. They are like gold-dust.

117 **6EEVnB:** Education system in Pakistan in really bad condition: Education is the first and foremost
118 condition for the development of any nation. Just look at the history of nations, every nation of the world
119 reached at the zenith of prestige and power with development in education. Government educational
120 institutions are not modern and not delivering due to corruption and lack of funds. Private educational
121 institutions in Pakistan are 'modern' and with international job market prospectus but very expensive and that
122 too are not productive for country.
123 Lack of planning and its rigorous implementation have spoiled our educational system. Our universities are
124 producing a mass of good-for-nothing and half backed educated persons without any propose and
125 international or global planning. Our students seek degrees, not knowledge. The government may be
126 increasing number of colleges and universities but is neglectful of the worsening standard of modern
127 education it the country. No Pakistani university is therefore seen in the top 1000 universities of the modern
128 world.

129 Universities should be research centres only and must not be allowed to conduct graduate or pot-graduate
130 examinations. Lack of funding is also a problem. According to UNO standards a country should allocate four
131 percent of its GDP towards education but here in Pakistan we are just allocating less than two percents of
132 GDP. Educational budget should be increased at par with international/ global standards.
133 Followings are some suggestions to improve quality education system in Pakistan**:**

134 English language should be the medium of instruction from beginning.
135 2- All the colleges should be English medium and have PhD faculty.
136 3- The student-teacher ratio should be brought down to 15:1 from current 40:1 as in the modern world. It
137 means to increase the number of teachers. The standard of teaching also needs to be raised to global
138 standards and international level and global standards and teachers should only be qualifies and competent
139 persons.
140 4- Primary education should be made compulsory and free of cost (it is already free of cost but not
141 compulsory).
142 5- Teachers should be given more jobs and financial resources by increasing their pays.
143 6- Universities professors should be limited to research related activities.
144 7- Government should strictly check all private 'modern' educational institutions.
145 8- Students should be given more scholarships and government should support the intelligent and outstanding
146 students.
147 The dilemma here in Pakistan is that students are genius but they use their intelligence in negative way hence
148 contribute nothing towards the development of country. Another problem with Pakistan is brain drain.
149 Capable and outstanding professionals prefer foreign jobs markets instead of serving in their own country.
150 This is due to the low financial output and indifferent attitude of government towards them. Recently
151 Government of Paksitan decided to privatise its educational system to make it modern and international.

152 Government should need to provide them facilities and special financial packages so that they prefer to stay
153 in their own country.

154 **7EMVnNE:** The issue of language was practically born with the establishment of Pakistan. The Urdu-
155 Punjabi-Sindhi dichotomy was inevitable with the arrival of refugees from India. The Bengali-Urdu problem
156 was triggered by the speech of the Quaid-i-Azam at Dacca, after which the language riots followed. Many
157 people still surmise that Quaid-i-Azam meant the use of Urdu as lingua-franca and not as the official national
158 language.

159 Mother tongue is recognized as the most effective medium of instruction which is also easy on young
160 minds. However, in case of Pakistan (which was created on the basis of Islamic ideology and not modern
161 norms), Urdu was favoured as a medium of education because it contained a treasure of religious
162 knowledge. Its script was also akin to Arabic, which is the language of the holy Qur'an. The Bengali
163 language, in this context, posed some problem as its vocabulary and the script were closer to the Sanskrit
164 family rather than Arabic and Persian. This became irrelevant after 1971 when language problem
165 disappeared, though it left serious scars on the psyche of the nation. However, some faint voices had already
166 been raised favouring the roman script; they also died down with the separation of East Pakistan.

167 This paved the way for Urdu to develop as a commonly spoken and comprehended language of all provinces
168 and territories of Pakistan. Even where the elementary education was imparted in the local language, Urdu
169 remained the language of inter-regional communications. This kept the movement for adopting Urdu as the
170 medium of instruction at all levels, alive. The monumental translation work undertaken at the Usmania
171 University, Hyderabad, and the fresh work being done at the University of Karachi and at Lahore were
172 employed to serve as the basis of the new movement evolved around the person and protégés of Baba-I-Urdu
173 Maulvi Abdul Haq. The Urdu speaking population of Karachi and Urban centers of Sindh produced a large
174 body of stalwarts of the Urdu movement. They found strong supporters amongst the English-speaking senior
175 Pakistanis who, due to their interest in Urdu literature, advocated the case of Urdu.

176 In the early 1960s Urdu, as the medium of instruction, got a big boost when many educational institutions –
177 especially the University of Karachi – decided to adopt it as the medium of instructions at higher levels of
178 education. Unfortunately, in the emotional frenzy, the slow progress towards the assumption of Urdu as the
179 official language in the federal and provincial government offices and the superior courts of law, or the
180 inadequacy of the available Urdu translations were not accepted as cogent, in spite of strong pleas of some
181 university teachers to delay the decision.

182 The decision was lauded as a landmark towards the fulfillment of the objectives of establishing Pakistan. It
183 was welcomed by most of the students who could now write answers in Urdu. Naturally, there was a flood
184 of graduates who had studied for higher degrees using Urdu or provincial languages, which joined the ranks
185 later. Since there were practically no standard text books or reference materials in these languages, therefore,
186 most of these degree holders could not compete with the graduates from abroad who got most of the senior
187 positions both in the public and the private sector, leaving local graduates in the cold.

188 This resulted in the emergence of English medium schools which prepared students for examinations offered
189 by foreign universities, for higher education in order to get handsome jobs in international market and in the
190 multinational companies at home and abroad. The institutions that sprung up to meet the demand of change
191 and quality were expensive. But they became popular with the families who wanted to climb the social and
192 economic ladder of change at all costs. This led to corruption, illegal practices in offices and
193 business. However, nobody cared for these illegal and unethical practices, because the main purpose was to
194 provide quality and education for change to one's progeny. No doubt some of these English medium schools
195 did provide quality education.

196 But the emergence of the English medium stream of education has created a divide between the offspring of
197 the rich who could afford the expensive schools, and those who were obliged to enroll in the local medium
198 institutions. This has divided the society into two distinct classes having their own worlds – one famous for
199 being modern the other backward, one almost breathing in a modern day of the 21st Century West, and the
200 other trying to just survive in the conditions of yore. This divide has intensified with time. Apart from the
201 bitterness, this new class system based on medium of education, effectively keeps the less privileged class of
202 society, confined to their current positions. The distance between these groups has widened to an extent that
203 no ordinary scheme will be able to bridge it. Matters have grown more complicated since Madrissas have
204 made themselves visible and their clientele seems to be increasing in many parts of the country. Then there
205 is the mounting pressure of meeting the demand for manpower that could make its place in the new
206 millennium. The Pakistani society, as such, is confronted with strong forces of orthodoxy, conservatism,
207 religion, ethnicity, linguistic loyalties, versus the need and urges to change and become modern and
208 powerful.

209 There are no two opinions about the importance of English as an international language essential for job
210 market. We have to own an international language to teach modern subjects and import latest developments

211 in the existing body of knowledge in various disciplines. Since, English is a modern language it is linked
212 with science and technology, therefore, the government has decided to introduce it as a compulsory subject
213 from class 1 and to adopt it as the medium of instruction of all science subjects.

214 **8EGP:** Lollzz this is your defence. First of all why are you arguing against this demand? This is a
215 legitimate issue, we are Pashtuns and Pashto should be official. Second of all, no need to low blow
216 Afghanistan, as at least there Pashtu is the official and national language. It is the language of the anthem by
217 the constitution of Afghanistan. Third of all, Tajiks are more urban, more educated and their areas are more
218 peaceful, so they have been able to corner many important sectors in Afghanistan nowadays. Even today, if
219 you go any Pashtun dominated area in Afghanistan, pashto is used on the boards, in media, in writing, as part
220 of the curriculum. Fourthly, this protest took place in Pashtunkhwa, hence the demand for pashto to be
221 official in "pakhtun dominated areas". This is so clear, but you choose to overlook it interesting. Fifth of all,
222 this is a pashtun forum, so all things pertaining to Pashtuns are discussed together. If there is an issue in
223 Swat, then Pashtuns from all over have the right to discuss it and put their views forward. Obviously a local
224 has more insight in to issues, so they have more credibility (generally speaking). Language is part of identity,
225 it is part of culture. Although English is a global and moder language but we should maintain our mother
226 tongue and learn English as well. English is a modern and international language and that it leads to jobs and
227 global market. This is a lame response by you at best.
228 Using Pashto as the official language is not a hindrance but rather an advantage if you want to be 'modern'
229 and 'global'. There is not one economically successful country that has not maintained their language(s).
230 Name me one? Again, you can have English alongside Pashto, but you don't need to neglect Pashto. In fact,
231 many nations and peoples within Europe are going back to claim their language (i.e. the Basques, Scottish,
232 Irish, etc). They did not leave their language due to some economic imperative or were being hindered by it,
233 but rather political actors more powerful suppressed their languages.

234 **9EIN:** Federal Minister for Education Sardar Aseff Ahmed Ali Khan has finally constituted a three-
235 member implementation committee on uniformity of education system in Islamabad Capital Territory (ICT)
236 and up-gradation of teachers, 'The News' has learnt reliably,
237 According to the sources, a notification No. (10-15/2010-Admn-I) dated December 20, 2010 has been issued
238 according to which, members of the committee include Additional Secretary Education Shaigan Shareef
239 Malik, (chairman); Chairperson FBISE Dr Shaheen Khan (member) and Director General FDE Aurangzeb
240 Rehman (member/secretary).
241 According to the notification, the committee has been given mandate to constitute further sub-committees for
242 their assistance to complete the implementation process by March 15, 2011. One of the members has
243 categorically claimed that the whole process of implementation of uniformity of education system in the ICT
244 will be completed within time schedule and implementation of up-gradation of teachers shall come into force
245 w.e.f. January 1, 2011, the date announced by the former director general FDE.
246 Federal Government Teachers Association (FGTA) President Azhar Mehmood Khan in this regard held
247 various meetings with the top officials of the Ministry of Education in order to press them to announce
248 effective mechanism for implementation of the teachers' package as was announced by Prime Minister
249 Yususf Raza Gilani.
250 The FGTA president during his recent meeting with the additional secretary (chairman of the implementation
251 committee) apprised him that teachers of all cadres (BPS-9 to BPS-16) working under FDE have been
252 deprived of their professional promotion for the last 25 years due to drastic discrimination and disparity in
253 promotion formulas for the teachers (BPS-9 to BPS-16) and administrators (BPS-17 to BPS-20). He,
254 therefore, once again reiterated the FGTA's demand that all teachers of all cadres from BPS-9 to BPS-15
255 may be up-graded to BPS-16 and similarly all teachers of all cadres of BPS-16 might be up-graded to BPS-
256 17 irrespective of any qualification and experience condition because of their long departmental and
257 professional sufferings and deprivation.
258 Awan also told the chairman of the committee that teachers of all cadres (BPS-9 to BPS-16) are, in fact, the
259 backbone of school education under FDE and contribute almost all teaching work in the classrooms, but
260 ironically they have been neglected for long time with regard to their promotion. He submitted his written
261 proposals on uniformity of education system in the ICT and up-gradation of teachers.
262 According to these proposals, uniformity of education system in ICT comprises twelve major aspects and up-
263 gradation of teachers consists of five major steps to be addressed and taken immediately.
264 For uniformity of education system, he proposed uniform nomenclature of all institutions under FDE, which
265 includes uniform service structure for all teachers and administrators under FDE, uniform administrative
266 structure for all institutions under FDE, uniform administrative structure of control and command authority
267 of FDE, uniform syllabi in all institutions of all levels under FDE, uniform fees and funds structure for all
268 levels and for all institutions under FDE, uniform distribution of financial resources among all institutions
269 and uniform infrastructure for all institutions under FDE, which includes uniform distribution of transport
270 facility among all institutions under FDE, giving priority to remote rural areas, uniform curricular and co-
271 curricular activities annual calendar for all institutions under the FDE, uniform assessment/examination
272 system for all institutions under FDE and uniform admission policy for all levels and for all institutions under

273 FDE.
274 For up-gradation of teachers, he proposed up-gradation and re-designation of all teachers of all cadres (BPS-9
275 to BPS-15) to EST (BPS-16), up-gradation and re-designation of all teachers of all cadres (BPS-16) to SST
276 (BPS-17), immediate suspension of notorious "four-tier structure for federal government teachers 2000" that
277 protects recruitment and promotion rights of only 791 administrators, re-scheduling and re-designation of
278 notorious "four-tier structure for federal government teachers 2000" into proposed "five-tier structure for
279 federal government teachers 2010", which will protect the recruitment and promotion rights of all 7,000
280 teachers and administrators of all proposed five cadres (BPS-16 to BPS-20) equally and uniformly without
281 any kind of disparity and discrimination.
282 He proposed that after carrying out above mentioned up-gradations and implementation of "five-tier structure
283 for federal government teachers and administrators 2010", promulgation of time scale promotion formula for
284 teachers and administrators 2010 (BPS-16 to BPS-20) to ensure special monetary incentives periodically to
285 all teachers and administrators under FDE in maximum four steps.
286 Talking to 'The News' FGTA advisor said Federal Government Teachers Association (FGTA), being an
287 elected representative body of about 7,000 teachers working in 388 educational institutions under FDE,
288 Islamabad, and also being the largest stakeholder of the education department is always keen to expedite the
289 implementation process of up-gradation of teachers and uniformity of education system in ICT.
290 He confirmed that Azhar Mehmood Khan Awan, President FGTA, Islamabad, called on Shaigan Shareef
291 Malik, Additional Secretary Education, Chairman, implementation committee on uniformity of education
292 system in ICT and up-gradation of teachers. "We have also handed over a number of recommendations to the
293 additional secretary and will be following the issue until it gets resolved," he added.

294 **10 EWB:** English has become the language of media. It is an international language, used almost every
295 part of the world. In our country, it is growing day by day. In 1985, the English language was only in private
296 schools but now Pakistani government is making more and more efforts for the progress of English language.
297 More institutes are being developed and organized. It has become the language of media, trade and science. In
298 Pakistan, the importance of English language is growing and now English language is compulsory in mostly
299 all   schools   and   colleges.
300 The importance of English is very wide. Our government and official language is English. Our constitution is
301 also in English but there should be more and more institutes for improvement of English especially in urban
302 areas. Scope of English is very large, you can see that every field, demand English. If you want to get a job
303 whether it is related to bank, teaching or it can be any other profession, but it demands English. A person must
304 be fluent in English and he must know all the rules and regulations of English language. So, scope of English
305 cannot be ignored. You cannot survive in the modern world without English.

306 **11EIU:** English is international language as you can find people who understand that language in all parts
307 of the world. It is also the language of the Internet and international media. Although Urdu is the official
308 language of Pakistan but English is the language which is formally used in all private and government
309 offices. One reason of the importance of English in Pakistan and India is that both remained under British
310 control for long time and consequently adopt the language of their previous masters. Now English is
311 compulsory in all schools in Pakistan and its importance along with its usage is increasing day by day

Texts in Support of Mother Tongue MoI

314 **12MTND:** THE last amendment in the 1973 Constitution empowers the provinces on education, which
315 states that it is the total provincial responsibility to organise and fund the education system as it likes
316 irrespective what the other three provinces are practicing or planning.
317 The main reason which led to the chaotic state of affairs in education is that right from the inception the
318 provinces were not given enough freedom to frame their curriculum and medium of instruction, to include
319 history of respective areas and cultural heritage in the courses.
320 On the occasion of Partition, the mother tongue of two out of five provinces mother tongues was the medium
321 of instruction in their schools. The real establishment did not like this arrangement and some of top
322 bureaucrats suggested Arabic as national language to avoid clashes between the speakers of local languages.
323 Thanks God, this proposal was widely rejected. Another attempt was made at a higher level to confine
324 Bengali, the language of the majority, to the province. The move annoyed the Bengalis and ultimately
325 language was one of the major factors which contributed to the separation of the two wings.
326 The second irritating factor related to language emerged in Sindh which had Sindhi as medium of instruction
327 at primary and middle levels. Sindhi rightly said that the newcomers to the area should adopt Sindhi a mean
328 to get closer to the locals. Instead of accepting Sindhi as the medium of instruction at the provincial level, the
329 Sindhis and their language were more ridiculed than appreciated and it was the height of the hatred when the
330 senior most crusader of Urdu language declared Urdu as the only Islamic language and mother tongue such
331 as Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi, Pushto and Kashmiri the creation of `kafirs and statue worshippers` rather of
332 culture. The Sindhis felt threatened economically when Karachi was taken over by the federal government.
333 The divide between urban and rural Sindh is still alive and burning.
334 The first education policy, framed by then federal education ministry under Bengali minister Fazlur Rehman,
335 was made while the Quaid-i-Azam was alive. In that policy, the status of Sindhi and Bengali was recognised
336 and it was recommended that other mother tongues also be taught in schools if they could not be made
337 medium of instruction. This part of the policy was ignored by the rest other three provinces and Azad
338 Kashmir. The philosophy of centralization or the so-called strong centre remained the motto of the
339 establishment dominated by the immigrants and Punjabi bureaucracy which strictly followed all the colonial
340 tactics of governance to rule the people. Their connections with the colonial west which extended aid and
341 loans and undemocratic patronage to them deteriorated the educational system. Under the existing policy, aid
342 is accepted with dictations that English should be made a compulsory subject and medium of instruction at
343 the primary level. The World Bank has already extended generous aid to the `mental slaves of the West` to
344 establish English medium schools instead of mother tongue. These institutions were tasked with relief work
345 for flood victims. In the past, this job was always given to government and reliable private educational
346 institutions. Recently, a half-page official advertisement appeared in newspapers showing the names of those
347 institutions. World powers express no confidence on official distribution methods of foreign aid. Leave apart
348 the culture and regional identity, the Punjab government is also not ready to distribute aid to flood-stricken
349 people through its own educational institutions. It means we have confidence only in those things, ideas and
350 policies dictated by the western powers.
351 Another recent development in educational field is that the Punjab government selected 13 outstanding students
352 from the province, particularly from its backward areas, for higher studies in western or educationally advanced
353 countries. This selection also appeared in national newspapers as advertisement from the Punjab Educational
354 Endowment Funds. All the students have been selected for engineering disciplines. What does that mean? The
355 government`s approach towards society is purely materialistic. It has no regards for social arts and sciences
356 which first make the character of the man and the woman. The identity and love with culture of the citizen.
357 Engineers and technologists can play their role after the character of the student or man is made on solid
358 grounds. One wonders why philosophy, history, literature, anthropology and allied subjects are totally ignored.
359 In the past, no proper attention was given to character building. Consequently, we lack men of vision,
360 culture, self-less politicians, parties with set principles, sociologists, economist with indigenous ideas.

361 **13MTRD:** ONE-FIFTH of the 30 languages spoken in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa will die out in the next
362 couple of years because there are only several hundred persons left speaking these languages.
363 These dying languages – Yidgha, Ushojo, Gawro, Kalasha, Gawarbati and Badeshi – are spoken in the hilly
364 areas of Kohistan, Chitral and Swat districts, which are already lagging behind the rest of the country in
365 terms of social service delivery. This was revealed at a two-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Languages and
366 Cultural Conference organised last week in Peshawar by the Gandhara Hindko Board, a literary-cum-welfare
367 organisation involved in the preservation of the Hindko language and culture since the 1990s. The conference

368 coincided with the 31st National Games in Peshawar, a major event highlighting the soft and cultural image
369 of militancy-struck Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
370 A colourful musical evening followed the two-day proceedings of the conference, but the most depressing
371 and serious sessions of the moot were the presentations on the small and endangered languages spoken in
372 Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
373 As the linguistics expert, Dr Tariq Rehman of Quaid-i-Azam University once wrote, language represents the
374 identity and culture of a nation or an ethnic group, but this identity gets eroded when a language is dead or
375 dying out.
376 This is exactly what is going to happen to many mother tongues in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa because the people
377 left speaking and understanding them are dwindling fast, Fakhruddin Akhunzada, a linguist, tells Dawn.
378 Yidgha language of Chitral is among the 23 languages of Pakistan which have recently been declared
379 endangered by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).
380 It is spoken in Lutkoh Valley in Western Chitral. However, the people speaking the language – believed to
381 number less than 2,000 – are gradually giving it up for Khowar, the lingua franca of Chitral. Parabek is the
382 biggest village in Chitral, where a population of around 1,250 people speak Yidgha.
383 Ushojo is another dying language, in which the number of people speaking it is less than 200, mostly living
384 in Kalam, Behrain and in Indus Kohistan.
385 Another language in Chitral, Kalasha, has been reduced to only a few thousand people speaking it because
386 they have started using Khowar, the lingua franca of Chitral. The Kalasha language is drawing its last breaths
387 in the village of Kalkatak. The remaining people who speak Kalasha in the village are in their seventies.
388 When these people pass on, the last symbol of the Kalasha culture and tradition will disappear from the
389 village forever, says Mr Akhunzada.
390 The purpose of the conference, as explained by its convener Dr Adnan Mehmud Gul, was to bring together
391 people from different ethnic groups and provide them a platform for interaction.
392 But it also provided an opportunity to review the government decisions and policies, which many believe are
393 focused on Pashto, the most widely spoken as mother tongue and second language in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
394 Education in the mother language, of which the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government has taken a decision, was
395 the issue of focus during the two-day moot.
396 According to the decision, students will have to study the mother language as a compulsory subject from
397 grade 1 to intermediate level. The problem, however, is with the limited options given to the people speaking
398 the smaller, endangered languages.
399 The entire province has been divided into different zones where Pashto and Hindko – the two major
400 languages – will be taught in public sector schools. In Peshawar`s rural areas Pashto will be the subject,
401 while Hindko will be taught in urban areas.
402 "The decision of selecting one language for the entire district is irrational," remarks Ziauddin, general
403 secretary of the Gandhara Hindko Board.
404 "For example, five languages are spoken in Swat, whereas the government has selected Pashto as the
405 compulsory subject," says Mr Zia.
406 Opposing the plan to introduce the teaching of mother tongue on district basis, Mr Zia stressed that primary
407 education should be imparted in schools on the basis of mother tongue keeping in view the population and
408 their culture in the districts where a mix of populations speaking different languages is a common feature.
409 Similarly, he argues, children in all bilingual and multilingual districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa should be
410 given the right of option at the time of introducing the teaching of regional languages no matter whatever
411 mother tongue they speak.
412 Officials in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government argue that teaching in the language a student speaks at
413 home is a gigantic task because it involves enormous resources in developing text books and training human
414 resource.
415 However, Mr Zia argues that nothing is impossible, saying: "If the government exhibits political will, it can
416 be achieved".
417 In his opinion, the government can help by creating policies to teach children – all children including those in
418 the private elitist schools – in their mother tongues.
419 "Schools can help the promotion of culture and mother tongue because it was the schooling system which
420 made Hebrew the living language of Israel," he opines.
421 The moot adopted a couple of resolutions, which stressed upon the government to set up a languages and
422 culture authority to work for the preservation and promotion of the 30 languages spoken in Khyber
423 Pakhtunkhwa.
424 Similarly, a demand was also made for establishing a Department for Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Languages
425 Studies in all public sector universities of the province to facilitate research in native languages and
426 literatures.
427 In addition to preserving languages, the conference also called upon the government to promote the culture /
428 cultural heritage linked to the languages spoken in the province and evolve a culture / cultural policy that
429 protected all the culture of the province. The experts called for inclusion of all languages in the mother
430 tongue column in the next population census so that the exact number of people speaking them can be

431 ascertained. They also suggested that Nadra should introduce all languages in the mother tongue column in
432 the application forms for acquiring national identity cards. Such a provision does not exist at present.
433 The moot also called upon the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government to comply with the principles of UNESCO
434 and other international bodies calling for the preservation and promotion of mother languages and local
435 culture.

