

**IDEOLOGIES, MECHANISMS AND
PRACTICES: A CASE STUDY OF ENGLISH-
MEDIUM GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS IN
RURAL KHYBER-PAKHTUNKHWA,
PAKISTAN**

BY

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**Ideologies, Mechanisms and Practices: A Case Study of
English-Medium Government Schools in Rural Khyber-
Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan**

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ABSTRACT

Title: Ideologies, Mechanisms and Practices: A Case Study of English-medium Government Schools in Rural Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

This study explores how a policy to use English as Medium of Instruction at primary level education has been implemented by the authorities across an entire province of Pakistan. The provincial government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa launched English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) policy in the government primary schools in 2013, despite evidence that instruction in a second language has negative consequences for student learning. It retards creativity, leads to teacher-centered methods, results in high dropout rates, and ensures minimal learning. Through this study, it is explored how a policy is implemented and negotiated at ground level by the teachers in a girls' primary school; considering the beliefs held by the teachers and how they use several mechanisms while teaching. Drawing on Shohamy's (2006) model of extended language policy consisting primarily of the nexus between Ideology, Practice and Mechanism; qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews as well as classroom observations. This data led to a thematic analysis which spanned over 44 individual interview responses and almost 30 classes worth of classroom observations; all with an eye towards understanding how these factors shape teachers' abilities when it comes to the usage of language(s) as Medium of Instruction. It has been found that the teachers prefer to use Pashto in the classroom so their students can better understand a particular topic given within text books. English is glorified by each teacher who participated into this study; they believe it will provide countless opportunities for the students in the future. Urdu is used by the teachers to translate the text from the books and the content is explained in Pashto. It is revealed that that regardless of English being the official language of Medium of Instruction; teachers did not establish this policy in their classrooms. This study provides significant contribution by focusing on micro-level topics such as language policies and their implementation on ground level in the schools. This study stresses that language policies are implemented at higher levels and then handed down for implementation by the teachers into school system.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Language Education Policy (LEP)

Medium of Instruction (MoI)

Language-in-Education (LiE)

English language teaching (ELT)

English as Medium of Instruction (EMI)

English in Action (EIA)

National Education Policy (NEP)

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP)

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Language affords humans the ability to understand and share knowledge. In order to ensure that the knowledge shared is understood, the interacting humans need to be proficient in the language in which that knowledge is shared. This becomes more important in the early learning stages of human life. Therefore, in institutions such as schools, effort is made to ensure that learners understand not only content knowledge but also the language medium in which it is shared (Kumaravadivelu, 2001). This knowledge-sharing and -gaining effort will be useless if learners do not have enough proficiency over the medium (Khan, 2016). Substantial research on school settings across the world has already established that instruction in a second or foreign language during early years of schooling (Class-I to Class-V) retards creativity, leads to teacher-centered methods, results in high dropout rates, and ensures minimal learning (Brock-Utne, 2007). This implies that language education policy in a particular polity must ensure that young learners understand the content language, which is mostly their mother tongue. Recent developments in the Pakistani educational context, however, point towards the opposite direction.

If learners are not able to effectively communicate in the language they are being taught, they will not be able to benefit from the instruction. Therefore, it is essential that learners have a certain level of proficiency in the language before they begin instruction in order to maximize the positive impacts and minimize the negative ones. This study aims to explore how a policy has been implemented by the authorities to use English as Medium of Instruction at primary level education across an entire province of Pakistan. It is no surprise that the policymakers did not consider rural area students when they spoke about how to improve education in this country (Rahim, 2014). These children have negligible exposure outside their school boundaries and hold only minor proficiency levels for English, making it difficult if ever possible at all on processing content knowledge provided through text books or other materials used within classrooms.

Through this study, it is explored how a policy is implemented and negotiated at ground level by the teachers in a girls' primary school; considering the beliefs held by the teachers and how they use several mechanisms while teaching. Moreover, the practices are also revealed through several class observations which aided this study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Back in 2013, the provincial government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, in an effort to bridge the gap between public and private institutions, introduced a phased change to English Medium Instruction (EMI) at primary level government schooling (Khan, 2016). The decision applied to all the government primary schools across the province, whether in urban or rural areas. The policymakers did not seem to have taken account of the fact that the rural area students have negligible exposure to English outside the school boundaries and do not hold enough proficiency in the language to be able to process the content knowledge (such as science). The teachers too, educated mostly from vernacular-medium schools (mostly Urdu and in some cases Pashto), generally lack reasonable command over English (Shahab et al., 2019). An overwhelming majority of the population is Pashtun, who speak Pashto as their mother tongue and come from humble socioeconomic background, particularly those from rural areas. The girl students seem to be at an added disadvantage since the cultural norms in the Pashtun society restricts their exposure to other languages and cultures. It is therefore worth exploration how these rural area girl students and teachers at the primary level cope with the EMI policy.