436 **14MTPD:** Punjabi Language Movement convener Nazeer Kahut has demanded that the government
437 introduce the Punjabi Language/ mother tongue Act in the Punjab Assembly.
438 He sought the Punjabi language to be declared the sole official and judicial language of Punjab. The PLM is
439 a newly-built organisation pledging to work for the promotion of the mother tongue / language and culture.
440 Speaking at the Lahore Press Club on Friday, he also demanded that Punjabi be adopted as the official
441 language of the house by the Punjab Assembly, senior Punjabi writers and intellectuals appointed members
442 of the boards of directors of the Punjab Institute of Language, Art and Culture, the Punjab University, the
443 Punjabi Language Authority and the Punjabi Academy of Letters.
444 That Nadra must start issuing the national identity cards in Punjabi, 10 per cent of Punjab's GDP be allocated
445 for the development of the Punjabi language education and culture, the PTV and Radio Pakistan must launch
446 Punjabi FM stations and BBC launch its Punjabi service for promotion of culture, were other demands.
447 Mr Kahut stressed that Punjab's educational institutions be provided with the required Punjabi teaching staff.
448 He said the PLM rejected the division of Punjab at any cost. He further demanded that areas of Khyber
449 Pakhtunkhwa that includes Dera Ismail Khan, Tank and Hazara be merged with Punjab.
450 A national culture day be celebrated, the name of the federal capital Islamabad be changed to New Taxila and
451 the Indus Valley culture be declared the national culture of Pakistan, he demanded.
452 He said the very existence of the Punjabi language, the mother -tongue of more than 100 million people of
453 Punjab, was threatened. He announced that on first of Waisakhi each year "Punjabi Pagdi and Chunni
454 Culture Day" would be celebrated and the PLM had declared 2011 the year of the Punjabi language.
455 He said a Punjabi Language Action Committee would be formed and all likeminded organisations,
456 intellectuals, workers and supporters would be invited to join the movement. He said a mutually-agreed
457 charter of demands would be presented to parliament, federal and provincial governments, the United
458 Nations, UNESCO and other international forums to end injustices being committed by the federation against
459 the Punjabi culture and language.

460 **15MTSD:** CHINIOT, Nov 11: Trained teachers and the basic infrastructure are the prerequisites for
461 raising the standard of education, but it seems the Punjab Education Department thinks otherwise and relies
462 on change of medium of instruction and the uniform of students.
463 In a bid to bring the quality of education in government-run schools on a par with private English medium
464 schools, the Punjab Government School Education Department converted thousands of its schools into
465 English medium all over the province from April 2010.
466 The status of over 100 primary, elementary and high schools in the Chiniot district was also changed into
467 English medium without upgrading facilities like the private sector schools.
468 The curriculum books have been changed, but the teaching staff has not been changed.
469 The education department is relying on old PTC and BA teachers instead of appointing trained English-
470 language teachers for imparting quality education to the students of the upgraded schools.
471 The department claims that it has provided a six-day intensive training to these teachers for teaching the new
472 curriculum, but the teaching in entirely different language needs a continuous professional development
473 courses for teachers.
474 The uniform has been changed from "khaki shalwar qameez" to pants and shirt, but the students are made to
475 sit on gunny bags they bring with them from their houses. Most of these schools have shortage of classrooms
476 and students have to take lessons in the open.
477 A majority of these schools offer no facility of toilets and drinking water to their students.
478 Students of Government Boys English Medium Primary School, Jadeed No 1 Thatti Gharbi, Chiniot, said
479 that they were still taking lessons in the open sky because of shortage of classrooms.
480 Teacher Shahzada Alamgir said the government would have to provide basic facilities in schools if it really
481 wanted to provide quality education to students.
482 "Only change of uniform, medium of instruction culture or books will not work, trained teachers and better
483 facilities are prerequisite", he said.
484 Punjab Teachers Union district president Ijaz Heral said that teachers were against imparting education in
485 English because it is against our culture.
486 He said education was being provided in regional languages and mother tongue in other provinces for the
487 rpomtion of culture and better learning, but experiments were being made in Punjab much to the
488 disadvantage of students.
489 He said the standard of education could be raised by improving infrastructure and not by changing books and
490 uniforms.
491 EDO (Education) Mehr Ashraf Ali said that 100 schools were converted into English medium in Chiniot and
492 rejected it as a threat for the culture.

493 Confirming the absence of infrastructure, the EDO said the education department would provide missing
494 facilities in English medium schools as soon as it got required funds.

495 **16MTSN:** Acting governor and Speaker Sindh Assembly Nisar Khuhro has said that it was Sindh that
496 gave birth to the founder of this nation Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and to the country's
497 Constitution.
498 He said this while speaking at a meeting at the NJV Government Primary School on Thursday to
499 commemorate the Sindhi Culture Day.
500 He said the Sindhi language has a history of thousands of years. "Sindh has produced luminaries such as
501 Sheikh Ayaz, Abida Parween, and Shamsheer-ul-Haidery, who are the pride of Sindh," he added.
502 "The entire world knows about the resistance literature of Sindh and sacrifices of Sindhi men and women
503 during the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) when military dictator Gen Zia-ul-Haq ruled the
504 roost," he said.
505 "How many nations can produce personalities like Mohtarama Benazir Bhutto?" he asked. And then he
506 posed another question: "Why we have to make clarifications about the Indus Valley Civilization?" He
507 answered himself: "Probably, we react."
508 He said Sindhi Topi (cap) was the pride of Sindh culture and Sindhi Ajrak has a history of thousands of years
509 of this culture. He said it was high time that books were written about Sindhi Ajrak, Topi and its culture.
510 He said Chinese, French and other nations communicate in their mother tongue and it is the right of Sindhis
511 to communicate in their mother tongue and promote the culture.
512 Sindh Minister for Power Shazia Marri said it was a fallacy that to become modern one has to forget his or
513 her mother tongue. "Those nations never grow who forget their mother language and culture," she said. "I
514 live in Karachi but my soul lives in my Goth," Marri remarked.
515 She said some people used to argue that the victims of the recent floods didn't even know how to eat or
516 drink, but it was high time that "we conserve folk wisdom and learn from it".
517 Marri said there were schools where the medium of instruction was French or Spanish and they feel shy in
518 imparting knowledge in mother tongue. "Such people are suffering from inferiority complex of identity," she
519 said.
520 Marri added that in the United States, even Red Indians and Spaniards speak their mother tongue and have
521 their websites but "we are shy to speak our language. The more powerful the culture is, the stronger you and
522 your identity are".
523 Marri said the history of Sindh did not begin in 1947; it goes back to 5,000 years. "At individual level as well
524 as at collective level, it's our duty to preserve our mother language and culture."
525 While narrating Sindhi Ajrak's history, Marri requested the audience to gift it to their children.
526 Marri said she was honoured to get an opportunity to speak at a heritage building where important decisions
527 about Sindh had been made. She pointed out that culture flourishes whenever there is democracy in Pakistan.
528 NJV High School, a heritage building, was the place where Pakistan's first assembly was held. Sindh Chief
529 Minister Qaim Ali Shah, eminent Sindhi poet Shamsher-ul-Haidery, former Sindh chief minister Ghulam
530 Mustafa Jatoi and eminent lawyer Abdul Hafeez Pirzada are among the famous figures who have studied at
531 the NJV High School.
532 Deputy Speaker Sindh Assembly Shehla Raza said the Indus Valley Civilization was one of the oldest
533 civilizations and cultures in the world and its people were educated even 5,000 years ago.
534 She said no weapon was found in Moen-jo-Daro, indicating that its inhabitants were peaceful people.
535 Similarly, she said women were painted like goddesses in Moen-jo-Daro, showing that women enjoyed great
536 respect even in that era.
537 Raza said Sindh had given birth to brave women such as Mai Bakhtawar and heroes like Gen Hosho.
538 She said it was the NJV School where Pakistan Resolution was legitimised. "Sindh has produced Mohtarama
539 Benazir Bhutto Shaheed who was a cementing force between the federating units."
540 Benazir had said she would not leave the country under any circumstances and that if she passed away,
541 Pakistan would start cracking "vertically and horizontally", said Raza.
542 Meanwhile, children performed tableaus and some participants danced in ecstasy over the tune of famous
543 Sindhi song 'Ho Jamalo'.

544 **17MTTT**: KARACHI: If children, in the first years of their education, are not taught in a language they
545 are familiar with i.e. mother tongue, they may drop out of school later.
546 University of Leeds UK Honorary Senior Research Fellow, Hywel Coleman, explained that teaching in an
547 unfamiliar language can also cause alienation between home and school, poor educational achievement, poor
548 acquisition of foreign languages, such as English, ethnic marginalisation and long-term decline of indigenous
549 languages.
550 Coleman was quoting his report during a lecture, which was part of the policy dialogue organised by the
551 British Council and the Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers (Spelt) to discuss 'Language in
552 Education in Pakistan' at the Department of English, University of Karachi, on Wednesday.
553 Dream policy for Pakistan
554 In his report on the dream policy for Pakistan, Coleman has suggested that the child's first language i.e.
555 mother tongue should be the medium of instruction up till class III, Urdu should be the medium till class IX

556 and English should only be used as a mode of teaching from class X and beyond. Through this scheme, he
557 proposes a bilingual face to education.
558 However, not all participants at the seminar agreed with Coleman's model. Prof Fauzia Shamim, Department
559 of English, believed that bilingual education in Pakistan will be hindered by a lack of materials in vernacular
560 languages, limited support for high quality language instruction and the "ambivalent" attitude towards the
561 value of vernacular languages (mother tongue).
562 Shamim pointed out that in the presence of more than 70 spoken languages, it will be difficult to identify
563 major languages of instruction. English is "a tool for individual and national development" and it can only be
564 acquired easily if it is learnt in the early years, she said, supporting her argument with the example of India
565 and South Africa, where such policies failed.
566 On the other hand, Dr M Memon, professor and director of the Institute of Educational Development at Aga
567 Khan University supported Coleman's model.
568 "I studied in Urdu till Intermediate and still managed to learn English later," he said. Making English the
569 teaching language may work for people whose families also speak it but those from poor socio-economic
570 backgrounds, whose native language is the home language, may have to struggle to express and think in one
571 language, he explained.
572 Dr Hina Kazmi supported the use of English by saying that none of the native languages or mother tongue,
573 including Urdu, have the literature, research, translations and terminology of modern scientific advancements
574 to become teaching languages.
575 English in Pakistan is seen as a language to help you progress in your studies as well as jobs, said Spelt
576 programme committee coordinator Fatima Shahabuddin. According to the language policy of 2009, English
577 has been made compulsory for primary classes, Shahabuddin said, stressing that there is a dire need to
578 produce English language teachers.
579 Meanwhile, Tony Capstick, English adviser at the British Council referred to the role of his organisation in
580 the education sector. "Having commissioned Coleman to carry out extensive research across Pakistan, we felt
581 that it was important to use this as a starting point to consultation [on education]," he said.
582 Research cited by the researcher
583 According to Coleman, there are more than 70 languages spoken in Pakistan with over a million people
584 speaking each of the six major regional languages. Urdu is the first language of only seven per cent of the
585 population but spoken by the greatest number of people.
586 In his research, Coleman divided the schools in Pakistan into four types: private elite (English medium),
587 private non-elite (nominally English), government (Urdu) and madrassas (Urdu). Since around 95 per cent
588 children in Pakistan do not study in their home language, their results are poor, except for children attending
589 private, elite schools.
590 In conclusion, the foremost priority is to contribute to bilingual education through policy debates and raising
591 awareness on the importance of mother-tongue education in the early years of schooling, Coleman said

592 **18MTTT**: Language exerts hidden power, like a moon on the tides" A kid must not be confused with a
593 sudden language ,it stops him to express himsel, , it makes him hesitant , coward in terms of expression , it is
594 a grave injustice. Though due to being less- developed the regional languages here are not of the importance
595 of english in terms of science and technology or for higher level education but one' s mother tongue is not
596 something trivial,a trash, a barrier , as is considered by many here. A child must start with his mother tongue
597 as it matches with the culture of his home too.

598 **19MTND**: LARKANA, Feb 13: A large number of writers, poets and journalists took part in a
599 procession organised by the Sindhi Adabi Sangat (SAS) here on Sunday to urge the government to accord
600 Sindhi the status of national language.
601 The procession marched on main roads of the city before culminating at the press club where veteran leftist
602 intellectual Sobho Gianchandani joined them.
603 Addressing the participants, SAS secretary general said Pakistan was a multi-nation country and at least four
604 languages should be given the status of national languages.
605 The SAS has been demanding the national language (it is important to mention that Sindhi is already the
606 medium of instruction in Sindh) status for Sindhi for a long time, he said, adding that the Sangat would
607 continue the struggle till achieving the goal.
608 Sobho Gianchandani said that Sindhi deserved to be given the status of national language for the promotion
609 of its culture. Sindhi rulers who were propelled to power with Sindhis' votes did not care about demands of
610 their electorate, he said.
611 Dr. Adal Soomro said that Sindhi was the official language of Sindh during the British rule.
612 Qadir Jagirani and Malhar Sindhi also spoke on the occasion

613 **20MTPG**: Pakistan's commitment to using Urdu as the medium of instruction in its state schools and its
614 ambition to widen access to English language teaching are creating barriers to effective education, limiting
615 economic mobility and undermining social cohesion.
616 These are the stark warnings made in a report on the current state of Pakistan's schools published last month
617 by the British Council and debated by academics and policy makers in a series of public meetings across the
618 country.

619 The report, teaching and learning in Pakistan: the role of language sets out proposals that, if implemented,
620 would seek to raise the status of the country's main regional languages (mother tongue), lower barriers to
621 higher-paid government jobs and help to strengthen ties between language groups at a time when political
622 instability is straining national unity culture and identity.
623 The report's author, British academic Coleman who is an honorary research fellow at the University of Leeds,
624 argues that action must be taken urgently.
625 Pakistan is an economically divided society with 60% of its population living on less than $2 a day and more
626 than a quarter of national income in the hands of the top 10%. Yet a language policy for schools, inherited
627 from the British Empire, is undermining the effectiveness of state education and excluding many of the
628 poorest from skills and training that could help them break out of poverty.
629 The report's key proposal is to provide teaching to students in the language they are most familiar with i.e.
630 mother tongue and, for the first time, reflect Pakistan's multilingual identity and culture in classrooms. There
631 are more than 70 languages spoken in Pakistan, yet Urdu, the national language and the medium of
632 instruction in the majority of state schools, is spoken by just 7% of the population.
633 Children learning in Urdu as a second language face major obstacles, particularly in their early years,
634 Coleman says, which can range from slower progress in reading and writing to lack of support from parents
635 who also struggle with Urdu.
636 The report urges Pakistan's government to make schooling available in seven major regional languages,
637 including Urdu, which would extend the delivery of first-language teaching to up to 85% of the population.
638 Coleman draws on global research into the impact of home language education on children's attainment to
639 argue that the policy could improve enrollments and help to boost attendance by girls. In Pakistan, just 60%
640 of children compete primary school and only 10% finish secondary school, while 59% of girls attend primary
641 school compared to 73% of boys.
642 It is also proposed that a realignment of English in the curriculum. English remains the preserve of the
643 country's elite minority who are educated privately in English-medium schools and who can make an easy
644 transition into English-medium higher education and higher-paid government jobs that require English-
645 language qualifications.
646 Current government strategy seeks to widen access to this English-only social strata by improving the quality
647 of English teaching in state schools. Yet the provision of effective teaching and materials has been uneven,
648 with the result that the majority of learners are failing to make even basic progress in English.
649 Coleman's alternative model is to provide early-years education in students' regional languages i.e. mother
650 tongue, with Urdu taught as a second language in primary school. English would be taught from the age of
651 10, with the option to introduce English-medium teaching later in secondary school.
652 Coleman says his "wish list" for education reform has been positively received inside Pakistan. He is now in
653 the process of analysing feedback before presenting his final proposals next April.
654 Fakhruddin Akhunzada is assistant director of the Forum for Language Initiatives, a local NGO that works
655 with minority language speakers in the north of Pakistan to develop first-language education. While FLI's
656 initial projects are small, he says that results have been positive, and so far 70 students have received their
657 education in their first language i.e. mother tongue.
658 But FLI's experience shows that it will be difficult to change entrenched attitudes about language status.
659 "People from most of these minor language communities are facing a kind of social stigma that their mother
660 tongue, culture and identity are symbol of backwardness. They hesitate to use it and many believe that
661 education in the mother tongue is inferior to education in Urdu or English. But our studies of pilot projects
662 suggest that positive attitudes towards the mother tongue have been gaining ground over the past few years,"
663 Akhunzada said.
664 The writer believes that fundamental change will be necessary to raise the status of regional languages or
665 mother tongue and give equality of access to opportunity. "That will be the biggest hurdle because it will
666 directly challenge the privilege that some sectors of Pakistan society have enjoyed," he said.
667 "At the moment, in order to gain access to the civil service and higher education you need to have a
668 qualification in English. One of my suggestions is that people should have to demonstrate competence not
669 only in English but also in Urdu and one of the other main regional languages, mother tongue. If that were to
670 happen you would find that the elite private schools would start teaching other mother tongues or regional
671 languages. Something like that would put the three languages on a more equal footing."
672 He hopes that pressure for change will come from international donors. Since 2002 the US has given $640m
673 to improve education in Pakistan, with a further $7.5bn in civilian aid due over next five years. But at a
674 recent conference, organised by Unesco in Bangkok, to assess progress towards the UN Millennium
675 Development Goals for education, the writer says there was little prospect of a shift in policy to support first
676 language (mother tongue) education.
677 "Pakistan is an urgent case. There was frustration at the conference that a lot of the international donors are
678 not yet listening and are not aware of the relationship between languages in education and long-term
679 implications for social cohesion," he said.
680

681 **21MTNN:** Education in mother tongue has been a demand for years made by different veteran
682 educationalists of the country. Unfortunately, our policy makers have not paid much heed to it
683 despite innumerable arguments presented in its favour. Pakistan lags behind as far as the
684 education sector is concerned. One of the main causes of educational backwardness is indeed the
685 language in which the students are being imparted knowledge: English. Students are compelled to
686 learn it as it is the medium of instruction. This has ruined the future and culture of many brilliant
687 students who could have excelled in their respective fields.
688 If the government is not willing to introduce the mother tongue as medium of instruction, it should
689 then make the English language compulsory in schools for the initial five to eight years so that in
690 this span of time students can learn it fairly well. China, Japan, Germany and many other countries
691 have made progress by imparting education to their students in their mother languages. Here in
692 Pakistan, feudal system encouraged by the colonial rulers has been the main obstacle in the
693 development of mother tongues and dissemination of mother tongues and dissemination of culture
694 and knowledge. Not only feudalism, onslaught of foreign culture, globalization, economic policies
695 dictated by the IMF and the World Bank, had an adverse impact on the development of indigenous
696 culture and local language.
697 If we could teach children in their mother tongues, this would help them understand concepts
698 better. But here our Education Department thinks that to adopt English from Class 1 will help
699 improve the quality of education. One wonders how the quality of education will improve when a
700 child does not understand what he is being taught. In Pakistan not many people speak English. The
701 use of English has divided the people into groups: the one that speaks the language and the other
702 that doesn't. During the past 63 years, English has remained the elite language and has created big
703 gap between them.
704 The inability of our planners to think clearly and decide on our priorities is at the root of the crisis
705 in education in Pakistan today. Language is the key factor of culture and communication within
706 the country and internationally. Yet we have no national policy in this regard. The class, which
707 produces our bureaucrats, is educated in an 'alien' language with distorted culture and concepts.
708 In China, they do not understand English, which is said to be a universal language, and the only
709 way of communication is with the sign language. There is no or very little sign of English in China
710 and still it is continuing to dominate the world in every field. It is now the Second Super Power of
711 the world. Train stations, bus stations, building names, hoardings and visiting cards all are in their
712 native language. It would be pertinent to mention here that when Mahathir of Malaysia took over,
713 his government first took the decision to provide the best possible education available. Now the
714 Malaysian people are one of the most disciplined and highly educated people of the world because
715 of good education.
716 Finally, since the political system is inefficient, regressive and unenlightened, the question arises
717 who is going to implement it in a country which is under the clutches of western culture, feudal
718 lords, bureaucrats and generals.

719 **22MTGP:** Lollzz this is your defence. First of all why are you arguing against this demand? This is a
720 legitimate issue, we are Pashtuns and Pashto should be official. Second of all, no need to low blow
721 Afghanistan, as at least there Pashtu is the official and national language. It is the language of the anthem by
722 the constitution of Afghanistan. Third of all, Tajiks are more urban, more educated and their areas are more
723 peaceful, so they have been able to corner many important sectors in Afghanistan nowadays. Even today, if
724 you go any Pashtun dominated area in Afghanistan, pashto is used on the boards, in media, in writing, as part
725 of the curriculum. Fourthly, this protest took place in Pashtunkhwa, hence the demand for pashto to be
726 official in "pakhtun dominated areas". This is so clear, but you choose to overlook it interesting. Fifth of all,
727 this is a pashtun forum, so all things pertaining to Pashtuns are discussed together. If there is an issue in
728 Swat, then Pashtuns from all over have the right to discuss it and put their views forward. Obviously a local
729 has more insight in to issues related to culture and influence, so they have more credibility (generally
730 speaking). Language is part of identity, it is part of culture. We should maintain our mother tongue and learn
731 English as well. This is a lame response by you at best.
732 P.S. Paighor ala kawaa che kalaa dae lass kae tsa waak wee, che pakhpalaa yaw zae kae naasth yae ao zhaba
733 dae heetss haisyath na laree nu paighor khwand na kaee, asae ba badh khkaarae. Pashtunkhwa has maintained
734 its pashto language and culture, for that we are proud of the pashtun mothers who taught us that, and this is a
735 plus point in Pashtunkhwa. However, we are a minority in Pakistan, and a minority in a country where the
736 majority don't have an identity and culture but an identity complex. Why should we lose ours to become like
737 them? Furthermore, we should encourage the improvement of pashto where in lar wathan or bar wathan.
738 1. for having an infrastructure for Pashto language progress we would need overhauling the entire medium of
739 education in KP.
740 2. If do so then teaching in mother tongue is going to throw us back as compared to all those who are
741 studying in international languages like English.
742 3. Yes i agree with standardisation of Pashto language BUT again the egoistic attitude of all of us with regard
743 to their dialect is going to mar it forever and we are not going to agree so how can that standardisation be

744 availed?? Specially with having so many dialects of the same language. The pashto spoken in Hangu is
745 different, in Swat it has different accent, in Mardan Peshawar its different and in Wazirisran and other tribal
746 agencies the dialect varies.
747 4. Media has become a corporate sector in Pakistan and quite booming and above all the Government here
748 has NOT much influence over the media so if Pashtun investors see benefits in starting channels then NO one
749 is going to stop them. Again it depends on the interest which they will earn so promotion of language for
750 investors doesn't matter much.
751 It is a good demand but we should start from basic step that is to make Pashto the provincial language of
752 Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Baluchistan. We were successful in renaming our province (thanks to ANP and
753 PPP) which means though dedication and hard work we can also make Pashto the official language of KP
754 and a source of our culture promotion, and i am sure next step of ANP will be this. Just like sindhis we have
755 to make ourselves sincere to Pashto language then we can achieve something.

Texts in Support of Uniform Education System

756   **23UIN:** Federal Minister for Education Sardar Aseff Ahmed Ali Khan has finally constituted a three-
757   member implementation committee on uniform / uniformity of education system in Islamabad Capital
758   Territory (ICT) and up-gradation of teachers, 'The News' has learnt reliably,
759   According to the sources, a notification No. (10-15/2010-Admn-I) dated December 20, 2010 has been issued
760   according to which, members of the committee include Additional Secretary Education Shaigan Shareef
761   Malik, (chairman); Chairperson FBISE Dr Shaheen Khan (member) and Director General FDE Aurangzeb
762   Rehman (member/secretary).
763   According to the notification, the committee has been given mandate to constitute further sub-committees for
764   their assistance to complete the implementation of uniform education system process by March 15, 2011.
765   One of the members has categorically claimed that the whole process of implementation of uniform
766   education system in the ICT will be completed within time schedule and implementation of up-gradation of
767   teachers shall come into force for teaching in a uniform system w.e.f. January 1, 2011, the date announced
768   by the former director general FDE.
769   Federal Government Teachers Association (FGTA) President Azhar Mehmood Khan in the regard of uniform
770   education and teacher's upgradation held various meetings with the top officials of the Ministry of Education
771   in order to press them to announce effective mechanism for implementation of the teachers' package as was
772   announced by Prime Minister Yususf Raza Gilani.
773   The FGTA president during his recent meeting with the additional secretary (chairman of the implementation
774   committee) apprised him that teachers of all cadres (BPS-9 to BPS-16) working under FDE have been
775   deprived of their professional promotion for the last 25 years due to drastic discrimination and disparity in
776   promotion formulas for the teachers (BPS-9 to BPS-16) and administrators (BPS-17 to BPS-20). He,
777   therefore, once again reiterated the FGTA's demand that all teachers of all cadres from BPS-9 to BPS-15
778   may be up-graded to BPS-16 and similarly all teachers of all cadres of BPS-16 might be up-graded to BPS-
779   17 irrespective of any qualification and experience condition because of their long departmental and
780   professional sufferings and deprivation.
781   Awan also told the chairman of the committee that teachers of all cadres (BPS-9 to BPS-16) are, in fact, the
782   backbone of school education under FDE and contribute almost all teaching work in the classrooms, but
783   ironically they have been neglected for long time with regard to their promotion. He submitted his written
784   proposals on uniform / uniformity of education system in the ICT and up-gradation of teachers.
785   According to these proposals, uniform / uniformity of education system in ICT comprises twelve major
786   aspects and up-gradation of teachers consists of five major steps to be addressed and taken immediately.
787   For uniform or uniformity of education system, he proposed uniform nomenclature of all institutions under
788   FDE, which includes uniform service structure for all teachers and administrators under FDE, uniform
789   administrative structure for all institutions under FDE, uniform administrative structure of control and
790   command authority of FDE, uniform syllabi in all institutions of all levels under FDE, uniform fees and
791   funds structure for all levels and for all institutions under FDE, uniform distribution of financial resources
792   among all institutions and uniform infrastructure for all institutions under FDE, which includes uniform
793   distribution of transport facility among all institutions under FDE, giving priority to remote rural areas on the
794   basis of uniform formula, uniform curricular and uniform co-curricular activities annual calendar for all
795   institutions under the FDE, uniform assessment, uniform examination system for all institutions under FDE
796   and uniform admission policy for all levels and for all institutions under FDE.
797   For up-gradation of teachers, he proposed up-gradation and re-designation of all teachers of all cadres (BPS-9
798   to BPS-15) to EST (BPS-16), up-gradation and re-designation of all teachers of all cadres (BPS-16) to SST
799   (BPS-17), immediate suspension of notorious "four-tier structure for federal government teachers 2000" that
800   protects recruitment and promotion rights of only 791 administrators, re-scheduling and re-designation of
801   notorious "four-tier structure for federal government teachers 2000" into proposed "five-tier structure for
802   federal government teachers 2010", which will protect the recruitment and promotion rights of all 7,000
803   teachers and administrators of all proposed five cadres (BPS-16 to BPS-20) equally and uniform - ly without
804   any kind of disparity and discrimination.
805   He proposed that after carrying out above mentioned up-gradations and implementation of "five-tier structure
806   for federal government teachers and administrators 2010", promulgation of time scale promotion formula for
807   teachers and administrators 2010 (BPS-16 to BPS-20) to ensure special monetary incentives periodically to
808   all teachers and administrators under FDE in maximum four steps.
809   Talking to 'The News' FGTA advisor said Federal Government Teachers Association (FGTA), being an
810   elected representative body of about 7,000 teachers working in 388 educational institutions under FDE,
811   Islamabad, and also being the largest stakeholder of the education department is always keen to expedite the
812   implementation process of up-gradation of teachers and uniform (uniformity) education system in ICT.

813 He confirmed that Azhar Mehmood Khan Awan, President FGTA, Islamabad, called on Shaigan Shareef
814 Malik, Additional Secretary Education, Chairman, implementation committee on uniform (uniformity of
815 education) education system in ICT and up-gradation of teachers. "We have also handed over a number of
816 recommendations to the additional secretary for uniform system and will be following the issue until it gets
817 resolved," he added.

818 **24UWN:** The higher academic community, protesting cuts in funding for higher education, is simply not
819 getting it. Since when was higher education, or indeed any education for that matter, a priority in the Islamic
820 Republic? We have been into other things: the greater glory of the faith, turning Pakistan into a citadel of
821 Islam, etc. But education? Perish the thought.
822 Finance Minister Hafeez Shaikh and education specialist (my friend) Shehnaz Wazir Ali have asked
823 universities to raise their own funds by disposing off their surplus land. A better idea has not been mooted.
824 They should go a step further and encourage universities to set up shopping malls and give franchises to
825 McDonald's, KFC and the like. Why stop at this? Theme parks could also be set up. This is ingenuity or,
826 what business wizards call, thinking out of the box.
827 The only good thing about the Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad is the precious real estate on which it
828 sits. A few multi-storey structures could house the academic blocks while the rest of the land more profitably
829 could be turned into a housing colony. Real estate is the one thing at which we have excelled. Even the
830 army's primary expertise is now in this field.
831 What Punjab University Lahore really deserves is to be given in perpetual lease to the Jamaat-e-Islami. For
832 all practical purposes it is already an extension of the Jamaat. Leasehold rights would only confer de jure
833 status on a de facto reality. Fie on the thought that the cause of education will suffer. It cannot suffer more
834 than it already has.
835 About Karachi University not much can be said. Its fate cannot be much different, for better or worse, than
836 the fate which has befallen Karachi. We have two types of Taliban in this country: the faith-driven Taliban of
837 the frontier territories and the secular Taliban of Karachi. If, in extremity, one were given a choice of whose
838 hands to fall into it would be a tough decision to make. A razor to the throat, the preferred method of the
839 warriors of the faith, or the alternative, the tender mercies of a drill machine to the knees? We need to
840 redefine the meaning of education in Pakistan.
841 Pakistan's most effective vice chancellor at present is Qari Hussain, Ustad-e-fidayeen, head of the Taliban's
842 academy of suicide bombers. But the educationists of Karachi, who have opened up an entirely new field of
843 knowledge with their skill in the use of the drill machine, are not far behind.
844 Our business schools, LUMS, IBA, etc, are said to be good. But if the mess we have made of the economy is
845 a measure of the usefulness of these schools, we are probably better off without them. If the only economic
846 wizards we can produce are those who can wreck the economy further, then clearly we have to look for other
847 routes to the summit.
848 We have to get the right perspective of things. Pakistan has a president who if he ever went to college went to
849 one with its address unknown. It has a law minister, the most voluble member of a cabinet whose size
850 wouldn't fit in a baggage train, who holds a doctorate of philosophy in jurisprudence, I think, from a
851 Montecello University which was debarred by a proper edict of the concerned authorities some years ago
852 from issuing any kind of degree. Yet he continues to call himself a doctor and is not in the least embarrassed
853 by the snide remarks occasionally made about his academic accomplishments.
854 And Pakistan has a National Defence University whose rector serves at the pleasure of the army chief.
855 Through a statute of parliament the NDU has been granted the privilege of issuing master's degrees and
856 conferring doctorates of philosophy (the law minister should have his updated from there). Which makes the
857 army about self-sufficient in the matter of higher education, as it already is in so many other departments of
858 national life, real estate included.
859 Lest anyone be under the impression that the NDU produces a steady stream of von Moltkes, senior officers
860 equally at home in military and intellectual matters, the NDU's primary function seems to be to confirm
861 senior officers in their ingrained mental attitudes. When they get a degree they can be forgiven for thinking
862 that they have voyaged across the seas and have finally arrived at the shores of knowledge.
863 The cut in higher education spending has been to the tune of ten billion rupees, which is really small change
864 in these inflation-hit times. But then what did the professors expect? Were they seriously thinking that if the
865 federal government wanted money saved it should have cut defence spending, or federal government
866 extravagance in other spheres?
867 The allocation for science and technology has been cut, despite vehement and futile protests from the
868 minister concerned, Azam Swati. Now we have higher education being taken to the cleaners. Which are as
869 things should be.
870 As I can't emphasise too much, we are into other things: the safeguarding of ideology, whatever that may be,
871 the eradication of vice and the promotion of virtue, with our own definitions of vice and virtue. Where does
872 education fit into this scheme of things?
873 The Taliban had no use for education in their Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. In the ideological state which
874 we started constructing soon after 1947, the Objectives Resolution having laid the foundations of this grand
875 design, heavy investment in education never figured as a national priority. The Prophet, peace be upon him,

876 ordained that to seek knowledge travel to China if you must. Our China has been the yoke of national
877 security at whose altar we have sacrificed every other consideration.
878 We say we haven't attained the holy grail of political stability in our 63 years of existence. Forget about
879 stability, it can wait. With Zardari as president, Gilani as prime minister, the army spreading its wings,
880 anchor persons (Allah be praised) trying to set the national agenda, the Pir of Pagara taken seriously as a
881 latter-day Oracle of Delphi, and the Supreme Court smarting under the impression that it can't get its rulings
882 implemented, we will get stability soon enough. We are deprived of a uniform medium of instruction,
883 uniform examination system, uniform syllabus, uniform fees structure and uniform standards. Yes, in 63
884 years we haven't been able to put together a common education policy for the country.
885 In fact we haven't given the time of day to this problem. Largely because our multiple education system --
886 English for the sahibs and their offspring, Urdu for the masses -- serves the elites just fine. English being the
887 language of power and government, English-medium schools give the better-off classes a clear head-start
888 when it comes to jobs and related matters. The system of entitlement which is our dominant culture is
889 underpinned by this apartheid in education.
890 So the professors are really climbing up the wrong tree. The elites have access to the kind of education they
891 want. As for what we call the people, the awam, they are the cheerleaders of democracy, fodder for the
892 political parties, the subject matter of the most fiery slogans. But Pakistan as we know it is for the
893 privilegentsia. It was never for the masses and never will be because the gap between high and low, rich and
894 poor, instead of shrinking is now as wide as the Arabian Sea.
895 Lest I forget, let me recall this vignette from a youth conference at Al-Hamra in Lahore presided over by
896 Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif. The first section of the hall as soon as you entered was reserved for officials.
897 In the front row sat a claque of provincial secretaries. Relegated to the fifth or sixth row was the Vice
898 Chancellor of the Fatima Jinnah University, Professor Doctor Saeeda Asadullah Khan. This was strictly
899 according to the correct order of merit and protocol in the Islamic Republic.
900 Did the chief minister recite Habib Jalib? I think he did, he being a great one for poetry, especially of the
901 revolutionary kind. But the vice chancellor's presence in the fifth or sixth row escaped his eagle attention.
902 What change in the country are we talking about? Will this order of things change? Will the meek inherit the
903 earth? Will the dispossessed come into their own? I won't even try to answer these questions.

904 **25UCN:** This is not about blasphemy or the honour of the Holy Prophet. This is now all about politics,
905 about the forces of the clergy, routed in the last elections, discovering a cause on whose bandwagon they
906 have mounted with a vengeance.
907 The blasphemy issue ignited by Aasia Bibi's conviction was virtually over in November, the government
908 making it plain that it had not the slightest intention of amending the blasphemy law, and no government
909 figure of any consequence stepping forward to support Salmaan Taseer on the stand he had taken.
910 There the matter should have rested if Pakistan's clerical armies were not masters of manipulation and cold-
911 blooded calculation. They whipped up a storm in December, when the issue was no longer an issue, and
912 fanned such an atmosphere of intolerance and hatred that it would have been strange if nothing terrible had
913 happened.
914 There's a danger of moaning too much. But what with the lionising of Salmaan Taseer's killer and hailing
915 him as a ghazi and defender of the faith, the impression is hard to shake off that what we are witnessing are
916 the last burial rites of what remains of sanity in a Republic not particularly famous for any striking
917 monuments to reason.
918 No cleric worth the name has refrained from adding fuel to the fires thus lit across the country. But if a prize
919 has to be given to anyone, the honours will go to Pakistan's path-breaking contributor to political gymnastics,
920 Maulana Fazlur Rehman, and the Amir of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Professor Munawar Hasan (professor of
921 what?...one is tempted to ask).
922 The Professor is a study in contrasts: soft-spoken, even beguilingly so, and possessing a keen sense of
923 humour but, at the same time, a master of virulence and of confusion spread in the name of the faith. The
924 2008 elections had laid the Jamaat low. It had made the mistake of boycotting those elections and its
925 performance in bye-elections since then has furnished further proof of its dwindling political relevance. The
926 Jamaat's exploitation of the blasphemy issue is an attempt to engineer a political comeback, although there's
927 no altering the fact that its vote-getting ability comes nowhere near its high nuisance value.
928 But the issue has to be faced squarely. The clerics are on the march not because they are strong but because
929 those on the other side of the divide – the non-clerical forces – are weak, directionless and devoid of
930 vision...without any strategy and plan of battle.
931 Zardari's vision is to stay in power and further enrich his person and his family. End of story. The common
932 belief is he has enough but, by all accounts, we are dealing with insatiable appetites. Prime Minister Yousuf
933 Raza Gilani's vision is to enrich his family. If a tenth of the stories doing the rounds are to be even
934 tentatively believed, they are doing pretty well for themselves. Names close to the army high command are
935 also the subject of lurid rumours.
936 But the problem is greater than a few names. Pakistan's governing class as a whole has earned the distinction
937 of being rotten and corrupt. Everyone rightly-placed is on the take. Those not so fortunate are less emblems
938 of virtue than martyrs to opportunities absent or lost.

939 A leadership thus tainted, compromised by ineptitude and greed, can neither initiate reform nor reverse the
940 tide of obscurantism now washing against the walls of the Republic.
941 Lest we forget, the armies of the faithful – with their fearsome beards and shaven moustaches, shalwars
942 pulled up over ankles – have never been in power in Pakistan (the MMA's stint as Musharraf's co-travellers
943 in the Frontier not really counting in this equation). What Pakistan is today, the depths it has plumbed, the
944 failures courted, the follies assiduously pursued, have been the handiwork of its English-speaking elite
945 classes – who wouldn't be caught dead calling themselves secular but who, for all practical purposes,
946 represent a secularist point of view.
947 The mullahs have not been responsible for our various alliances with the United States; our entry into Cento
948 and Seato; our militarist adventures vis-à-vis India; and the honing of 'jihad' as an instrument of strategic
949 fallacies. This last piece of brilliance came from the army as commanded by Gen Ziaul Haq. Religious
950 elements became willing accessories in this game but were not its inventors.
951 If the first Constituent Assembly lavished attention on a piece of rhetoric of no practical benefit to anyone,
952 the Objectives Resolution, instead of writing a constitution which was its chief duty, the fault lay not so
953 much with the clerical fathers as with the Muslim League leadership. The phrase 'ideology of Pakistan' was
954 an invention of Gen Yahya Khan's information minister, Maj Gen Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan. The central
955 tenet of our security doctrine which sees India as an implacable foe out to undo Pakistan was woven in no
956 madrassah or mosque but in General Headquarters, and a mindset which has been a distinguishing feature of
957 the Punjabi elite.
958 Our fractured education system is a gift, paradoxically, of our English-speaking classes which have never felt
959 the slightest need for framing a common education policy – the same books and curriculum, the same
960 medium of education – for the entire country. The history is evident that the country has never seen a
961 uniform education policy; a policy based on uniform curriculum, uniform exam system and uniform
962 standards.
963 The army, a secular institution to begin with, has ruled Pakistan. The mainstream parties have been in power.
964 Pakistan's failures are their failures. The religious parties have been the hyenas and jackals of the hunt,
965 yelping from the sides and helping themselves to the morsels that came their way. Lords of the hunt, lions of
966 the pack, have been Pakistan's generals and politicians, assisted ably at all times by a powerful and equally
967 short-sighted mandarin class.
968 If the misuse of religion, the exploitation of religion for less-than-holy ends, the yoking of religion to
969 unworthy causes – such as our never-ending adventures in Afghanistan – has poisoned the national
970 atmosphere and narrowed the space for reasoned debate, the principal responsibility for that too lies with
971 those who have held the reins of power in their hands. Why could they not have reversed the course of
972 events, especially when it lay in their power to do so?
973 True, Gen Zia's rule amounted to a visitation from the outer reaches of purgatory. We say he distorted
974 Pakistan, which of course he did. But it is 22 years since his departure, time enough to have healed the
975 wounds he caused and dismantle his legacy. But if the many temples to hypocrisy he erected survive, who is
976 to blame? The Pakistan of today is Zia's Pakistan not Jinnah's. But if we have been unable to go back to our
977 founding principles the fault lies not with the zealous armies of the bearded but Pakistan's secular rulers, in
978 mufti and khaki.
979 It is not the mullahs who frighten the ruling classes. These classes are afraid of their own shadows. And they
980 have lost the ability, if they ever had it in the first place, to think for themselves. They live on imported ideas
981 and the power of their own fantasies.
982 It is not a question of the English-speaking classes – our so-called civil society with its small candle-light
983 vigils, usually in some upscale market – standing up to the clerical armies. This is to get the whole picture
984 wrong. It is a question of the Pakistani state – its various institutions, its defence establishment and the creeds
985 and fallacies held dear as articles of faith by this establishment – getting its direction right and then creating a
986 new consensus enabling it to retreat from the paths of folly.
987 If the Pakistani establishment continues to see India as the enemy, keeps pouring money into an arms race it
988 cannot afford, is afflicted by delusions of grandeur relative to Afghanistan, and remains unmindful of the
989 economic disaster into which the country is fast slipping, we will never get a grip on the challenges we face.
990 The raging cleric, frothing at the mouth, is thus not the problem. He is merely a symptom of something
991 larger. Pakistan's problem is the delusional general and the incompetent politician and as long as this is not
992 fixed, the holy armies of bigotry will remain on the march.