Current mainstream scholarship does not restrict language policy to state or province level official documents. Rather, language policy is viewed as a complex interplay of macro-meso- and micro-level decisions, processes, and practices (García & Menken, 2010). Therefore, an in-depth exploration of the extent of success of a particular policy must involve an analysis of the beliefs/ideologies, mechanisms/structures and practices/ecology surrounding the policy (Shohamy, 2007). It is in this context and with this theoretical orientation that this study is aimed at unraveling the nexus of ideology-mechanisms-practices in relation to the way provincial EMI policy comes to life in a multiple case study of five rural government girls' primary schools in the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province (Spolsky, 2004).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

English, being the international lingua franca and as well as the medium of knowledge, research and technology, is the most sought-after language around the world. It is also the language that ensures employment, affords upward mobility, attracts power, and accrues economic dividends, especially in the postcolonial contexts (Phipps & Borg, 2009). This has resulted in English being an integral part of schooling around the world as a subject and/or as a medium of instruction. In line with the fever for English across the non-Anglophone globe, the provincial government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, back in 2013, launched EMI policy in the government primary schools (Shahab et al., 2019). The government, however, seems to have disregarded overwhelming research findings that suggest that instruction in a second language in primary schooling have negative consequences for the overall learning of students. This is more so in the case of rural area girl students who neither have enough English language proficiency nor have any environmental exposure to the language. It is therefore important to explore how teachers and students cope with this EMI policy in a rural setting. While some research in the context of Pakistan has explored the macro-level policy (Rahim, 2014), very few studies have examined how the policy is practiced at the micro level (Khan, 2016). More importantly, the predominant focus has been boys' schools, especially in the context of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, ostensibly because of access issues due to the prevailing cultural norms. Through this study, therefore, I explored the dynamics of this particular EMI policy through the theoretical orientation of Shohamy's (Shohamy, 2007) management-beliefs-practices nexus (explained in section 5.2). Specifically, I intend to explore the languages-related ideologies that influence the macro-level policymaking, the planning mechanism through which this EMI policy is managed in a multiple case study of five government girls' primary schools, and the de facto language practices of the teachers inside the classrooms.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives that are aimed to achieve through this study are:

- To explore languages-related ideologies perceived by the teachers.
- To investigate mechanisms incorporated to practice EMI at ground level in primary schools.

- To analyze teacher's classroom language practices in relation to the policy.

1.4 Research Questions

Through this study, it is intended to answer the following research questions:

1. What languages-related ideologies influence the perceptions of the teachers in girls' government primary schools located in rural setting?
2. What mechanisms are used to manage the recently-introduced EMI policy in girls' government primary schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?
3. How do the teachers at the schools implement, negotiate, and practice the policy inside the classroom?

1.5 Rationale for the Study

Since the beginning of the field of language planning policy, problems and their solutions in the process of language planning have been of prime importance for scholars. Rules and laws, national level policies and decisions taken by government bodies influence language policy in a community. This study has shifted the focus from top-down approach of LP to bottom-up approach. It highlights the role of an educator as a policymaker rather than blindly following an already existing policy on national level. The idea that we need to be active participants in our local policymaking has been stressed by this study. Educators are now seen not just as carriers or transmitters but also creators, innovators and implementers at the ground level which is considered much more productive than having a top-down approach. It is necessary to take in consideration the social context and ideologies that influence the policies made by teachers in a classroom. This is because these elements can often dictate why something is happening. Without understanding the social context and ideologies, it can be difficult to create a solution that is effective.

The framework of language policy represented by Shohamy (Shohamy, 2007) gives insight on the nexus of ideology-mechanism-practice which is essential to study the language policy implementation on ground level.

1.6 Delimitations

This study is delimited to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa province only because of the recent change in their MOI policy being shifted to EMI. Moreover, only four girls' schools are included. For theoretical framework, this study is delimited to Shohamy's

view of language policy, as I investigated the nexus of ideologies-mechanisms-practices, a framework provided by Shohamy, to examine the implementation of language policy in education system of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. I included all the 11 teachers for face-to-face interviews, as I am interested in ideologies and beliefs held by the educators working in girls' primary schools and their practices of exercising the policy in the classroom. The district adopted a new policy on classroom management, and the teachers are still getting used to its implementation. In particular, they are still figuring out the best way to incorporate the policy into their daily routines and lesson plans.

This research has been conducted without the participation of parents or students. It is hoped to gain a more objective perspective by excluding those who are personally involved in the subject matter.

1.7 Significance of the Study

Various studies have been conducted related to EMI in various countries; their focus has been the authorities that draft out language policies to be implemented in educational institutions known as top-down approach. On the other hand, this study is significant because it focuses on practices being carried out on micro-level to find how much do they connect with mechanisms and ideologies of language policy. It is important to focus on girls' primary schools located in rural area, this section of society is already marginalized and has not been researched abundantly and this study revolves around four girl's primary schools; sharing the unheard stories. The girl's primary schools in rural areas are often overlooked. This is a problem because these schools are vital to the communities they serve. Without proper support, these schools will continue to struggle. Therefore, it is important to do research on these schools and bring attention to their needs.

This study provides insightful findings related to the selected schools, and it will provide an indication of where Pakistan's language policy is leading to and whether it should be reconsidered regarding certain aspects.

1.8 Chapter Breakdown

The thesis is divided into five chapters, details of which are given below.

This first chapter includes the statement of the problem, objectives of the research and the research questions. The significance of the study and the delimitations are also the part of this chapter. The second chapter provides background knowledge of similar research that has been conducted in the past. It provides an insight on different theories related to Language Planning, Language Education Policy and English as Medium of Instruction that have been produced in the past. The Language Education Policy (LEP) field is a rich and complex one with many different aspects. I have reviewed literature pertaining to language-in education policy at both macro levels and micro levels such those found inside schools where teachers play their own roles in implementing, adapting and negotiating policies that may be present across larger regions. It also sheds light on how the current study contributes to the existing knowledge related to language policy. The third chapter is critical part of my research. This chapter includes the theoretical framework for the study, research approach and methods for collecting the data which include semi-structured interviews and class observations. The next chapter provides in-depth view of the findings and how they are related to the research methodology. It includes description of the participants (teachers), their beliefs and an effort to look upon their mechanisms and practices in the classrooms. The last chapter includes a crux of the findings and the information related to any obstacles during this research and recommendations for the ways that future researchers must need to keep in consideration prior to designing their research related to this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Language Planning plays a vital role in promoting a specific language in a region. It creates an awareness regarding language use and helps in formulating a plan that can be followed to contribute to the growth of a language. Language-in-Education has risen to popularity in the recent scholarly work; it is being researched thoroughly that how LiE intertwines with language as Medium of Instruction (MoI) taught in schools. In Pakistan, a child is exposed to more than one language or two languages while growing up: a regional language as his/her mother tongue, Urdu as a national language and English as a language that needs to be learned for various reasons and is an official language in the country.

Substantial research on school settings across the world has already established that instruction in a second or foreign language during early years of schooling (Class-I to Class-V) retards creativity, leads to teacher-centered methods, results in high dropout rates, and ensures minimal learning (Brock-Utne, 2007). English is a subject taught in many schools across Pakistan (Khan, 2016). It is an elite, expensive and private school where students must study it because of their status or if they are from families that can afford this kind of education for all members involved with the household (including children) (Brock, 1986). However, there are also government-controlled vernacular medium institutions which offer free textbooks so everyone has access regardless what income level he/she comes from (Manan et al, 2015).

In this chapter, I have explored various sources which present various point of views on English language being used as a medium of instruction for non-native population. This chapter also includes a broad view of teachers' ideologies and practices presented while using English as a medium of instruction (Chick, 1996).

2.1 Teacher's Role in Language-in-Education Policy

In order to implement a language policy, it is highly essential to involve various sections of the society. Schools play a vital role as institutions and teachers

have been declared merely an agent through whom a language policy is implemented. However, the contemporary research has evolved with significant changes made revolving around the role of a teacher in language policy. Teachers are now placed at the heart of language policy in various studies. They are empowered entities who make policies on micro-level to be implemented at ground level. An onion is used as a metaphor by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) to describe the role of government, institutions and of teachers in carrying out the language policies to be implemented in schools. The heart of this, the innermost layer comprises of teachers; through them, it is implemented in the classrooms. The mid layer consists of institutions of the society such as schools, universities, media and religion. Then comes the outermost layer, it consists of those higher-ups, government officials who draft out language policies on a national level.

Gracia and Menken (2010) explain that language in classroom is continuously adapted because of contextual factors such as social background, culture or gender of the students. Sometime, the educators adapt changes without being conscious about them. Their focus relies on the understanding of students rather than strictly following the language policy. It is the educator, who produces a language-in-education policy by a constructive activity and by the social context in which that activity is created. A teacher can be seen as a 'chef' who is continuously stirring the onion used as a metaphor for the layers of language planning. He/she needs to keep certain factors in consideration while doing his/her job. The external factors such as high or low flame or the size of the pot will affect the onion somehow. Similar to this, external factors such as culture, social context, the environment provided to the child at home and other factors do affect the language policies being used in a class room. Internal factors such as a teacher's own attitude, beliefs and cultural context can be responsible in reshaping of the language policies used in classroom. Despite the existence of official documents drafted out to ensure the implementation of language policy, it gets socially constructed and dynamically adapted on a moment-to-moment basis by the teachers in the classroom.