993 **26UPBnP:** Various research studies have indicated the psycho-social problems of the students, teachers,
994 planners and managers working in the public and private sector of education in Pakistan. These problems can
995 be studied under in three domains i.e. home-centered problems, community-centered problems and school-
996 centered problems.
997 Although, the Quaid-e-Azam, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in his message delivered in the first Education
998 Conference 1947, categorically stressed on taking practical steps in reshaping the whole education system of
999 the country, yet the situation regarding the education sector of Pakistan has been very uncertain and critical
1000 till yet. Historically uniform education remained of serious concern. Under one education the rich goes and
1001 poor go to different type of institutions neither where neither the medium of instruction is uniform nor the

1002 curriculum. Beside this the job prospect of these different types of schools is not uniform. The commissions
1003 and policies till the recent years have beautifully worked out various strategies and plans for enhancing and
1004 changing the curriculum, giving quality education, preparing standard textbooks, resolving the problem of
1005 medium of instruction, streamlining the planning and management of the institutions, but due to the policies
1006 and reforms without implementation, the mismatch in public and private systems, the teaching of languages
1007 only and the polarization and existence of pressure groups have weakened not only the whole education
1008 system of Pakistan but the other institutions and organizations also.
1009 Moreover, it is a fact that the attitudes of teacher, the response of student and the behavior of manager do
1010 have a crucial role in making the personality of the individuals and social progress, but in addition to this
1011 some physical problems that still exist here are the overcrowded classrooms, inadequate teaching materials,
1012 poor staffing, absence of equipped libraries and laboratories, and lack of physical facilities like playgrounds,
1013 drinking water, washrooms, recreational, common, medical and retiring rooms and furniture etc. This
1014 alarming situation has caused an awkward backwardness of the education system in the country.
1015 Furthermore, besides the system problems as observed, it is obvious that the teacher faces problems of
1016 insecurity, accommodation, remuneration, political exploitation life threats and deprivation prevent them to
1017 play the role of an implementer, prompter, director, guide, counselor, manager, organizer and instructor
1018 inside the school and also halt him/her to work outside in the society as a good social.
1019 Unfortunately, due to the lack of professional growth and leadership, this profession in Pakistan evidently
1020 faces a hurdle in the way toward lifelong and quality education. Most of them are virtually literate and have
1021 regressive trends. However, the one room affair, the schools without boundary walls and the negligible
1022 participation of community also deteriorate the smooth process of education in Pakistan.
1023 The broken homes, the social status of parents, poverty, orphanage, divorced families, crowded homes,
1024 sibling rivalry problem, family educational background, inferiority complexes, harsh discipline and child
1025 labour are also persistently showing their virulent fangs to tear down the learners in our country.
1026 The status of a teacher Status in the Educational institutions of Pakistan:
1027 Teacher is considered the most central source in putting all the educational reforms into practice at all levels.
1028 In Pakistan thier access to their democratic rights seems to be denied or not practiced properly according to
1029 the Policy Document of Pakistan which guarantees the realization of their democratic rights. The alarming
1030 aspects of their concerns are how to think up a plan of action that may facilitate them to have proper access to
1031 their democratic rights inside their institutions and in society as well.
1032 Teaching is a very decent profession and a holy job. It uplifts and brings up the individuals as a responsible
1033 nation. The society has a lot of hopes from the teacher whom with the young generations have direct contact.
1034 Every nation desires excellent and fine production from schools and colleges. The learners imitate, identify
1035 and follow them as model. The important part of our society is the educators who play revolutionary roles in
1036 the making of a nation. Their duty is plausible as they educate a child, the father of man, and a useful citizen
1037 of future.
1038 Responsibilities and rights go together. Above and beyond performing a noble duty, they have certain rights
1039 too. They have the right to live a respectably happy life in all aspects i.e. personal, social, cultural, religious,
1040 economic, and democratic aspirations, relations, affiliation and beliefs and practices in a proper manner.
1041 Teaching is a less attractive job in Pakistan, because they face financial and economic hardships and they
1042 have to live within their limited resources. There is lack of the needed support from government and
1043 community is to facilitate them with respectable and happy life.
1044 Due to the undemocratic administration here in Pakistan, a teacher faces problems of unreasonable and
1045 inappropriate work load. There is lack of uniformity in the status of the teacher in different types of schools.
1046 It also halts to improve the quality of education and also makes the field unattractive to the new comers.
1047 Educating children for quality and lifelong learning is very essential for the development of active
1048 citizenship, indispensable for their active part in a democratic society; and vital to promoting democratic
1049 culture. The role of a teacher in promoting democracy learning through active and participatory approaches is
1050 essential. The Parliamentary Assembly and the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (1997)
1051 suggested inclusion of the courses of human rights in all school curricula. In its further recommendation
1052 (2002), it was stressed upon that the initial training of teachers in education for democratic citizenship is
1053 mandatory for which various steps like lifting up the level of professionalism of teachers and introducing
1054 new measures important today are to be taken.
1055 The challenges like cultural deviation and nationalism, worldwide threats to security, expansion of new
1056 technologies of information and ecological harms do demand the new caliber from a teacher. In addition to
1057 them are the problems of the population movements, emergence of the once repressed people and the
1058 increasing demand for individual independence and new forms of equality. Further more, the weakening of
1059 social makeup and unity among people , doubts about conservative political institutions, types of governance
1060 and political leaders, increasing political, economic and cultural interconnectedness and interdependence are
1061 persistently intensifying the increasing pressure on educators and teacher to prepare and pace with the new
1062 century..
1063 The curses of globalization, internet hazards, radioactivity of the nuclear developments, greed for power over
1064 the weaker nations, immoral and unethical attitudes of the world powers, the genetic decoding, the tussles of
1065 civilizations and cultures also require a teacher to be well-equipped. The prevailing social and moral evils

1066 demand the new roles of them. So, for their innovative roles and effective performance, the realization and
1067 recognition of teacher's democratic rights is very necessary. It is the need of the day to acknowledge and
1068 realize their democratic rights and assure their accessibility.
1069 The rapidly changing world increases the need for an active, informed and responsible community which
1070 resultantly demands commonly accepted aim of education and role of a teacher. In other words, the
1071 responsibility of teacher as a universal leader is greater. A teacher must be prepared for promoting forms of
1072 education and training at a time of increasing interconnectedness and interdependence at regional and
1073 international level.
1074 Dürr and Martins (2000) suggest that the new form of education is to prepare the learners for actual
1075 involvement in society. To provide such teaching presents important challenges for the teaching profession.
1076 A teacher is meant to learn the new forms of knowledge, develop new teaching methods, find new ways of
1077 working and create new forms of professional relationships. Teaching should be enhanced with current
1078 affairs, critical thinking and skill teaching. .
1079 Researches on the problem indicate clearly that problem in the realization of and access to the democratic
1080 rights of a teacher in Pakistan still exists though the Constitution and Civil Laws of Pakistan contain their
1081 recognition and provision. In some cases the private educational managers in particular and public managers
1082 in general have been violating the democratic rights of them. Researches show that the situation in private
1083 and female teacher is alarmingly worse. It is because of the lack of their significant leading role and struggle
1084 for the realization of their rights.
1085 The cause of this disparity is not only the community or government or educational managers but they
1086 themselves so as they are not effectively performing their job and do not struggle for their rights.
1087 Consequently, this deprivation has disturbed the personality, competence and family and social life of a
1088 teacher in Pakistan
1089 Most of the teaching professionals do have the caliber of management and leadership, like university
1090 professors, but lack to actively participate in the struggles for the realization their democratic rights.

1091 **27UPE:** Education is considered as the cheapest defence of a nation. But the down trodden condition of
1092 education in Pakistan bears an ample testimony of the fact that it is unable to defend its own sector. Though
1093 62 years have been passed and 23 policies and action plans have been introduced yet the educational sector is
1094 waiting for an arrival of a savior to make it uniform and productive. The government of Pervaiz Musharraf
1095 invested heavily in education sector and that era saw a visible positive educational change in Pakistani
1096 society. Now a days, the economic situation in Pakistan is under stress and education is the worse effected
1097 sector in Pakistan. The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan says,
1098 "The state of Pakistan shall remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within
1099 minimum possible period."
1100 In Human development Report Pakistan is placed at 136th position for having just 49.9% educated populace.
1101 The primary completion rate in Pakistan, given by Date Center of UNESCO, is 33.8% in females and 47.18%
1102 in males, which shows that people in the 6th largest country of the world are unable to get the basic
1103 education. Following are the problems of education in Pakistan. Firstly, the educational system of Pakistan is
1104 based on unequal lines lacking uniform medium of instruction, uniform exam system, uniform standards and
1105 uniform curriculum. Especially medium of education is different in both, public and private sector. This
1106 create a sort of disparity among people, dividing them into two segments. Secondly, regional disparity is also
1107 a major cause. The schools in Balochistan (The Largest Provice of Pakistan by Area) are not that much
1108 groomed as that of Punjab (The Largest Provice of Pakistan by Population). In FATA, the literacy rate is
1109 deplorable constituting 29.5% in males and 3% in females. Thirdly, the ratio of gender discrimination is a
1110 cause which is projecting the primary school ratio of boys & girls which is 10:4 respectively. For the last few
1111 years there has been an increase in the growth of private schools. That not only harms the quality of
1112 education but create a gap among haves and have nots. Fourthly, the lack of technical education is a biggest
1113 flaw in the educational policy that has never been focused before. Therefore, less technical people means
1114 less. Fifthly, the allocation of funds for education are very low. It is only 1.5 to 2.0 percent of the total GDP.
1115 It should be around 7% of the total GDP. Sixthly, the teachers in government schools are not well trained.
1116 People who donot get job in any other sector, they try their luck in educational system. They are not
1117 professionally trained so they are unable to train a nation. Finally, Poverty is also another factor that restrict
1118 the parents to send their children to public or private schools. So, they prefer to send their children to
1119 madressahs where education is totally free.
1120 Recently, minister of education announced a new Education policy for that next 10 years. The interesting
1121 thing is that the previous educational policy from 1998 to 2010 is still not expired. Although it is projected to
1122 give new plans and to make more promises with the nation. It is said in this policy that all the public schools
1123 will be raised upto the level of private schools. No plan of action have been discussed, yet a notice is issued
1124 to private schools to induct government course in 5th and 8th class and these classes will bound to take board
1125 exams. This disturbed the students of private sector also.
1126 Solutions for Educational System: Estimating the value of education, the Government should take solid steps
1127 on this issue. Implementation instead of projecting policies, should be focused on. Allocation of funds should
1128 be made easy from provinces to districts and then to educational institutes. Workshops must be arranged for

1129	teacher staff. Foreign states are using LSS system. This should be inducted in Pakistani schools to improve
1130	the hidden qualities of children. Technical education must be given to all the classes. The education board of
1131	Punjab have projected a plan to give tech- education to the children of industrial workers. Promotion of the
1132	primary education is the need of time. Teachers, professors and educationists should be consulted while
1133	devising any plan, syllabus or policy. The state seems to give up her responsibility and totally relying on
1134	private sector. The need of time is to bring education in its original form to masses. Burdening a students
1135	with so much books will not work as he will not understand what the world is going to do next moment.
1136	Education is the only cure of the destability in the state and can bring revolution through evolution, by
1137	eradicating the social evils. This is how to remove illiteracy in Pakistan.

28UrTD: Educating the masses without a national language is a misnomer. This is what was in Quaid-i-Azam's mind when he declared Urdu to be the national language soon after he took oath of office even though at that time more than 50 per cent did not speak Urdu.

The Quaid-i-Azam unfortunately did not survive long enough to implement his ideas; otherwise the destiny of this country would have been different. There would have been no infighting on the language issue; East Pakistan would not have separated.

Pakistan came into existence in 1947 on the base of an ideology called Islam. India occupied the Hyderabad state in 1948 and abolished Urdu medium in the Osmania University. Even though the Hyderabad state only had a 15 per cent Muslim (the follower of Islam as an ideology) population, Urdu was adopted as a medium of instruction for both Muslims and non Muslims at the highest level and non Muslims readily accepted it. It was generally accepted that Urdu belongs to all Muslims or to Islam and Hindi to all non-Muslims.

Osmania University was established in 1917 with Urdu as the medium of instruction for all arts, science and technical education. But realising the importance of English, too, it was also retained as a compulsory subject up to BA/BSc. Even the theology students had to pass in English.

The first batch of graduates came out in 1925 with Urdu medium. Students in MBBS were admitted in 1927 and in BE (English) in all branches in 1928.

Such rapid progress required mammoth input in planning management and money. The Nizam opened his coffers to see that scheduled progress is maintained. Crores of rupees (in those days) were spent, for translation rights of English and German books, for writing new books in Urdu, for devising new terminology and for buildings. Bright students were sent abroad at the government's expense and were employed as teachers, too.

Within 10 years, all the renowned universities of India, Oxford and Cambridge recognised its degrees for entry in post-graduate courses without further coaching in English. Graduates could sit for all India competitive exams.

In 1948, when the Indian government abolished Urdu medium, a treasure of books in all faculties was available and became redundant and were going to be sold as scrap. This was a golden chance for Pakistan and the religion Islam. We could have acquired this treasure by spending a few rupees on transportation, only.

Quite a number of teachers, professors, men and women migrated to Pakistan, and with their high standard in English got absorbed in almost all services in Pakistan as well as in the Middle East, USA and other countries. Some Urdu medium lawyers, taught law in English in the law college.

Here I would like to mention two names who graduated from Osmania University in the first batch in 1925. Dr Raziuddin Siddiqui, who was vice chancellor of Osmania University in 1948, and Dr Hamidullah who taught in French at Sorborn University. Dr Raziuddin Siddiqui served in Pakistan as VC in several universities.

Dr Siddiqui knew the advantages of Urdu medium and could have persuaded the government of Pakistan to obtain all those books and staff and establish Urdu medium universities here in 1949. What difference it could have made in the lives of Pakistani nation in the field of education in these 60 or so years.

Perhaps the Quaid-i-Azam had this in mind when he declared in his first speech at Dhaka that Urdu shall be the national language of Pakistan and Islam. The persons who are now fighting to adopt nine languages as national languages were not even born at that time.

Presently I am the only surviving student, whose medium of instruction has been Urdu from class one to BSc (physics) and BE (mechanical). I served in Libya, Syria and Iran and retired as a UN expert in technical education and training in 1980 (I am now 86).

Recently, I took upon myself to teach mathematics in the Urdu medium to Matric students, and I find that this so-called Urdu medium is a hotch potch of Urdu and English. It is a mockery of the Urdu medium. In fact those who have been chosen to establish an Urdu medium university themselves do not believe in Urdu medium. For instance they have chosen to write Algebraic equations from left to right instead of right to left, which confuses the students.

English language was also poor in technical terms. It has borrowed almost all its technical terminology from Greek. Similarly Urdu has based terms in Arabic, which was used by even Europeans in the Middle Ages. Algebra is an Arabic word. In science and maths we have to deal mostly with formulae and figures, and language plays a secondary role. This is the reason why Japanese and Chinese have no difficulty in getting high grades in USA.

The basic point in any education is as to whom are we teaching as a nation. Out of the 100 students who enter primary school there are hardly five who make it to the university. For 95 per cent, a basic knowledge of English is enough to carry on their professions. Loading them with a grammatically correct high standard of English is not only a waste of time and money but also waste of talent.

To understand as to why we adopted English as a medium of instruction, I quote the words of Lord Macaulay uttered in the British Parliament in Feb 2, 1835.

"I don't think we will be able to conquer India unless we break their spiritual (religion) and social heritage. Therefore I propose that their old system of education and norms of culture should be drastically cut down. When the Indians start to realise that the English language is good for them, they will automatically lose their culture, ideology and self respect."

There were several Muslim (the followers of religion Islam) and Arab mathematicians, scientists, astronomers, doctors and surgeons in the early period of Islam who taught these subjects in universities of Spain to Europeans, but they changed their Islam related Latin names in their books, so our English medium students know them from their Latin names only. Macaulay's prophecy has come true.

The box carries a list of Muslim and Arab heroes with their changed names.

These people were teaching maths, physics, chemistry, astronomy, medicine and surgery when Newton, Galileo, Kepler, Chamberlain and Roger Bacon were not even born. I want to know what authority anybody has to change my name?

Money spent on educating in a foreign language does not build a nation or identity, it only promotes class segregation as we have seen in these 62 years. At best it helps in earning some foreign exchange. But education in the national language is an investment and helps in building a strong nation and ideology which was stated during the independence as Islam. There is no hope of building a strong Pakistani nation or culture unless we change our attitude. In fact the rift is widening by the day and may result, God forbid, in further disintegration of the country.

To retrieve what little is left of our education system, I suggest that the following actions be taken without delay.

• Establish one Urdu medium university in every province.
• The Federal Urdu University has already laid down its blue print. It will provide teachers books and terminology.
• A central examination board should be set up at Islam-abad to ensure uniformity.
• These students should freely take part in all competitive examinations along with English medium students.

In 30 years, I hope we will succeed in amalgamating all Pakistanis into one nation and ideology. If these steps are not taken immediately, I fear we will stand without a culture as we do today.

In the history of India, two kings will always be remembered. One who spent tons of money to build a tomb for his wife and the other who spent tons of money to educate his people in their own language; in fact the money he spent was an investment for Pakistan, if only our rulers had used the opportunity in time, without fighting for a national language.

29 UrHD:
MR Asghar Soomro, in his article (Dec 11), expressed his discontentment over pursuit of higher education and identified the flaws in the policy and also proposed solutions to problems.

The literacy data reveals that a very small number of students (4.7 per cent) goes to university. Higher education studies complete at 16 years to earn a master's or professional degree.

It is sad to note that these degree holders have superficial knowledge and scanty information. They are not going to Urdu medium because it is old age. And although the medium of instruction at the alma maters is English which generally the nation is deprived of.(in public sector it is Urdu), the degree holders in higher education unfortunately can hardly express in English correctly.

The Public Service Commission reports often complain about this weakness. University teachers must exert and urge students to gain proficiency in the English language not only for their bright future but also for becoming a participatory team in the development of the country. The Higher Education Commission during the last decade, especially, had proved to be a gateway to MS and PhD candidates. Despite a hue and cry, there has evolved a good crop of foreign qualified/educated doctors and masters. If Urdu (the national langauge) is not the medium of instruction the students needs to be proficient in English at least. The universities should be allowed to decide on the selection of a competent and aspirant scholar for the pursuit of a PhD or an MS. Facility for higher education must rest on the needs and requirements of the country.

The Higher Education Commission should come out with an up to date information about the prospects of different fields and professions so that students and their parents are able to help choose a better profession, for example in energy and environment. Our economy is based on agriculture but there are only four agriculture universities. There is a need to establish more agriculture universities so that students can learn new methods of food growth and water conservation.

Higher education is very expensive and, therefore, needs constant review to keep the balance between demand and supply. In this computer era, a viable policy for higher education can be formulated in the context of the country's requirements.

30UrCN:
All human endeavors traverse along the two ended equation — the ends and the means. Crux of the matter is the selection of aim/objective and thereafter putting together of various ingredients into a state of cohesive, effective and efficient mechanism for the attainment of the selected goal which in this case happens to be good governance.