Educators decide when and which language to be used in the classroom, to make sense for the students. They respond to education language policies according to their own perspectives such as linguistics, cultural and social. For Gracia and Menken (2010), to be qualified as a 'good' educator, one does not have to blindly follow

prescribed text or impose a language policy, however, one must use one's own knowledge and understanding while teaching. As Schiffman (2007) puts forward his argument that there are two types of language policies: covert and overt. Overt ones refer to those policies which are formalized and de jure, on the other hand, covert policies refer to those which are de facto and informal. These are practices on grass-root level. He claims that researcher usually ignore what is happening on grass-root level, their main concern is the status of language varieties. He asserts that implicit and covert language policies are crucial part of a culture, they are underpinned by culture. So, there is a need to study the covert language policies being practiced in an entity.

2.2 Shohamy's View of Language Policy

Shohamy's framework (2007) of language policy, is based on a framework represented by Spolsky (García & Menken, 2010), the three components of language policy are interrelated: Language management, language practices and beliefs or ideologies. According to Spolsky, Language management involves creating and communicating a clear strategy or policy, which may be documented formally or informally, for how language should be used. Language practices include rules about informality and formality of communication and rule regarding varieties of languages and specific languages in multilingual situations. Beliefs or ideologies are about use of language, how a speech community agrees on which language to be given value and which one to be empowered or disempowered. Shohamy addresses the de-facto language policy, a policy that is not found in official documents, however, it is still practiced through different mechanisms, with an ideology underpinning it. The official documents no more hold importance, they often contradict de-facto policies though these policies cannot be given any less importance. They should be included as a part of LP, given their effect and consequences. She also asserts that language and evaluation tests are one of the mechanisms of language policy through which one language is preferred over other; those who are being tested do not even realize this. Parents and students are not aware of how these de facto policies take place in every daily routine task. Their capabilities and entire understanding of a topic or a course is being evaluated in a language that they might not be proficient in.

The education system has been designed in such a way that it does not challenge the teacher's ability to implement policies without considering their validity

or effectiveness. This often leads teachers and other staff members implementing this Language Education Policy (LEP) with no questions asked about how they work best for students' learning styles, which can be very detrimental when done incorrectly. The bottom-up and grassroots initiatives have been successful in persuading central bodies to alter certain aspects of language education policy. Language Education Policy has thus become an arena for negotiation as well resistance, with those who believe they should be able to teach any way that works best going up against educators seeking greater control over how languages are taught.

2.2.1 Teachers as Policy Makers

Educators have been historically underrepresented in policy creation and decision-making processes. The framing of LEP decisions as political acts is particularly concerning because it prevents professionals from having any input into these key aspects, even though they are expected to carry out the policies. Shohamy (2009) claims that the lack of attention given to teachers who are instrumental in carrying out language policies is reflective, not only within the process itself but also its implementation. It is further argued by her that this needs to change and educators need a more active role of becoming partners who bring their knowledge experience and practice into the process.

While English has been the main medium of instruction (MOI) in most classrooms across countries, there is growing interest among researchers and language planners. Language policy studies have focused on how macro-level policies translate into teachable moments for teachers or learners who come from different backgrounds at a micro level; however little attention has gone towards exploring what these actors' own beliefs about their respective practices.

When teachers take on an activist role in the creation, introduction and implementation of language education programs for learners across all ages they are taking on a challenging task. This becomes even more difficult when teaching English because there is always going to be those who know it better than others but through this educator can still create opportunities equally among everyone regardless if you speak another language or not (Shohamy et al., 2022). She further claims that teachers have a special role to play in designing language policies because they are the ones

who “do” it. If teachers do not contribute from their experience and expertise, then there will be no policy-no more than an intention with limited probability of success.

Why study the mental images, thoughts and processes of teachers when we can just watch them teach? The idea that there is something special about how L2 instructors work has been gaining momentum as more research continues to back up these claims. This interest in teaching styles dates back decades but only within recent years have researchers dared dive deep enough into what goes on inside someone's head while they are on stage or behind a desk offering lessons. Richard (1996) in his article explores the idea of teachers developing their own principles which they then apply in classrooms. Conversations with several educators allowed for an exploration into how these individuals create lessons based on personal maxims or rules, guiding much decision-making during class time. He discusses the nature of teachers' maxims and how they influence their teaching. Teachers can learn from each other's experiences when exploring new learning strategies or approaches; in order to better understand what works best for them as individuals while also considering cultural factors, belief systems, experiences that may shape these decisions.

2.3 Implementation of Language Policy in Institutions

Ricento and Hornberger (1996) suggest that the strategy is poor when it separates a language policy and treat it by their ways and under specific socio-historic conditions. The policymaking agenda refers to the establishment of language use and demonstrate things in a way children can understand. This is achievable through policy encourages teachers and researchers to read between the lines. The field of policy and language planning delivers a rich array of study opportunities for social scientists and applied linguists. Although it is a multidisciplinary field therefore, it seeks understanding that why some languages are thriving and some are marginalized.

The administrations, academics, materials, writers and consultants are connected with language planning and policy (Cunningham & Cunningham, 2000). What language should be used to teach and educate is important because it fosters diversity and promotes social equity (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Therefore, it is recommended that language planning should be used to reform and revitalize the language, to standardize and modernize a language to strengthen its communication and to attain national unity and harmony (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). As the article

suggests that when language planning is proposed, the result may surprise you and unintended results may happen but it is important to reanalyze and renegotiate the goals and objectives of social planning which requires language planning as an important part of the implementation (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001). The rational model adopts that government or nation is the key agent in making choices to choose LPP for the usefulness and value of language planning which ultimately results in instability and economic growth of the country (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). The article states that there is a need to learn a single language widely which is a common-sense solution to communicate with people of multilingual communities. The plea of this supposition is such that mono-linguicism is seen as an explanation of linguistic disparity (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). If dialectal minorities acquire the leading language, so the dispute drives, then they will not agonize themselves with social and economic inequality (Farah & Rizvi, 2007). It is an example of ideology which refers to the unconscious assumptions that usually come from common sense. These suppositions justify and sustain social inequalities.

It is believed that writing and reading regarding other people's experiences and about our engagements, language policy is enriched and advanced (Schneer et al., 2007). The localized perspective of the policy offers the extent through which policies are integrally and intimately tied with all aspects of professionalism. This also ensures and directs us the ways to reckoning the things that are at stake. This also ensures to write and read policy experiences and enactment (Schneer et al., 2007). Language policies also have results for public broadcasting, schooling and cohesion of fictional nations and communities and the vitality and status of minority an indigenous language. The field of LPP has significantly realized the consequences and effects of policy which are often developed in unplanned and unintended ways (Farrell & Bennis, 2013). Teachers taking part in policy-making indeed have a strong influence on language suitability because they better understand the issues and obstacles as they are facing in their everyday life.

Another important aspect is the medium of instruction and teaching. Several contributors have struggled so hard to achieve values of language planning and medium selection. Parmar in the literature has described that he has encountered with many premier English colleges in India, Gujrat and have observed inequalities based on caste and context (Schneer et al., 2007). Ramanathan and Morgan suggested that

for example, in the forum part, how he reads the inequalities associated with English medium college in India and Gujarat (Schneer et al., 2007). They postulate these facts to draw a range of enactments and values that emerged during instructions and it needs to be a heightened sense of disquiet regarding present condition. The struggle is based on selecting a suitable language for the students according to their standards and to keep the values of the national schools and colleges high. It has been observed that many Dalit students were unable to understand and pronounce terms and words in English appropriately due to their cultural background.

The vernacular-medium students and to make space and room for them is the main purpose and need of the hour, therefore, many contributors have highlighted the sense of responsibility to awaken the sense and to make policymakers realize the importance of a dominant language. Similarly, people from different backgrounds and cultures need to understand the things in their language which encourages them, motivates them and to facilitate their understanding (Schneer et al., 2007). It has been suggested in the study that language planning and policy is essential because teachers know how, when and which language and term can help students to better understand the concepts whether it is against the policies of the standards. Similarly, it has been suggested that people different areas and cultures should understand things in their language or it is their teacher who can better understand and know how to deliver the concept (Ferguson, 2006).

Various researches have been conducted on the use of English as MOI and as a main subject in schools located in Pakistan. Rahman (2010) suggests in his study related to English teaching institutes in Pakistan that English is a subject taught in several institutions across Pakistan, but it's not just for the elite. English can also be studied at elitist schools that charge hefty fees or even cadet colleges indirectly controlled by your government which offer scholarships to those who qualify academically. English is a language that can bring people into contact with the outside world and hence liberal-humanist, democratic values. As such it might serve to counteract growing religious intolerance in Pakistan as English has been taught by private schools which charge high fees but also offer opportunities for exposure among those who are less fortunate than themselves thus spreading these advantages out evenly across all parts of our country rather than just being confined only towards certain regions or classes within society. The demand for English language teaching

has increased in both Pakistan and internationally. It is the preferred course amongst students, their parents & aspiring members of professional middle class because it's an elitist skill not only within our country but also across international borders. During the data collection process of this current study, it was revealed that teaching English is the main priority of the primary schools. However, it was not implemented as it was suggested by the provincial government due to some constraints faced by the teachers.