How to achieve the above aim is the question that we have to find answer there to? The various steps, measures and ingredients have to be explored, put together, harmonised, tuned-up, articulated, orchestrated,

1258	synchronised, regularly adjusted, religiously maintained and vigilantly monitored to ensure optimum
1259	efficiency for good governance.
1260	Good governance is a healthy state of overall positive environments of nation. It stands for effective
1261	command and control, efficient management, almost fool-proof administration, writ of law, indiscriminate
1262	justice, adherence to fundamental human rights, state apparatus radiating proverbial motherly affection and
1263	care, strong network of checks and balances, efficient utilisation of human and natural resources and rapid as
1264	well as sustained progress/development for enrichment of citizenry and their identity as a whole. State or
1265	nation run machinery is a well-knit umbrella and an assured shelter of protection, safety and welfare. Good
1266	governance provides the stable and solid foundations for erection of varied super-structures of progress and
1267	excellence.
1268	It is a force multiplier, mutually invigorating and complementary. Of course it act as a launching pad for
1269	flight to those un-trodden heights of glory, pride and successes, where sky and sky alone is the only limit.
1270	Government machinery is the age-old bridge, which serves as a permanent linkage between the people
1271	(nation) and the rulers in a country. It is an apparatus, through which the writ of government is established
1272	and exercised as per well-documented laws/rules/regulations. All rules are basically geared towards the
1273	provision of genuine welfare to the public, availability of transparent and prompt justice to them and the
1274	guaranteed protection of life, property and honour thereof, without any discrimination. The nobility of rulers
1275	and their noble commitment and values of such people friendly law, but also the nature of government
1276	machinery for the implementation of such laws and accordingly the level of good governance made available
1277	to the people.
1278	The role of the government machinery, in its interaction with the people, is simply crucial. Its stance,
1279	attitude, style and overall conduct, not only give a reflection of its efficiency or inefficiency, its competence
1280	or incompetence, its sincerity or insincerity, its honesty or dishonesty, its motivation or de-motivation and its
1281	beauty or ugliness, but also give a vivid reflection of the psyche and mindset of the rulers in the country. The
1282	rulers wield absolute power over the government machinery (umbrella of government) and therefore, the
1283	entire credit or discredit, praise or rebuke, laurel or curse, admiration or abuse, fame or defame and success
1284	or failure, go to the rulers and rulers alone. The verdict positive or negative given by the people regarding
1285	good or bad governance is actually a verdict for or against the rulers because they happen to be in command
1286	and rule the roost.
1287	What is the state of governance in Pakistan? Is it good, average or poor? Let me pose a few questions and the
1288	replies thereto would automatically provide the answer accordingly: — Are the citizens equals in all respects
1289	including writ of law, fundamental rights, status, opportunities, healthcare and protection of life, property and
1290	honour? __ what is the function of education? Is the medium of instruction a nation building, identity
1291	promoting and ideology (Islam) friendly? Or is it divisive? — What is the role of judiciary (lower and
1292	superior both) as the custodian of justice, guarantor of constitution and provider of protection to the under
1293	privileged classes against exploitative and tyrannical forces? — What is the status of the constitution and
1294	how many times has it been abrogated, suspended, distorted and even trashed? — What is the role of national
1295	institution (mainly judiciary, legislative and execution) and are they functioning harmoniously? — What is
1296	the state of national economy — agriculture, industry, commerce, GDP per capita income, budget,
1297	international trade, balance of payment, foreign debts dependence of foreign aid, deficit financing, national
1298	savings, discretionary powers, financial discipline, ostentatious living and overall state of developmental
1299	expenses etc etc? — How independent, vibrant, democratic and genuinely committed are the Election
1300	Commission, political parties and political leaders (including their character traits, vision, experience,
1301	dedication and maturity), political culture and whether the elections held so far have been genuinely free and
1302	fare, transparent and uninterrupted? — Are the people genuinely empowered to elect or reject and enthrone
1303	or dethrone the rulers? — Is the government machinery efficient, corruption-free, responsive and accountable
1304	to the nation? — Are the armed forces and the intelligence agencies under the institutionalised control of the
1305	elected civilian leadership as per the dictates of the constitution of Pakistan which came into existence on the
1306	name of an ideology, Islam? — and again What is the literacy level of the people along with the status of
1307	educational systems? Does the educational system promote genuine scientific research/experimentation,
1308	character building, national pride, spirit of mutual sacrifice, sense of patriotism/ Islam/ ideology/ unity,
1309	national cohesion and culture of tolerance as opposed to ethnic differences sectarian divides, extremism and
1310	terrorism? The final verdict regarding the overall standard of governance lies with the people. However, the
1311	fact is that we as a nation, most of our institutions, the entire government machinery and all our
1312	political/religious (Islam related) parties seem to be in a state of war and turmoil. The government machinery
1313	along with its major/minor departments stand corrupted, compromised, collapsed, paralysed de-motivated
1314	and in an absolute state of shambles. Cosmetic juggleries, shameless mockeries, rampant institutionalised
1315	corruption, aphorisms, mismanagement, non-responsiveness, bureaucratic red-tape, ostentatious and
1316	disproportionate lifestyle of the ruling elites, stinking culture and ideology of loot and plunder, VIP
1317	obsessions, security protocols, unconstitutional and undemocratic distortions, wild concoctions for self-
1318	perpetuation, nepotism, identity crisis, massacre of merit and abysmal incompetence reign supreme. Self-
1319	perpetuation, self-enrichment and self-glorification are the topmost priorities through whatever
1320	immoral/illegal means... regardless of the tragic national cost involved.
1321	Why are we so spineless and spiritless? Why are we suffering so quietly and wailing around so cowardly?

1322	Are we not in absolute majority? Is Pakistan not our sweet homeland for all of us as well as that of our
1323	children and grand children, in other words for whole nation? Are we not equal sons of the soil and are we
1324	not (as per our constitution and the teachings of Islam) masters of our own destiny? What is lacking in us?
1325	Why don't we stand up and challenge all the characterless usurpers, vultures and greedy opportunists around
1326	us.

1327 **31UrRF:** Language is the only media by which one can express his ideas and feelings and show identity.
1328 It plays a vital role in building the character of an indivdual as well as a nation. languages brings closer each
1329 other and it creats a sense of harmony and nation –hood among the people. Pakistan has several regional
1330 languages chief of them being Pushto,Punjabi, Sindhi,Baluchi and Kashmiri. URDU-NATIONAL
1331 LANGUAGE OF PAKISTAN: After Independence Quaid-e-Azam said in clear cut words that the National
1332 language of Pakistan would be Urdu.He said: "Let me make it clear that the national language of Pakistan is
1333 going to be Urdu and no other language. Without one state language no nation can remain tied up solidity
1334 together".
1335 EVOLUTION OF URDU: Urdu evolved over a period of centuried by cultural comacts between local people
1336 of north of Sub Continent and Muslims of Arabia, Iran and Turkey. The base of this language is Prakrit, an
1337 Aryan language. The script of Urdu is modified form of Persian. Urdu is a word of Turkish language and its
1338 literal meaning is camp. QUALITIES OF URDU: 1. Urdu as a Great Power of Assimilation
1339 The splendour of Urdu is Turkish and its charm is Persian in its base .The vitality of Urdu lies in its ability to
1340 adopt words from other languages in such a way as if they originally belonged to it. The chief reason for its
1341 country wide popularity was its power of Assimilation. According to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan:
1342 "....Still now Urdu has great affinity for many other words and ideas which increases its beauty."
1343 Source of National Indentity
1344 National language is the identity of a nation. When we are abroad we are identified as Pakistani because of
1345 our national language. That is why, every nation gives out respect and importance to national language.
1346 RICH TREASURE OF PROSE AND POETRY
1347 The Urdu language possesses a very valuable treasure of poetry and prose. The poets and writers have
1348 contributed their most in its development. Maulana Shibli Nomani, Maulana Hali, Deputy Nazir Ahmed ,
1349 Mirza Ghalib, Ameer Khusro and many others adopted this language in their poetry and writings. Sir Syed
1350 wrote for the re-awkening of the Muslims of sub Continent. According to Abdul Haq.
1351 "It is Sir Syed due to whom Urdu has made such a great progress within a period of only one century."
1352 IMPORTANCE OF URDU IN NATIONAL LIFE
1353 Certain points which expresses the importance of Urdu in national life are given below:
1354 1.Means of Brotherhood and Unity
1355 People of Pakistan are one nation, therefore their identity, thinking, aims and objectives are common i.e.
1356 Islam. Their progress and prosperity depends upon their unity and brotherhood. An important factor for
1357 achieving this unity, identity and brotherhood is Urdu.
1358 2. Source of Expression
1359 Urdu has become a source of expression, feelings, thoughts, unity and aspiration. People of two different
1360 areas can easily understood each other ideas and thoughts by Urdu.
1361 3. Means of Communication and Co-ordination
1362 Urdu serves as a means of communication and is a binding force between all the four provinces of Pakistan.
1363 People living in different provinces realize that in spite of speaking different languages, they are joined
1364 together by one national language which is the heritage of all Muslims because this is the language of Islam
1365 and the identity of the Muslims
1366 4. Medium of Instruction
1367 Urdu language is the medium of instruction in most of the educational institutions of Pakistan. History,
1368 Islamic Studies, Political Science and other subjects are taught up to M.A level in Urdu. Lectures on Islam
1369 related subjects and religion are also delivered in Urdu throughout Pakistan.
1370 URDU-AN IMPORTANT PART OF OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE
1371 Urdu grew in popularity and by the later Mughal Period and the advent of the British, it had been adopted by
1372 the Muslims and the Hindus alike. It would not be wrong to say if it is said that:
1373 "Urdu is a part of our cultural Heritage and religion i.e. Islam"
1374 CONCLUSION. Being the National language of the country, it is the symbol of Islam, Muslims and their
1375 identity and also it is a binding force in different parts of Pakistan. The officers have adopted Urdu language
1376 in their official work and the Government has published a dictionary containing Urdu terms for the office
1377 work. The Urdu Development Board and "Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu" are trying to give Urdu a place in
1378 society and it is hope that Urdu would find its place in society within short period of time.

1379 **32UrTT:** Famous Sindhi writer and Urdu columnist Amar Jaleel who recently appeared on
1380 Wussatullah's show on Dawn News Urdu Service started a debate by saying that Jinnah was dragged or
1381 cornered into making the following speech, and somehow told Bengalis to abandon Bengali language when
1382 he declared Urdu to be the state language of Pakistan.
1383 This is what Jinnah said:

"About language, as I have already said, this is in order to create disruption amongst the Mussalmans. Your Prime Minister has rightly pointed this out in a recent statement and I am glad that his Government has decided to put down firmly any attempt to disturb the peace of this province by political saboteurs, their agents. Whether Bengali shall be official language of this province is a matter for the elected representatives of the people of this province to decide. I have no doubt that this question shall be decided solely in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants 'of this province at the appropriate time. "

"Let me tell you in the clearest language that there is no truth that your normal life is going to be touched or disturbed so far as your Bengali language is concerned. But ultimately it is for you, the people of this province, to decide what shall be the language of your province. But let me make it very clear to you that the State language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no Nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned, Pakistani language shall be Urdu. But, as I have said, it will come in time. "

"Quite frankly and openly I must tell you that you have got amongst you a few communists and other agents financed by foreign help and if you are not careful, you will be disrupted. The idea that East Bengal should be brought back into the Indian Union is not given up, and it is their aim yet, and I am confident –I am not afraid, but it is better to be vigilant –that those people who still dream of getting back East Bengal into the Indian Union are living in a dream-land.

Islam has taught us this, and I think you will agree with me that whatever else you may be and whatever you are, you are a Muslim. You belong to a Nation now; you have now carved out a territory, vast territory, it is all yours; it does not belong to a Punjabi or a Sindhi, or a Pathan, or a Bengali; it is yours. You have got your Central Government where several units are represented. Therefore, if you want to build up yourself into a Nation, for God's sake give up this provincialism. Provincialism has been one of the curses; and so is sectionalism –Shia, Sunni, etc. " (Jinnah at Dacca University "Jinnah Speeches And Statements 1947-1948" Millennium edition Oxford University Press)

What Jinnah said clearly relegated Bengali to the status of a regional language. That must have been difficult for Bengali nationalists to swallow. The terms 'state language, lingua franca, national language, language of the nation' mean different things. Urdu could not have been a lingua franca between its two wings because Bengalis except in Dhaka perhaps would not have understood Urdu much. It was a belief in the early years that the nations needed one language to form and strengthen national unity and identity. What happened in reaction is known history. Bengali was declared a national language within the next three or four years and that later became part of the 1956 constitution. Even in 1956 other languages such as Sindhi, Balochi, Sariaki, pushtoo and Hazara were ignored. What was the harm in declaring them national languages too?

In 1973 Constitution it was maintained as

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

Though English is still the official language…Urdu is waiting for the status given to it by the constitution but demands from all the languages spoken in Pakistan to be declared as National Language persists…..

Fakhar Zaman, chairman of the Academy of Letters Pakistan on January 27, 2005 as the chairman of World Punjabi Congress (WPC) demanded the establishment of federal Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu and Balochi universities on the pattern of the federal Urdu university and declaration of Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu and Balochi as national languages, just like Urdu, rather than regional languages.

Here are two News Segment from Today News…..

Intellectuals demand national language status for Sindhi

Sindhi linguists, educationists and scholars have demanded to the government that Sindhi be recognised as a national language in the province.

In this regard a draft was prepared by a nine-member committee, headed by renowned scholar and ex-chairman of Sindhi Adabi Board Muhammad Ibrahim Joyo. The draft states that all the nationalities living in the country have already demanded that their mother tongues be declared as national languages of the country, and Urdu be made only the working language. We are denying the importance of the Urdu as a langauge of Muslims and Islam but want the regional languages to be promoted at national level.

The nine-member committee was designed by Sindhi Language Authority (SLA), an autonomous body whose chairperson Dr Fahmida Hussain and secretary Taj Joyo are also members of the committee. Other members include former vice chancellor Sindh University Dr Ghulam Ali Alana, Director Sindh Culture Department Muhammad Ali Manjhi, renowned poet Imdad Hussaini, Secretary General Sindhi Adabi Sangat Yousaf Sindhi and others.

The draft reads that even the government-run literary institution Pakistan Academy of Letters, in 1994, declared all the languages spoken in the country are national languages. The draft termed it as an injustice with the people of Pakistan that their mother tongues are not given status of national languages.

The draft says that Sindhi is the original language of the Indus Valley people, which possesses all the peculiarities of a developed language of the world and fulfils the criteria of being a national language. It is rich in folk, classical, modern, progressive and ancient literature. People in Sindh are very much conscious and emotional about their language and culture.

1447 The draft argues that the separation of former East Pakistan was also a result of the controversy over the
1448 national language. The draft also maintains that the language riots in Sindh urban areas in 1972 after the
1449 separation of East Pakistan were a conspiracy against the Sindhi language.
1450 It justifies that the experts of linguistic science have set principles that any language may be declared a national
1451 language which is used by the people in their every day lives; that has been spoken by a nation from time
1452 immemorial and that is being used as official and court language and also as a medium of institutions from
1453 primary up to the higher education. Moreover, that is being used for its literary and media communication;
1454 which is able to borrow and use the words and phrases from other developed languages of the world and can
1455 transform that stock of words according to its own grammatical structure, which is originated from the language
1456 of the soil of that nation.
1457 The draft reads that there is no clear provision regarding the national languages in the recently announced
1458 National Education Policy 2009.
1459 Moreover, former Vice Chancellor Sindh University and author of more than 100 books, Dr Nabi Bakhsh
1460 Baloch, has expressed dissatisfaction on the role of political parties and successive governments which,
1461 according to him, never brought the language issue for discussion at major forums.
1462 At a recently held seminar, he said that Pakistan is a multi-cultural, multi-national and multi-lingual country.
1463 At each small valley the people had their own mother tongue, which needed to be promoted at state level. He
1464 claimed that no work was done regarding the national language issue or the problems of languages in the
1465 country. He also backed Sindhi language to be declared national language.
1466 The seminar, was a part of, 'Sindhi Language—National Language', a recently launched campaign for the
1467 support of the Sindhi language.
1468 2: The second news is as follows;
1469 Bilour says Urdu is not national and the language of Islam or Muslims
1470 PESHAWAR: NWFP senior minister Bashir Ahmed Bilour triggered another controversy Friday when he
1471 declared Urdu only a language for coordination, denying its status of national language, ARY NEWS reported.
1472 "A language can only be declared national when it is being used by the whole nation. Thus Urdu is not our
1473 national language but a language for mutual coordination among the masses," Bilour said on assembly floor
1474 when responding to a query by MPA Moulvi Abdullah during Question Hour.
1475 Bilour's comments annoyed various parliamentarians from both sides of the house who criticized his statement.
1476 On a point of order, Mufti Kifayatullah – an MPA of Jamiat Ulema Islam-F, quoted the Article 251 of the
1477 Constitution that categorically declared Urdu (the language of Muslims) as Pakistan's national language.
1478 He said senior minister is committing an intentional violation of the Constitution despite having oath on it and
1479 sought Speaker's ruling on the issue.
1480 However, the opposition members walked out from the session as Speaker Karamatullah Chugharmati, who
1481 belongs to the same ruling Awami National Party (ANP) Bilour is associated with, refrained himself from
1482 offering any solid ruling on the issue.
1483 The same case is with Balochi, Saraiki, Barohi and Hinko also. No dobt Urdu is a national langauge and
1484 represents Islam and Muslims. It is a source of identity and unity. Now It is upon us to accomodate different
1485 point of views or be in the state of denial and declare other agents or commies or separatists as unfortunately
1486 our founding father has said in the written speech (by Ch. Muhammad Ali).

1487 **33UrGP:** Hey, Urdu is our national language. It is the language of Muslims and represents Islam and our
1488 identity. How dare these Indian agents try to implement Pashto (of all languages) on us?! Long live Urdu!
1489 Death to Indian agents!
1490 This is a report of the 21st of February 2010, 21st Feb being the International Day of Mother Languages.
1491 This was the day when the Pak Army killed 30 Moslem Bengali students who demanded official status for
1492 the Bengali language in Dhaka. PkMAP also held a seminar in Peshawar Press Club on the same day and
1493 demanded that PASHTO be made the official language of education, state instotutions and media in North,
1494 South and Central Pakhtunkhwa.
1495 And here is the peak of *******ism: I recently came to know that the Pak Govt instituted a commission to
1496 find proposals for the national language of Pakistan in 1951. This commission decided that Bengali should be
1497 made the official language if and only if, listen to this, if the Bengali is converted from the Indic script to the
1498 Arabic script.
1499 Lolzz you people failed to make Pashto as official language in real terms in Afghanistan and you are getting
1500 angry over the same for our country.
1501 And BTW what's the use of making any language as official language when all official work is done in
1502 English. I am not against the demand i was merely pointing out to your double standard and Unfortunately
1503 Pukhtunkhwa did not maintain the pashto language in true sense. there are different systems of schools here
1504 ranging from Govt to Public schools and then those govt schools where they had syllabus in Pashto in the
1505 past but almost none currently.
1506 I remember my father was very disappointed to see that Pashtun teachers were even unable to teach read and
1507 write Pashto so he used to teach me read and write the Pashto at home. And when i go back to my school i
1508 used to teach the class when it was turn of Pashto subject.

1509   The bottom line is we need to have some dedicated time for teaching Pashto along with teaching all other
1510   major specially foreign Languages like English.
1511   Lets make Pushto the Official Language of Peshawer than worry about Afghanistan. You guys speak well but
1512   do nothing lolllzzz. Ive met Tajiks who speak Fluent Pushto from Afghanistan, show a single Punjabi or
1513   Indian Mojjahir who speaks Pushto in the 1000's?

Appendix II

Table of All Frequently Used Words from All Texts

Words	All texts	English as MoI group	Mother tongue as MoI group	Urdu as MoI group	Uniform MoI group
Language/s	576	81	146	116	2
Education/al	370	51	64	22	88
Pakistan	258	25	33	34	45
Urdu	166	24	16	79	1
English	301	66	50	22	6
Medium	126	19	28	25	7
Nation/al	174	9	20	83	12
Teacher/s	144	36	11	5	52
Uniform/ity	58	19	3	1	52
Government	127	19	29	17	17
School/s	210	14	42	5	20
Also	95	13	17	16	15
Instruction	63	9	17	9	4
People	107	10	26	24	7
Policy	117	6	16	3	11
Year/s	99	12	17	8	9
Mother	77	4	55	4	0
Institutions	57	17	5	3	18
System	63	14	5	3	25
Tongue	60	4	41	1	0
Sindhi	44	1	23	18	0
Punjabi	31	1	19	6	1
Islam/ic	51	1	1	27	5
Time	46	8	7	9	9
Official	35	8	9	12	0

Identity	28	1	14	13	0
Children	91	8	11	2	5
Modern	25	27	2	1	0
Pashto/u	51	6	16	11	0
Rights	31	2	4	3	16
Students	89	6	19	15	3
State	60	0	6	20	5
New	51	3	2	3	16
Demand	30	6	5	3	4
Class/es	43	8	6	4	11
One	107	10	15	12	8
Different	34	1	8	9	5
Lack	18	7	3	0	7
Change	27	11	5	2	4
Status	32	0	9	9	5
Issue/s	39	7	4	5	7
Politics/al	55	1	3	7	10
Private	53	9	8	0	11
First	58	7	14	3	4
World	42	9	8	3	4
International	43	15	5	2	1
Society	27	5	4	2	8
Muslim/s	36	0	0	21	1
Regional	31	2	11	4	2
Need/s	54	7	5	5	0
Should	118	21	16	79	1
Can	97	7	14	9	8
Must	30	3	5	4	4

Appendix III

Wordle Images of all types of MoI

English as MoI type

Mother Tongue as MoI

Uniform MoI

Urdu as MoI type

Appendix IV

List of Texts

Section 1: List of Texts from Public Media

No	Author	Source	Title	Views
1	Shafqat Tanvir Mirza	Newspaper	No-confidence on vernacular languages schools	In support of mother tongue as MoI
2	Shah Zaman Mandokhail	Newspaper	Medium of Instruction: a suggestion	In support of mother tongue as MoI
3	Muhammad Ali Khan	Newspaper	Regional languages in danger of dying out	In support of mother tongue as MoI
4	Nazeer Kahut	Newspaper	Punjabi's status as official language sought	In support of mother tongue as MoI
5	Syed Maslehuddin Ahmed	Newspaper	The Education setback of 1948	In support of Urdu as MoI
6	Aurangzeb Malik	Newspaper	Switching to English medium without doing homework	In support of mother tongue as MoI
7	M. Aslam Ansari	Newspaper	Higher education: need for a workable policy	In support of Urdu as MoI
8	Ayaz Amir	Newspaper	Clerics on the march	Uniform Education System
9	Ayaz Amir	Newspaper	Who needs higher education?	Uniform Education System
10	Sadia Khalid	Newspaper	Implementation committee on education system uniformity formed	Uniform Education System with English as MoI
11	Shahid Hussain	Newspaper	Sindh Culture Day	In support of mother tongue as MoI
12	Brig (Retd) Mumtaz Hussain	Newspaper	Components of good governance II	In support of Urdu as MoI
13	Daily 'The Nation'	Newspaper	Significance of medium of instruction	In support of mother tongue/ Urdu as MoI
14	Saima Saleem	Newspaper	Teaching in English may harm your child	In support of mother tongue as MoI
15	Faisal Arshad	Newspaper	Teaching in English may harm your child	In support of Urdu/ English as MoI
16	Azeem; Naeem Mohsin	Newspaper	Teaching in English may harm your child	In support of mother tongue as MoI
18	Saramu	Newspaper	Teaching in English may harm your child	Bilingual MoI (mother tongue and English)

19	Harleigh Kyson jR	Newspaper	Teaching in English may harm your child	In support of mother tongue (extra funds needed) as MoI
20	Daily Dawn's reporter	Newspaper	National status urged for Sindhi language	In support of mother tongue as MoI
21	Max de Lotbinière	The Guardian weekly	Pakistan facing language 'crisis' in school	In support of mother tongue as MoI
22	Shafiq Ahmed Khan	Newspaper	Pakistan and English	In support of English as MoI
23	Waheed Abdullah and Syed Farhan Ahmed Qadri	Newspaper	Pakistanis and English II	In support of English as MoI

Section 2: List of Sources from Social Media

1	Views buzz administration	Social forum	Education System of Pakistan, problems and Solutions	In support of English as MoI
2	Tanha Karim	Social forum	Role of Urdu in National Integration	In support of Urdu as MoI
3	Ali	Social forum	Pakistan education problem, overview and suggestions	In support of uniform MoI
4	Best News Politics Admin	Social Forum	Problems deteriorating education system in Pakistan	In support of uniform MoI
5	Views to news Administration	Social forum	Mediums of education in Pakistan	In support of English as MoI
6	Iram Saleemi	Social forum	Pakistan Education: Problems and Solutions of Pakistan Education	In support of uniform MoI
7	Aliarqam Durrani	Social forum	The National Language Debate	In support of Urdu as MoI
8	Aamir Mughal	Social forum	The National Language Debate (A reply)	In support of mother tongue as MoI
9	Pushtoon forums	Social Forum	Give Pashto official status!	In support of mother tongue as MoI
10	Anjum Altaf	Social forum	Education: the Myth of the market	In support of mother tongue as MoI
11	Ghulam Abbass	Social forum	Why is English important for Pakistan?	In support of English
12	Shahid 456	Social forum	What do you know about the scope of English in Pakistan?	In support of English

Section 3: List of Sources from Political Parties' Websites and Foreign Authors

1	Awami National Party's manifesto	Party website	Manifesto of the Awami National Party (ANP) on Education	In support of mother tongue as MoI
2	Syed Abdul Rasheed	Party website	Address of the president of Islami Jamiat Talba, Pakistan	In support of Urdu as MoI
3	Pashtoonkhwa Mili Awami Party	Dawn News	Give Pashto official status-PMAP-PSO	In support of mother tongue as MoI

A Detailed Table of the Selected Texts

Date	31. 01. 2010	04. 02. 2010	27. 02. 2010	18. 03. 2010	08. 07. 2010	17. 07. 2010	27. 07. 2010	01. 09. 2010	23. 09. 2010	24. 09. 2010
Author	Iram Saleem	Views to news Administration	Ali Arqam Durrani	Tanha Karim	Syed Abdul Rasheed	Pushtoon forums	Ali	Best News Politics Admin	Brig (Retd) Mumtaz	Ayaz Amir
Gender	Female	Male/ female	Male	Female	Male	Male/ Female	Male	Male/ Female	Male	Male
Language	English	English	English	English	Urdu	English, Pashtu	English	English	English	Urdu
Source	Social Forum	Social Forum	Social Forum	Social Forum	Party Website	Social Forum	Social Forum	Social Forum	Newspaper	Newspaper
Available at	http://www.einfopedia.com/pakistan-education-problems-and-solutions-of-pakistan-education.php	http://viewstonews.com/index.php/mediums-of-education-in-pakistan/afghanistan	http://teabreak.pk/the-national-language-debate-145/32959/	http://www.friendsmania.net/forum/2nd-year-pakistan-studies-notes/25725.htm	http://jamiat.org.pk/new/index.php?func=news_detail&news_id=384	http://www.pashtunforums.com/pashto-language-10/give-pashto-official-status-2674/	http://hamariinfo.com/2010/07/pakistan-education-problems-overview-and-suggestions/	http://www.bestnewspolitics.com/democratic-beliefs/problems-deteriorating-education-in-pakistan/	http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintWriterName.aspx?URL=Brig%20(Retd)%20Mumtaz%20Hussain	http://publicmb.wordpress.com/2010/09/26/ayaz-amir-who-needs-higher-education-in-pakistan/
Title	Pak Edu: prob & solutions of Pak education	Mediums of education in Pakistan	The National Language Debate	Role of Urdu in National Integration	Speech of the president of IJT in an Edu conf	Give Pashto official status!	Pak education problem, overview &	Problems deteriorating education	Components of good governance II	Who needs higher education?
Main points	1. Nation is divided & desperate because of the dual MOI 2. Education system and MOI policies are unable to meet the needs & demands of the masses 3. Some of the provinces are politically kept deprived of their rights of quality education. Teachers and educationist must be involved in the making of education and MOI policies	The Bengali-Urdu problem was triggered by the speech of the Quaid-i-Azam at Dacca Mother tongue is the most effective MOI Dual education system has divided the nation There is a need to teach modern subjects in English	• Urdu was declared as MOI due to its representation of Islam, ideology of Pakistan and langua franca The nationalist and ethnic groups never want the progress of Pakistan • Urdu is the language of brotherhood and an important part of culture heritage Urdu will unite and the regional languages as MOI will segregate	Language plays vital role in the building of character and nation Quaid-e-Azam declared Urdu as national language to connect all the provinces • Urdu is the language of brotherhood and an important part of culture heritage Urdu is a MOI is a binding force and source of harmony	As mentioned in the constitution the MOI needs to be uniform for all groups. Urdu needs to be declared the MOI in types of schools Privatization of education needs to be stopped • Curriculum needs to be inspired from Quran and ideology of Pakistan • Foreign funding needs to be rejected to avoid their pressure Corruption in education sector needs to be eliminated	• Pashto as official language and MOI is the right of Pashtoons • Urdu is imposed on the speakers of other languages • Pashtoon politicians are of double standard • Pashtu as official language is a try to weaken the federation Ethnic groups are not sincere with the progress of Pakistan	• MOI is dual because Pakistan is not following the ideological and religious norms Social unrest in the country is a sign of improper education system • Education system without religion is dangerous Proper research is needed for successful MOI policy NEP 2009 is an attempt to preserve English language in Pakistan	• Dual MOI is responsible for a divided nation • Teaching profession is the most deprived one in Pakistan • For quality education teachers needs to be promoted and awarded with status and incentives	• Good governance provides the stable and solid foundations for erection of varied super-structures of progress and excellence Education is an important component of good governance Beside a dual MOI all other components of good governance are missing in Pakistan People needs to stand up for their rights	Pakistan has never given education an important place Government did not learn in 63 years how to make a uniform MOI policy English as MOI for elites and Urdu for masses • The cuts in HEC funding is a non-serious decision of the government rather the defense budget needs to be decreased Dual education system is a source of low quality

Date	Name	Gender	Language	Source	URL	Title/Topic	Content
14.10.2010	Saima Saleem	Female	English	Newspaper	http://tribune.com.pk/story/62188/teaching-in-english-may-harm-your-childs-future/	Teaching in English may harm your	This discusses the role of MOI and its controversies in intellectual circles / Mother tongue as MOI is the most effective in early years / • Unfamiliar language as MOI is a hurdle for children in learning / English as MOI is suitable due to the multilingualism of Pakistan / English needs to be MOI because of its status and global importance
14.10.2010	Faisal Arshad	Male	English	Newspaper	http://tribune.com.pk/story/62188/teaching-in-english-may-harm-your-childs-future/	Teaching in English may harm your	• National language needs to implemented as MOI / English needs to be a secondary language in early years
14.10.2010	Azeem	Male	English	Newspaper	http://tribune.com.pk/story/62188/teaching-in-english-may-harm-your-childs-future/	Teaching in English may harm your	Mother tongue needs to be the MOI in early years / Not only MOI but other flaws in education system to be considered as well for quality of education
14.10.2010	Naeem Mohsin	Male	English	Newspaper	http://tribune.com.pk/story/62188/teaching-in-english-may-harm-your-childs-future/	Teaching in English may harm your	Mother tongue needs to be selected as MOI / • Foreign language in early years as MOI is an injustice and a barrier for children / No matter if the regional languages are not well developed they still need to be declared MOI for better learning
14.10.2010	Saramu	Female	English	Newspaper	http://tribune.com.pk/story/62188/teaching-in-english-may-harm-your-childs-future/	Teaching in English may harm your	• Education system needs to be bilingual / Mother tongue needs to be declared MOI from class 1 to 8 while English as MOI onward / There is a need of resources and trained teachers for successful policy making and implementation
15.10.2010	Harleigh Kyson jR	Male	English	Newspaper	http://tribune.com.pk/story/62188/teaching-in-english-may-harm-your-childs-future/	Teaching in English may harm your	Research and funding needed for successful MOI policy / • Though the government wants national or mother tongue as MOI but due to the economical condition books are funded by the rich countries which are written in English
26.10.2010	Sindhi Adabi Sangat	Male/ Female	English, Sindhi	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2011/02/14/national-status-urged-for-sindhi-language.html	National status urged for Sindhi	• Sindhi language needs to be given a status of MOI and national language / • All other 4 major languages need to be declared national as well / • Sindhi politicians are not sincere with the promotion of their language
01.11.2010	Shah Zaman Mandokhail	Male	English	Newspaper	http://archives.dawn.com/archives/60787	Medium of Instruction: a suggestion	Mother tongue needs to be implemented as MOI in early years / The quality of education is low because of the unfamiliar language as MOI / The quality of English as MOI is low which is dangerous
11.11.2010	Views buzz administration	Male/ Female	English	Social Forum	http://www.viewsbuzz.com/education-system-of-pakistan-problems-and-solutions/	Education System of Pakistan,	The situation of Education in Pakistan is alarming due to lack of attention / • For quality education English needs to MOI from early years / • Suggestions about quality of education includes, PhD holders faculty, free primary education, decrease in the number of students teacher ratio, incentive for teachers, strict check on private sector and more scholarships for students
12.11.2010	Aurangzeb Malik	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/11/12/switching-to-english-medium-without-doing-homework.html	Switching to Engl medium without doing	MOI is not the only component but Infrastructure is essential for quality education, too / Teachers are less qualified for teaching English as MOI / 6 days training for teaching English is not enough for teachers / Teachers do not agree with English as MOI
12.11.2010	Daily The Nation's	Male/ Female	English	Newspaper	http://www.nation.com.pk/pakistan-news-newspaper-daily-english-online/Opinion s/Letters/22-Nov-...	Significance of medium of instruction	MOI policies in Pakistan are made without proper research / Mother tongue needs to be declared as MOI / English as MOI is a threat for culture and local languages
27.11.2010	Shafqat Tanvir Mirza	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/11/27/decision-on-medical-reps-criticised.html	No-confidence on vernacular languages	MOI remained controversial due to depriving the provinces from selecting MOI of their own will / • Urdu is imposed on masses from the establishment and bureaucracy / MOI policies are controlled by the elites / Education is shaping as a source of trade which is actually used for character building

Date	Name	Gender	Language	Source	URL	Topic	Notes
06. 12. 2010	Shafiq Ahmed Khan	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/12/02/pakistanis-and-english.html	Pakistan and English	• Pakistani people have low quality English which is hurdle in finding them jobs abroad • English language has many changes in it with passage of time but Pakistani are still applying the old English • People from Pakistan living abroad are not open for adaptability and adjustment
03. 12. 2010	Shahid Hussain	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=18444&Cat=2	Sindh Culture Day	• Sindhi language needs to be declared as MOI • Sindhi has a long history and played an important role in the independence of Pakistan Sindhi needs to adopted as MOI for the promotion of its language & culture
06. 12. 201	Waheed Abdullah	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/12/06/pakistanis-and-english.html	Pakistan and English	• Practical English not Oral one is needed to deal with issues • English is important for high status jobs and promotions both at national and international level • Pakistanis living abroad are fluent in English
07. 12. 2010	Max de Lotbinière	Male	English	The Guardian weekly	http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2010/dec/07/pakistan-schools-language-crisis-lotbiniere	Pakistan facing language 'crisis' in	• Urdu and English as MOI are barriers in the acquisition of effective education Other language than mother tongue as MOI results in limiting economic mobility and undermining social cohesion The selection of a researched based MOI will lower the barrier of getting high jobs and misunderstanding among the regional languages
12. 12. 2010	Bushra Ahmed KHuram	Female	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/12/12/beyond-linguistic-purism.html	Beyond linguistic imperialism	• school's language policy claims multilingualism but it promotes English only Children who are less proficient in dominant languages get fewer chances • it is efficient and economical to maintain monolingualism MOI policy of Pakistan is complex categorsing the language issues in local, regional and national level Wider access to quality English will strengthen Pakistan
14. 12. 2010	M. Aslam Ansari	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/12/14/higher-education-need-for-a-workable-policy.html	Higher education: need for a workable	There are flaws in the quality of English as MOI Students are not fluent in English at higher level To increase the literacy rate there is a need of decrease the fee to make the education affordable for all
18. 12. 2010	Anjum Altaf	Male	English	Social forum	http://thesouthasianidea.wordpress.com/category/education/	Education: the Myth of the market	• A child must not be allowed to learn English unless he has a thorough grounding in his mother tongue English as MOI is a sign of colonial imperialism Parents demand proper accent of English not the quality teaching
19. 12. 2010	Syed Maslehuddin	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2010/12/19/the-education-setback-of-1948-2.html	The Education setback of 1948	Urdu needs to be implemented as MOI Urdu represents Muslims unity English as MOI is a conspiracy by the British to promote their culture Urdu as MOI will unite the provinces and will link the people with Islam while English will play the opposite
26. 12. 2010	Sadia Khalid	Female	English	Newspaper	http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=22272&Cat=6&dt=4/17/2011	Implementation committee on education system uniformity formed	For quality of education and equal opportunities for the children of all socio economic classes there is a need of uniformity of education system For the promotion of quality education an Up gradation and promotion of teachers at all level is essential
01. 01. 2011	Nazeer Kahut	Male	Punjabi	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2011/01/01/punjabis-status-as-official-language-sought.html	Punjabi's status as official language	Punjabi needs to be MOI & the official language of the province of Punjab There is a need of Mother tongue as MOI in other provinces Punjabi Culture day will be celebrated to promote the language and culture
02. 01. 2011	Muhammad Ali Khan	Male	English	Newspaper	http://www.dawn.com/2011/01/02/regional-languages-in-danger-of-dying-out.html	Regional languages in danger of dying	Mother tongue needs to be declared as MOI to promote and preserve the minor languages MOI needs to be multilingual in areas where there are more than one mother tongue is spoken There is a need of uniform of education system for all types of schools to promote unity and equal opportunities

14. 01. 2011	July, 2010	NA
Ayaz Amir	Hywel Coleman	Awami National Party'
Male	Male	Male/ Female
English	English	Pushtu, English
Newspaper	British Council	Party Website
http://www.thenews.com.pk/TodaysPrintDetail.aspx?ID=25496&Cat=9	http://www.britishcouncil.org/pakistan-ette-english-language-report.pdf	http://awaminationalparty.org/news/index.php?option=com_content&task=blogsection&id=5&Itemid=27
Clerics on the march	Teaching and learning in Pakistan: The	Manifesto of the Awami National Party (ANP) on Education
Pakistan nation is divided into English, Urdu and regional languages; Islam is used as a political tool; Politicians are incompetent and corrupt; Army is secular but using religious groups for its purposes	Mother tongue is more effective as MOI in early years; Survey of 22 countries suggest that first language affects attendance and performance; Only 5% of Pakistani population has access to mother tongue as MOI; • All communities feel equally respected with mother tongue as MOI; • Children can relate learning with their home environment	• Once in power party will declare a uniform MOI in all types of institutions; • Mother tongue will be declared as MOI; Free primary education will be provided to all masses; At least 6% of the total budget will be allocated for education

254

Appendix VI

Section I

Table I.I
MoI policy changes in Pakistan (1947-2009)

Year	Policy
1947	Urdu declared to be national language
1959	Primary and secondary education in Urdu, higher education in English
1973	English to be replaced by Urdu within 15 years; provinces free to develop their own language policies
1977	Islamisation and Urduisation
1989	English to be taught from Year 1
1998	No statement regarding language policy
1999	English to be taught from Year 1 'where teachers are available'
2007	English to be taught from Year 1; mathematics and science to be taught through English from Year 6
2009	Science and mathematics to be taught through English in Years 4 and 5; all science and mathematics to be taught through English from 2014

Source: Adapted from Coleman, 2010

Table I.II

Level of madrasa education and their Chronological Equivalence to Non-religious School

Level (Darja)	Level	Duration	Certificate (Sanad)	Comparable to mainstream education
Ibtadai	Nazra	4-5 years	Shahadatul Tahfeez ul Quran	Primary (5th Grade)
Mutavasatta	Hifz	3 years	Shahadatul Mutavasatta	Middle (8th)
Sanviya Amma	Tajveed,Qirat	2 years	Shahadatul Sanviya al Amma	Matric (10th)
Sanviya Khasa	Tehtani (Higher Secondary)	2 years	Shahadatul Sanviya Khasa	Intermediate (F.A)
Aliya	Mohqufaleh Khasa va sada	2 years	Shahadatul Aliya	B.A
Alamiya	Daura Hadees Sabia va Sania	2 years	Shahadatul Alamiya phil ulumul Arabia vul Islamia	MA and recognized as MA in Islamic Studies and Arabic by GoP

Source: Raheem, 2009

Table I.III

Total number of educational institutions and enrolment in Pakistan, 2009

Type of institution	Total number	Enrolment by stage
Pre- Primary	827	7,627,642
Primary	155,827	17,205,194
Middle	40,917	5,346,736
High	24,322	2,491,681
Colleges	4,578	1,380,791
Technical & Vocational Institutions	3,159	264,712
universities	132	803,507
Madaris	12,599	1,652,480

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics, 2008-09

Section II: Figure II.I
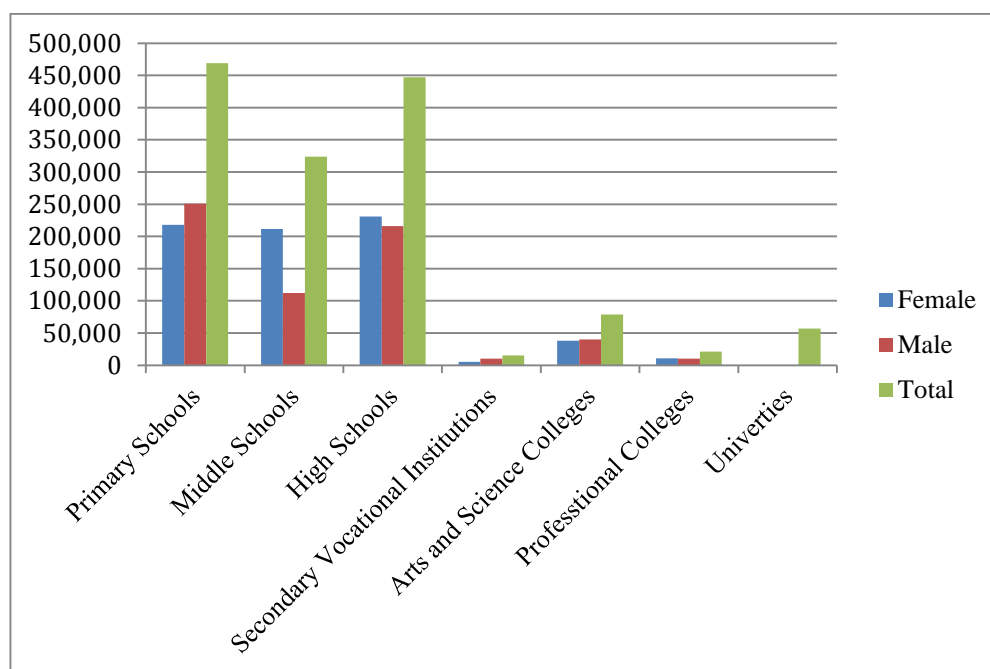
Teachers in Educational Institutions of Pakistan (2009-10)
Source: 1. Pakistan Education Statistics Report (2008-09)
      2. Higher Education Commission, Pakistan