2.3.1 Primary Level Education and Language

Language choice is important in many different aspects of life, especially when it comes to education and administration. The socioeconomic status or political climate should be considered while making this decision so that those who will use them have access only positive outcomes from their usage. The effects on society could change depending upon what languages are chosen for certain purposes (Domingues et al., 2017). For many years, the English language teaching (ELT) industry has been investigated from various angles including how teachers perceive what happens in an ELT classroom. However little research is available to describe pupils' experiences of these classes for primary school children who are learning their first languages outside their home countries like Bangladesh; this represents a significant gap within our knowledge about child development as it pertains specifically towards ELLs during early childhood education periods when they may be most vulnerable and impressionable (Grant & Osanloo, 2014).

Shrestha (2013) (Shrestha et al., 2013) examined Bangladeshi primary school learners' experience of English language classroom practices in which technology-enhanced communicative learning activities were promoted through the EIA (English in Action) project. This large scale international effort is funded by Britain's government, and aims to improve speaking proficiency among students worldwide by developing games designed specifically for each culture where it operates (e.g., Bangladesh). His paper advocates for a more communicative approach to teaching English. The findings show that learners found dialogue and role play exercises much better than translation or memorizing grammar rules, but they also enjoyed reciting poetry or drills in order get ready when taking tests. These results indicate an interesting mix of traditional methods with newer techniques used by teachers. Through this study and during data collection I found that the teachers used

Grammar-Translation Method instead of modern ways of teaching. The aim of the teachers was to make the students memorize the content found in the textbooks without trying to expand their knowledge and clear their concepts.

In addition, research increasingly shows that children's ability to learn a second or additional languages (e.g., a lingua franca and an international language) does not suffer when their mother tongue is the primary language of instruction throughout primary school (Hamid & Nguyen, 2016). Fluency and literacy in the mother tongue lay a cognitive and linguistic foundation for learning additional languages. Ball (2008) in her PHD thesis: *Enhancing learning of children from diverse language backgrounds*, concluded that when children receive formal instruction in their first language throughout primary school and then gradually transition to academic learning in the second language, they learn the second language quickly. If they continue to have opportunities to develop their first language skills in secondary school, they emerge as fully bilingual (or multilingual) learners. It was observed during the data collection process of this study that the students were taught in their mother tongue: Pashto by the teachers. However, the policy suggests that it should be English as medium of instruction for the students. Their exams are held in English language and their text books of various subjects also contain English only. Mother tongue was used to explain the content of the text books because the teachers believed that the students will not be able to understand other languages.

Different education policies in Pakistan have suggested several language policies to be implemented at schools across Pakistan. Qasim and Qasim (2009) worked on a study that revolved around National Education Policy 2009 (Grek & Ozga, 2010); a government policy that states that English should be a subject from Class One onwards and it will also serve as medium of instruction for science, mathematics since 4th grade. This makes sure children are learning essential skills: to succeed later down the road with their studies at school or college level so they can have access into higher education without any difficulties due simply because this isn't what was taught before. The assessment of children's abilities in a second or third language is unfair because it does not allow them to display their full potential. Their literacy skills, for example, will never lead to critical thinking and wider understanding if they are only literate within an unfamiliar dialect - this has been

proven time after again by researchers who have studied these issues extensively over several years now.

The recent language policy in Pakistan has been heavily influenced by colonial powers and continues through today's post-office independence era. The theme of "divide et rule" is an essential part because it helps maintain the existing Educational Hierarchy which was established centuries ago, where most people are funnelled into one category or another depending on what languages they speak fluently. The focus of this discussion is the latest language policy in Pakistan, suggested by Education Department back in 2009 (Grek & Ozga, 2010). The theme "divide and rule" has been an essential part to how English was used during colonial times as well as now post-independence periodicals; we analyzed what's being proposed within NEP-2009 (National Education Policy) concerning teaching children about their mother tongue at primary level which seems very successful so far with minimal dropout rates or student ultimate success throughout education careers.

2.4 Teachers' Beliefs and Ideology

Teachers' perceptions are influenced by their experiences in life along with social background, their region, religion and other aspects of life. They bring these beliefs into their teaching methods and it shows in their practices. Calderhead (1996) makes note of the five main aspects that teachers have toward their students. The first aspect is convictions with respect to understudies - they believe in what they're teaching and how it can be learned; secondly there are ways of learning which include topics for study as well instruction methods like lectures. Thirdly, they have got the entire educational module: this might include subjects offered at school. Fourthly, teachers need to find what should be done next; a plan needs to be devised properly. And finally arrives self-conviction or confidence within which is essential for teachers to portray while teaching.

A study conducted by (Borg et al., 2003) the current state of research on teacher cognition, which has been studied for decades. It seems that there are three key aspects to being a successful language instructor: knowing what you're doing wrong or right; feeling like your learners will succeed because they already know some basic skills in their target languages and those who teach them best-related beliefs about how people learn languages. The three main themes of teacher cognition

are (1) prior language learning experience, (2) education related to being a classroom instructor and/or administrators/coaches for future educators in training. Lastly, it is also addressed how these factors relate specifically with what takes place within schools today through research conducted on this topic since roughly up until now where we have seen an emphasis shift away from solely focusing outwards at students towards looking more closely into ourselves. The findings of studies into two specific curricular areas in language teaching which have been examined by teacher cognition - grammar and literacy- are reviewed. This review indicates that while this work has established itself on the research agenda for educators, there is currently no clear sense of unity within its findings; several major issues remain unexplored from a perspective focused exclusively around how teachers think about their craft.

The instructor's beliefs about training the educating hone can influence how they teach. For example, Johnson (1994) found that instructors who were students at one point in their lives had different convictions than those without this experience because of what was learned while learning and teaching elsewhere before coming into academia as professionals with new ideas about pedagogy for delivering high quality education. When teachers are given, a task based learning environment to teach English, they often apply their own beliefs and interpretations of what is necessary in order for students properly complete the assignments. This was found by Zheng and Borg (2013) who studied 3 secondary school level math teachers' experiences with implementing tasks-based learning programs into classes.

Teachers' practices are strongly influenced by their beliefs. Their beliefs about what is possible in education and how students learn best guide their decision making and actions in the classroom. As they gain more experience and knowledge, teachers' beliefs may change and evolve. But even small changes in beliefs can have an immense impact on how teachers approach their work. Jun Zhang and Sun (2022) in an article: *'Understanding Novice and Experienced Teachers' Cognitions and Practices for Sustainable Teacher Development: The Case of Form-Focused Instruction in English Language Teaching'* support that the idea that teachers have thoughts about their classrooms and how to teach has been one of the more recent focuses in education research. Studies on this topic mushroomed as researchers began looking at teaching from a cognitive perspective, which includes everything from

what teachers know (their knowledge), believe or think themselves into doing while they are teaching.

A study was conducted in France '*Unpacking teachers' language ideologies: attitudes, beliefs, and practiced language policies in schools*' by Young (2014). It revealed teachers' perspective regarding the languages being used in the classroom. Students were discouraged from using their mother tongue that came from diverse cultures. Only French was encouraged to be used. The research concludes that when it is thought about moving forward towards inclusive education, it is important not only to listen but also question what teachers are doing in the classroom. Our data reveal that despite facing an urgent need of educating plurilingual children, many French-language school policies were based on personal beliefs rather than reality when they came into play during class time - often resulting with negative outcomes due solely because these mythic prevalent language Ideologies rooted within popular thoughts from former times where France's major concern was constructing its nation state around one common exclusive Language (L1). This shows the immense impact of a teacher's perspective about a certain language on the methods that he/she uses in the classroom while teaching. Teachers bring their ideologies and beliefs to the classroom and their practices are heavily influenced by them.

The study by Baurain (2012) explores the influence of religious beliefs on the practices of teachers. Recent studies related to teachers been limited to a few narrow areas, such as "beliefs". Theorizing about technique and methodology are considered in depth but religious or spiritual beliefs largely remain untouched by this inquiry. This is despite the fact that they considerably fit within its boundaries because these topics also concern how teachers teach their subjects matter-officially rather than simply adopting school practices wholesale without alteration. The purpose of this qualitative questionnaire study is to explore how Christian ESOL teachers perceive and describe putting their personal religious beliefs into practice in the classroom. This research found that as a result, respondents believed they should act with love toward students; show respect for all humans regardless if someone else believes differently than oneself (including those who choose not participate); teach using methods which connect personally when discussing children's development skills such earning empathy or understanding at an early age. The beliefs that teachers have;

influenced by social and cultural norms or religious views have an influence on their practices inside the classrooms while teaching.

2.5 Teachers' Practices in the Classroom

The methods that are used by the teachers to teach in the classroom are categorized as the practices demonstrated by the teachers. It includes a variety of different techniques and ways that are incorporated by a teacher during a lecture. Various researches suggest that the ideologies and beliefs held by the teachers influence their teaching methodology. Coleman (2010) discusses teachers' practices while teaching English to Pakistani students who presume English as a foreign language. The methods for teaching English to students are outlined by him as reading aloud from a text, explaining the meaning of each word in Urdu or local language after it is read and then having the students repeat back what they have heard while looking at the pictures in the textbook. The students follow the same lessons addressed by their teacher. In this way, grammar is not included in any extra lesson; instead it is taught through writing on the board and asking for note-taking from each person individually after hearing what he or she has heard during class time. This method was also observed during the data collection process of the current study. The teachers used to translate the text into Urdu and then explained it into Pashto for the students to understand the lecture.