Figure II.II
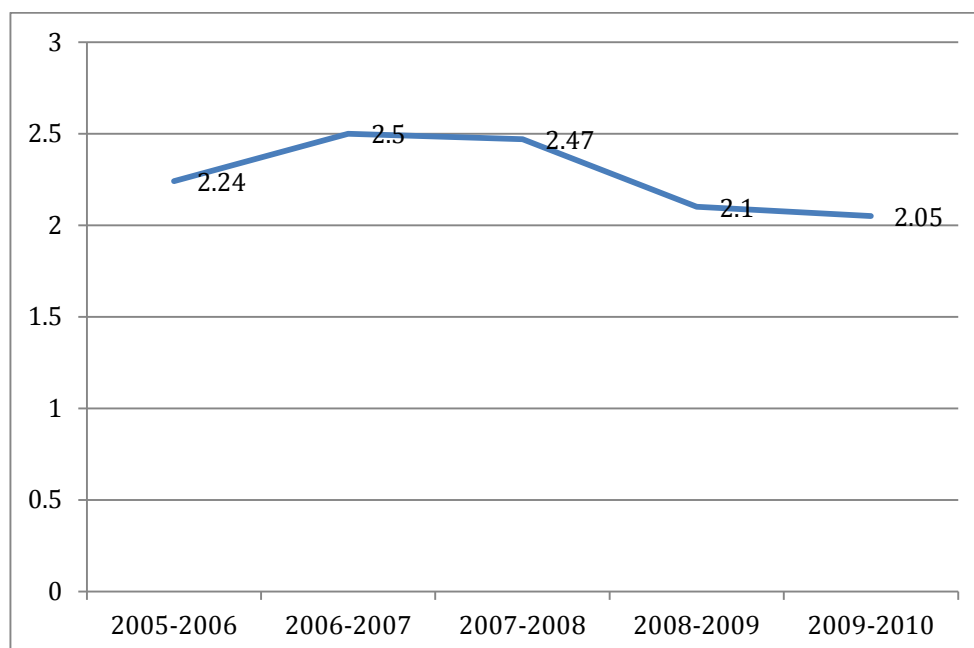
Public Expenditure (%) of GDP on education in Pakistan
Source: Annual Economic Survey 2009-10

Figure II.III
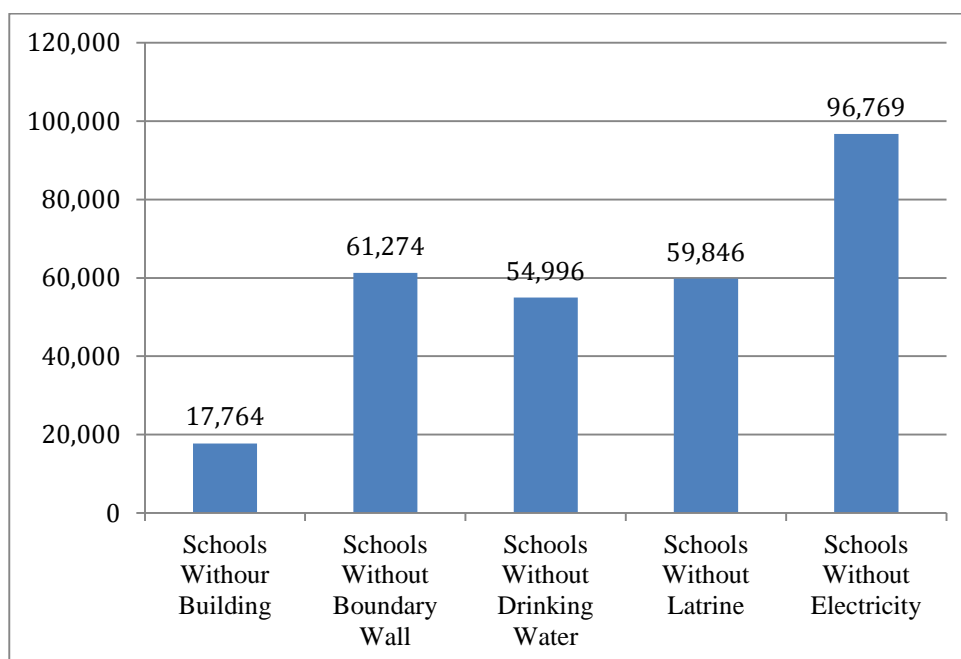
Number of public schools without facilities in Pakistan
Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2008-09

Figure II.IV
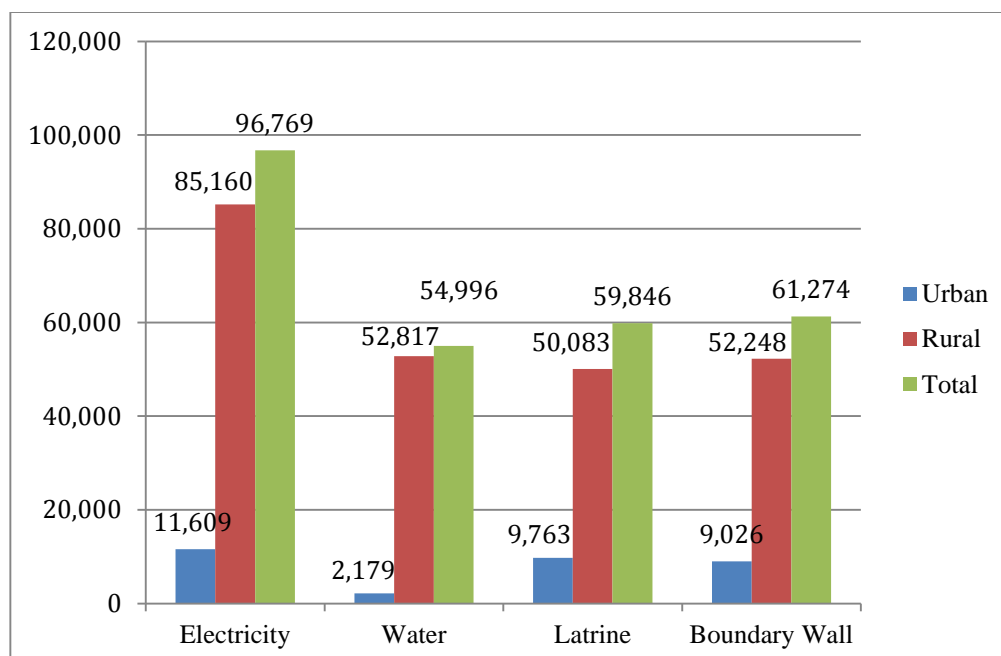
Regional public schools without facilities in Pakistan (2008-09)
Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2008-09

Figure II.V
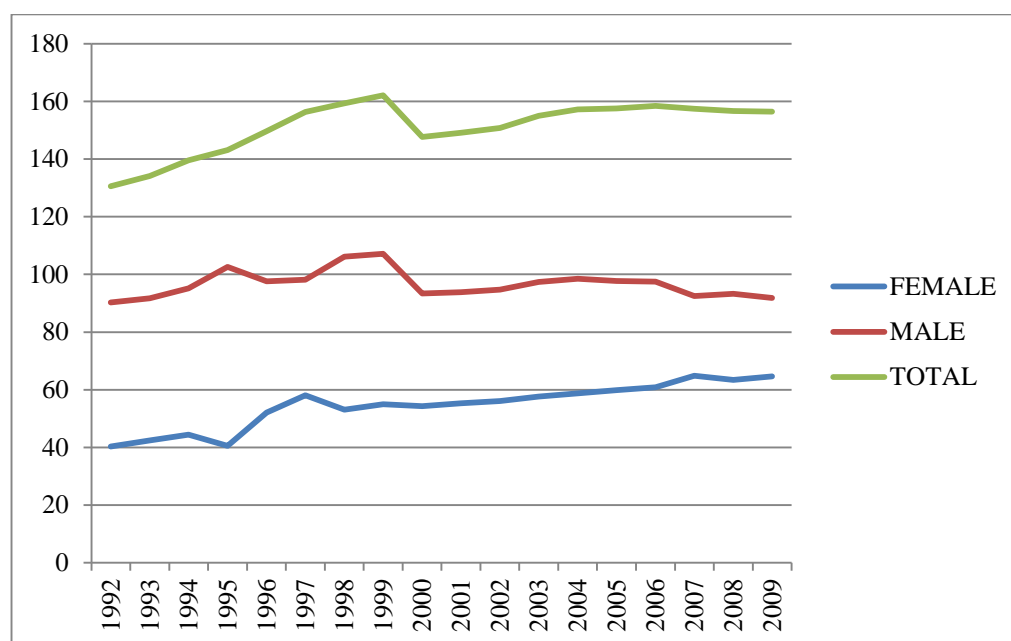
Total Number of primary schools in Pakistan (000) for male, female pupils
Source: Annual Pakistan Education statistics Reports, (2002-2009), Islamabad
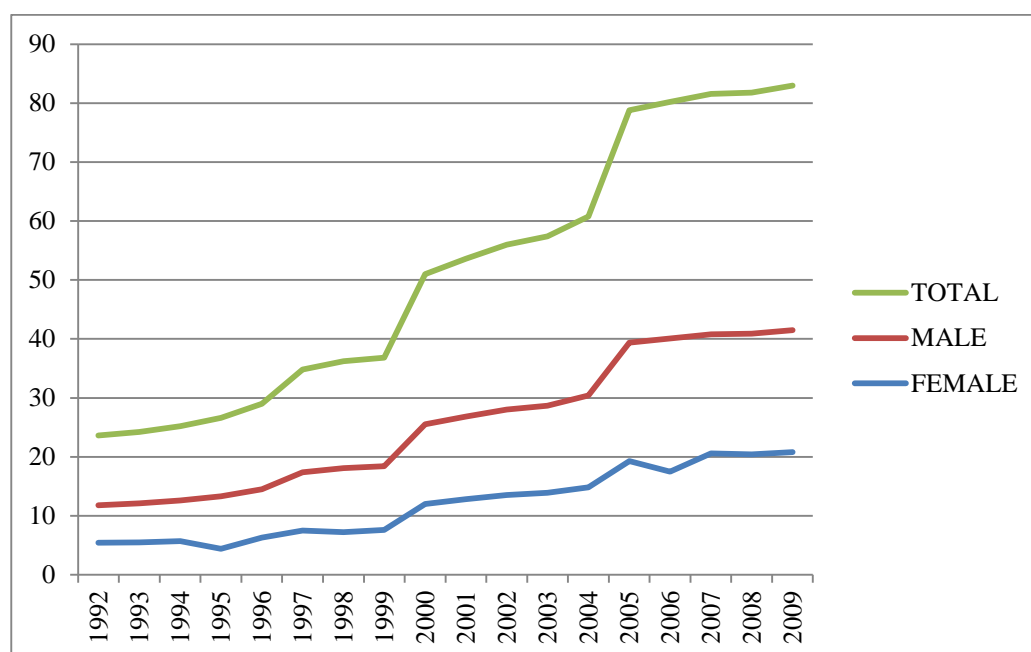
Figure II.VI

Number of male, female and total middle schools in Pakistan (000)
Source: Annual Pakistan Education statistics Reports, (2002-2009), Islamabad
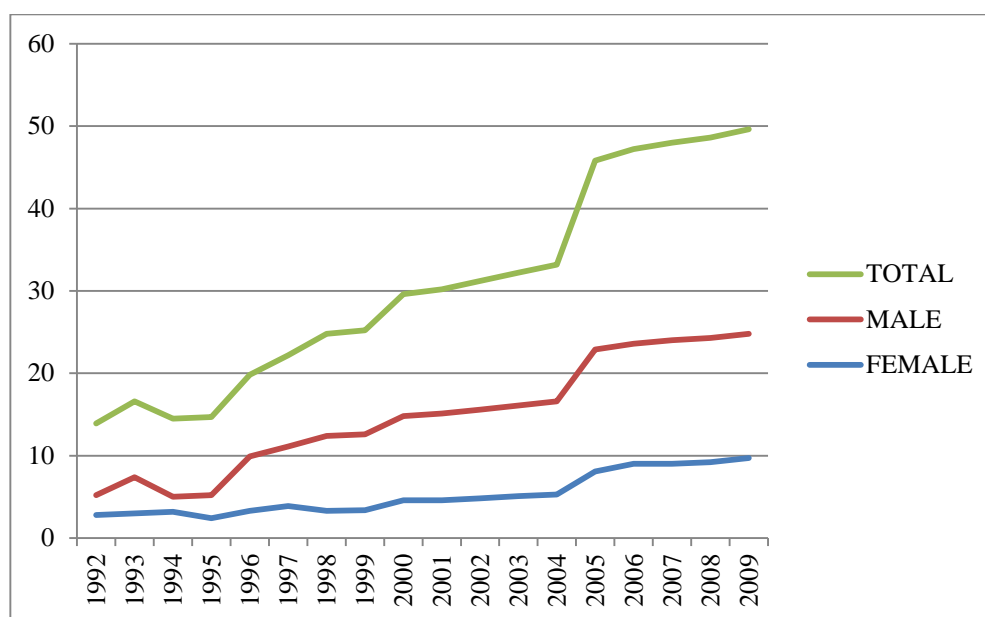
Figure II.VII

Number of high schools in Pakistan (000)
Source: Annual Pakistan Education Statistics Reports, (2002-2009), Islamabad

Figure II.VIII
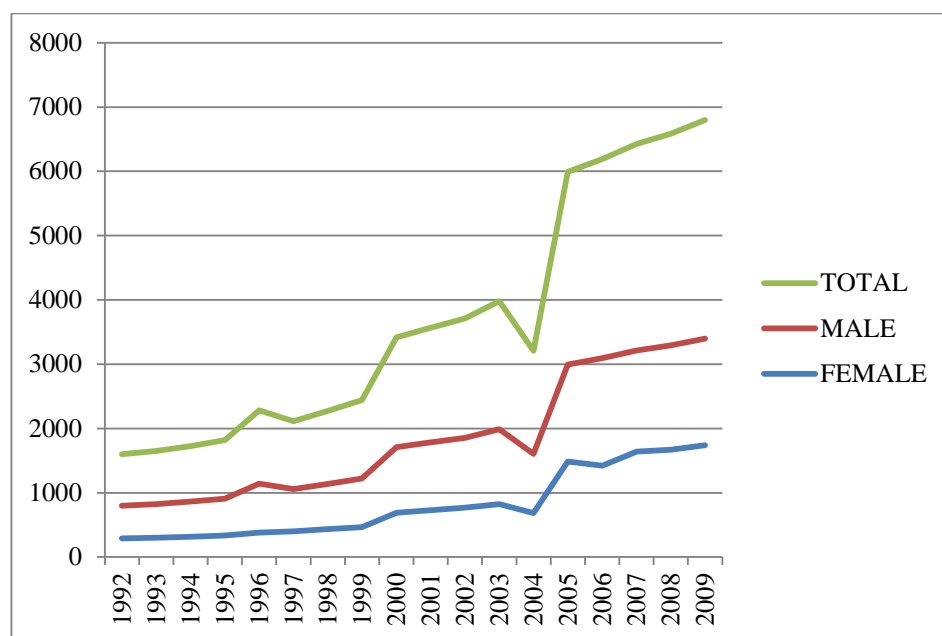
Number of colleges in Pakistan
Source: Annual Pakistan Education Statistics Reports, (2002-2009), Islamabad
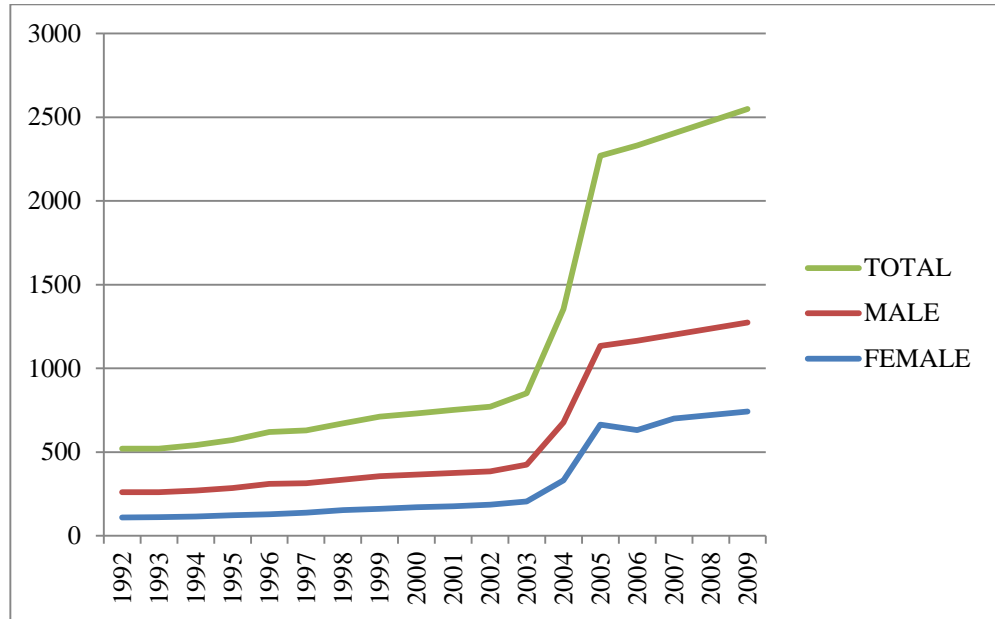
Number of male, female and total professional colleges in Pakistan
Source: Annual Pakistan Education Statistics Reports, (2002-2009), Islamabad
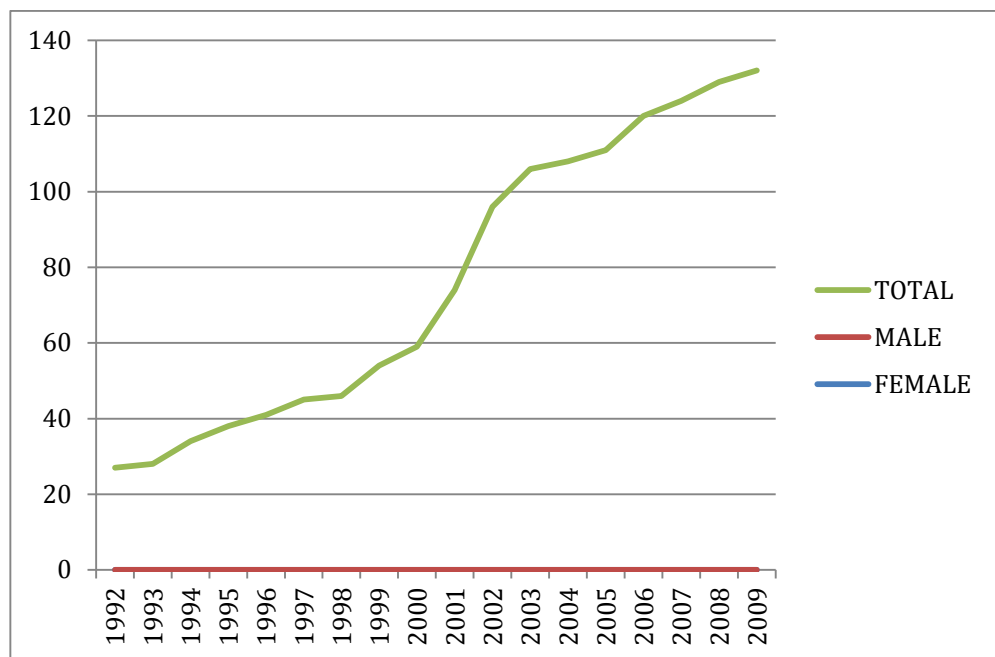
Figure II.X

Number of Universities in Pakistan
Source: Higher Education Commission 2009, Pakistan

Figure II.XI
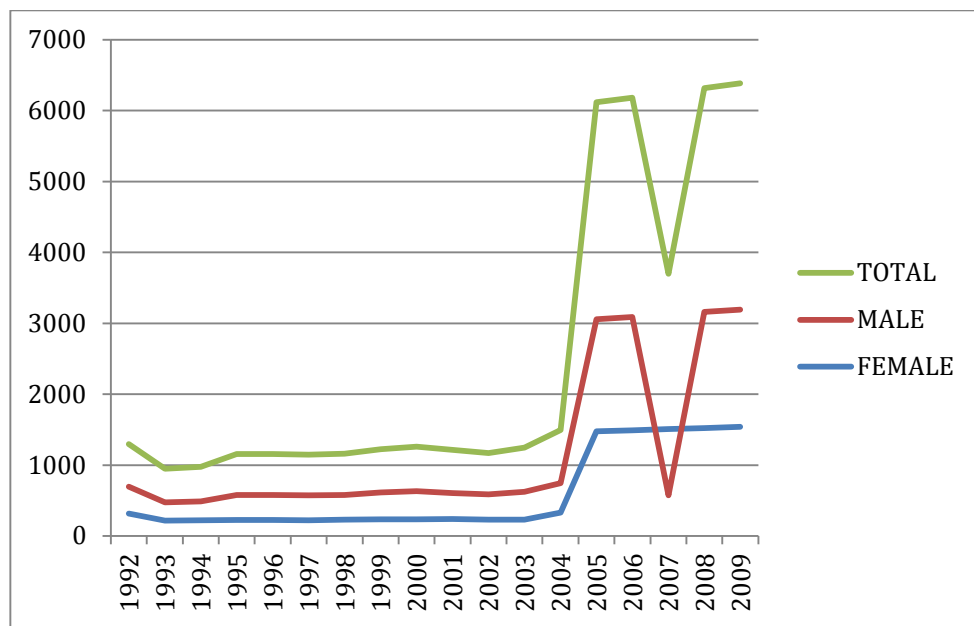
Number of Secondary Vocational Institutions
Source: Annual Pakistan Education Statistics Reports, (2002-2009), Islamabad

Figure II.XII
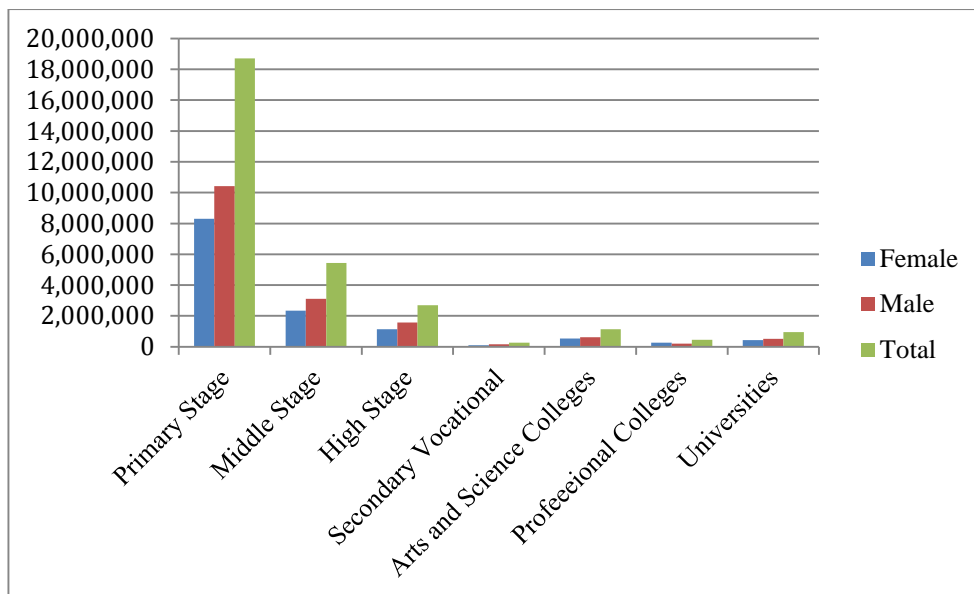
Enrolment (estimated) in Educational Institutions (public and private), (2009-10)
Sources: 1. Pakistan Education Statistic Report (2008-09)
2. Higher Education Commission, 2011
3. National Education Census, 2005

Figure II.XIII
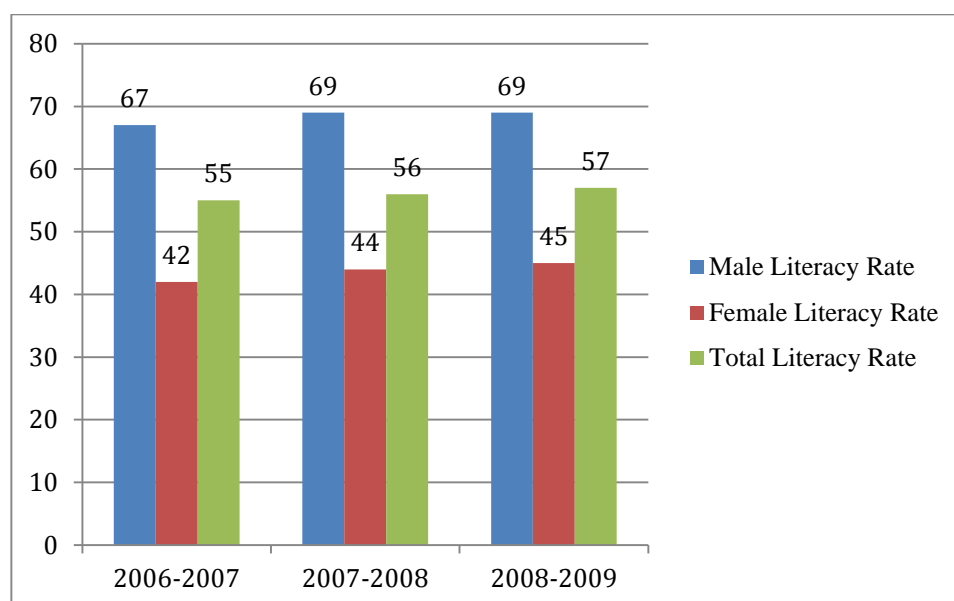
Literacy Rate in Pakistan, 2006-2009
Source: Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey (PSLSM) 2008-09

Figure II.XIV
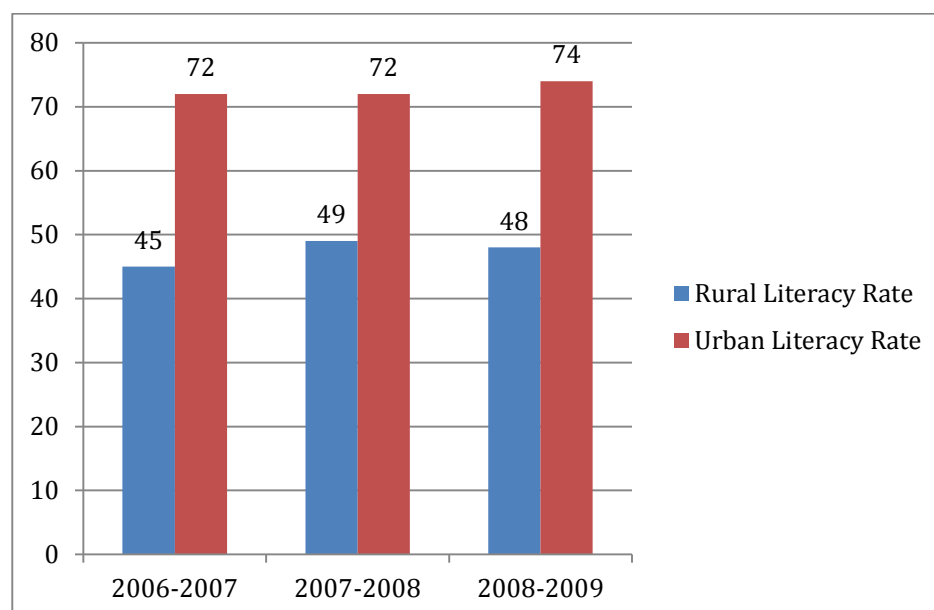
Literacy Rate in Pakistan (Rural and urban)
Source: Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey (PSLSM) 2008-09

Figure II.XV
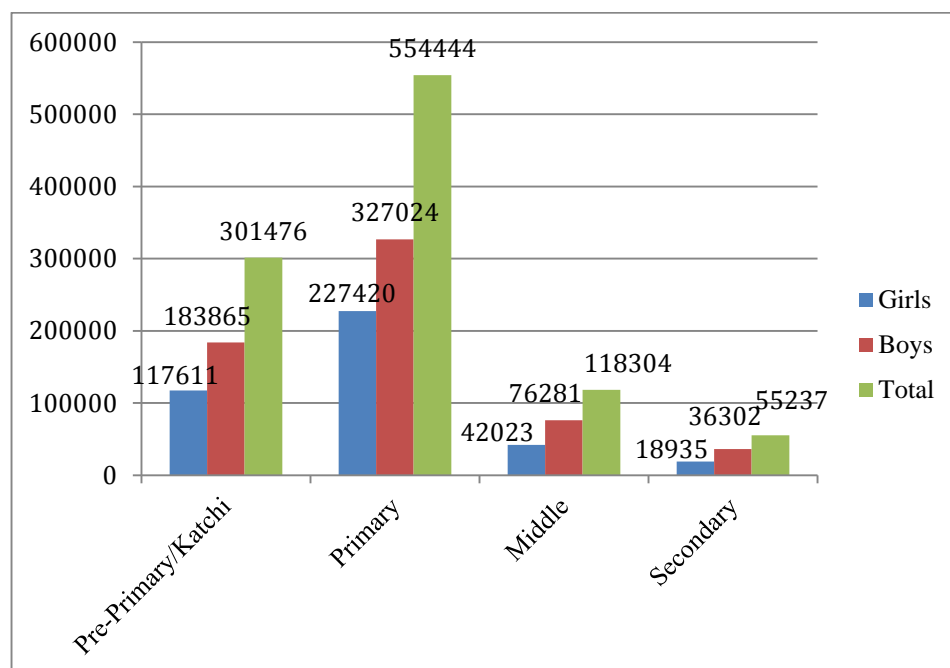
Enrolment by Level and Gender – Balochistan
Source: Balochistan Provincial ECE Plan (2011)

Figure II.XVI
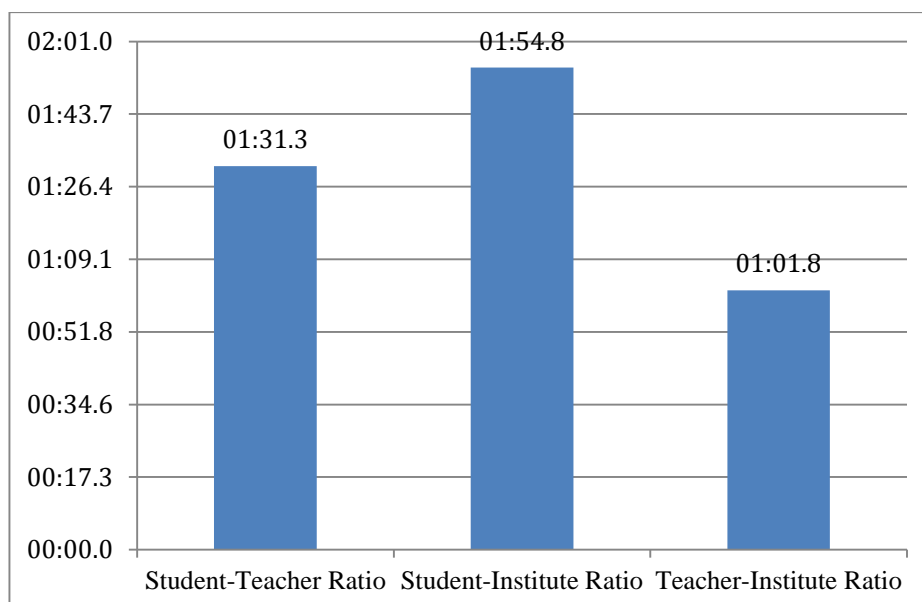
Student-teacher ratio and student- institution ratio in primary school of public sector
Source: Provincial ECE Plan 2011-15

Figure II.XVII
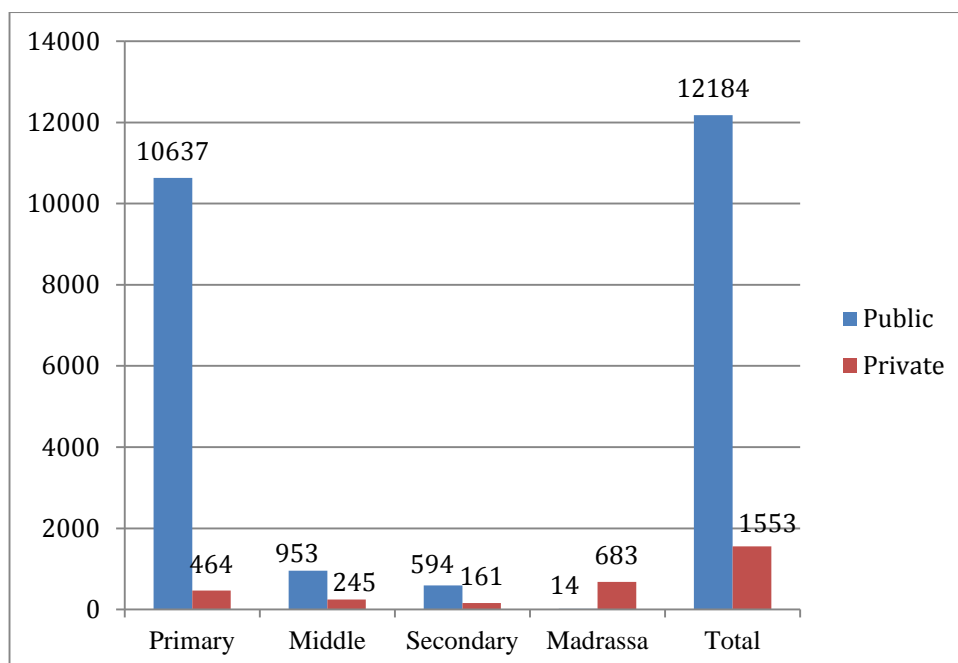
Number of Private and Public Educational Institutions
Sources: 1. Balochistan Education Management Information System (BEMIS), 2009-10
2. National Education Collaborative (NEC) 2005

Figure II.XVIII
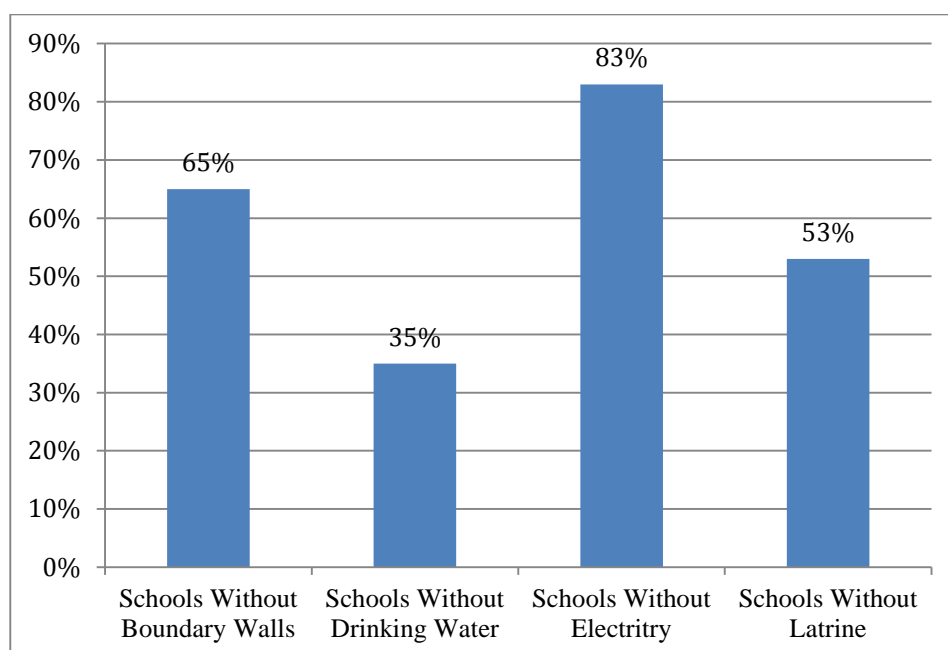
Number of Public Schools without Basic Facilities in Balochistan (%)
Source: Provincial ECE Plan 2011-15

Figure II.XIX
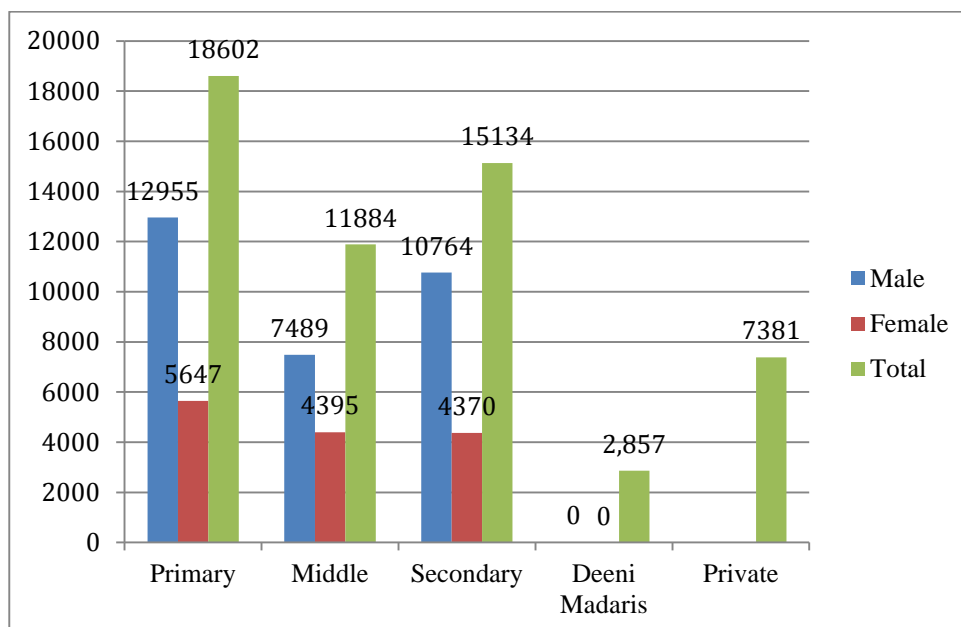
Teaching Staff by Level and Gender – Balochistan
Source: Provincial ECE Plan 2011-15

Figure II.XX
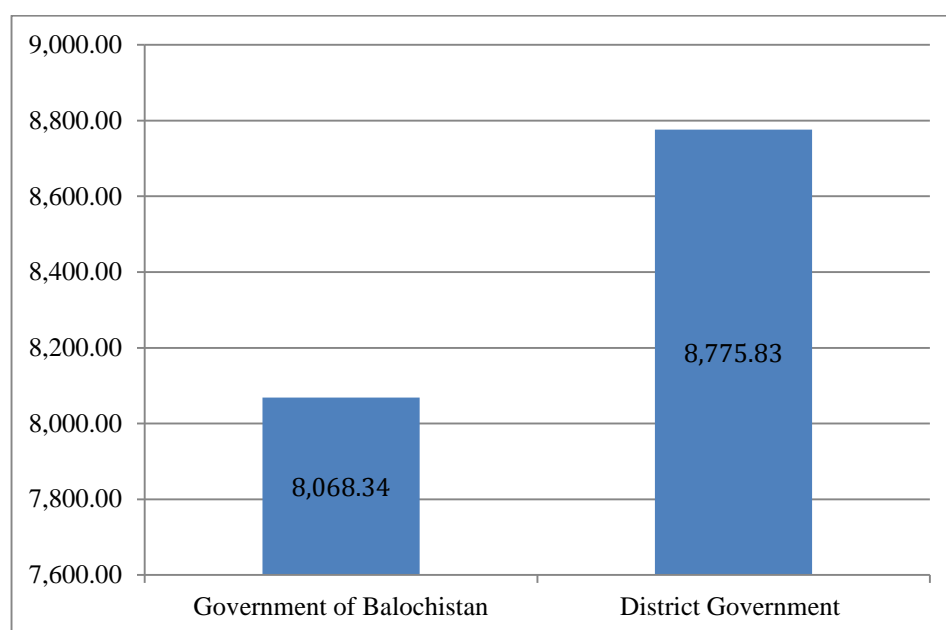
Public Sector Budgetary Allocation for Education in Balochistan 2009-10 (Rs. in millions).
Source: Provincial Budget Documents (2009-10)

Figure II.XXI
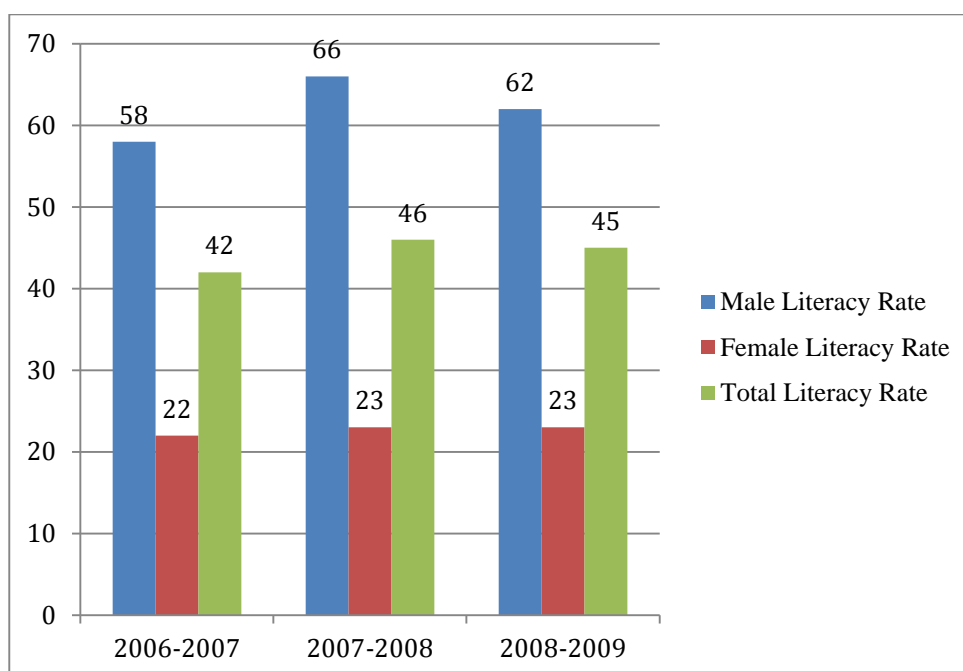
Literacy Rates in Balochistan by Gender
Source: Pakistan Social & Living Standard Measurement Survey (2008-09)

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