A study by Tien (2009) explores the consequences of teaching English as a second language in Taiwan and it has been heavily debated over the last decade. One side argues that only 'English Only' should be used, while others claim it's necessary to incorporate other languages into lessons and use codeswitching accordingly for beginners or slower learners on campus; this study looks at how two freshman courses handle these issues by examining their course materials through an analysing framework. The study found that teachers often switch between English and Mandarin in order to arouse student interest. This micro ethnographic research focuses on how both teachers and learners use more than one language, while teaching monolingual textbooks successfully with lessons of their own making- it is essential for them not only understand what they teach but also feel confident about presenting themselves as experts within this field. The teachers and students have expressed the view that using English only is ideal for teaching, but they also choose to switch codes so as not be limited by monolingual textbooks. For classroom

management purposes, however- especially in multilingual classrooms where there are many different languages being spoken at any given time - Mandarin was preferred over Taiwanese because it would help promote harmony among those taking part. Similarly, in the current study; Pashto was preferred by the teachers to be used as MOI instead of English because it was assumed by them that only Pashto will be understood by every student. Even though the teachers expressed their point of view that English will be much useful for the students in the future.

Silver and Skuja-Steele (2005) worked on a report that study discusses language and education policies in five countries, how these government-backed initiatives are linked with classroom pedagogy. The research emphasizes teachers' perspective by examining data from their own teaching experiences across international borders; it looks for commonalities while investigating differences between educational settings that can offer insight on what it means to act as agents provocateurs (or architects) of our own learning environment's implementation through policy making efforts at both levels: local town or city council level where they make laws about everything else including curriculum. These data show that while teachers are aware of the language policies and their potential long-term needs for English, they focus on immediate priorities in class which influence what students learn each day. This is a multidirectional interpretation: not only influenced by structural issues or classroom demands but also shaped largely due to social factors like beliefs about teaching methods as well goals determined through personal experiences. This supports the current study analysis that teachers' practices in the classrooms are heavily influenced by their beliefs and ideologies linked to certain languages.

According to a study by Probyn (2009) the situation in South Africa is not unique. Post-colonial African countries, such as Mozambique and Ghana for example have been influenced by the English language to a much greater extent than their own native tongue - resulting often with gaps between policy implementation and practice because teachers may codeswitch depending on what they feel will best serve students' needs at any particular moment. Codeswitching is a highly valued classroom practice that can be used to support students' learning in many ways. However, the potential for using two languages has not been recognized or developed by most teachers' training programs because it conflicts with an earlier deficit view on

codeswitches as covert efforts 'to smuggle vernacular into school'. This paper explores these complexities through discussions of contestations around language status and rights at macro levels within education system. In the current study, during data collection it was mentioned by the teachers that no training session has been conducted to guide them regarding the policy of using English as Medium of Instruction. Hence, the teachers use Pashto to interact with the students and to explain the content of the textbooks. They were often found codeswitching between Urdu and Pashto and the use of English was limited to reading from the textbooks only.

In the last 15 years, research into teacher beliefs has become an emerging area of inquiry within language teaching. One strand focuses on how well-stated beliefs correspond with what they do in class; it's been shown that these two points are not always congruent which tells us something important about education today. A study by Phipps and Borg (2009) draws on the distinction between core and peripheral beliefs to analyse how three English teaching professionals from Turkey teach grammar in their classrooms. The observations indicated that while at one level they had distinct sets of practices, these same teachers were also consistent with certain more generic understandings about language learning overall. The central tenet of this study is that teachers' beliefs about language learners are more influential than their peripheral knowledge. It's argued, therefore, to better understand the tension between what they state and how it plays out in classrooms through an analysis focusing on both teacher statements as well as student behaviour—thereby providing us with deeper insights into learning paths for future educators considering careers related or unrelated fieldwork. The benefits mentioned include understanding why some people may teach one way while others have different results- which can provide insight when designing lessons.

2.6 Mechanisms for Language Policy

The act of policy making is a powerful and imposing process, when viewed through an expanded perspective that focuses on "policy mechanisms." These are tools which serve as mediators between ideology and practice in order to create de facto policies. There exist many different kinds such as rules or regulations; education policies concerning languages language tests used by companies across for employee efficiency or for immigration purpose. All these things have been influenced by hidden agendas supported by powerful people. Shohamy (2009) explains mechanisms

used in education language policy in her study that deals with language teachers' role in crafting educational language policies. Language education policies are a crucial part of decisions relating to the languages that will be taught and learned, whether as second or foreign language. These policies also focus on issues such as appropriate age for beginners' study in these fields and what purposes they are used towards achieving those goals.

Language tests are a powerful mechanism which can be imposed top down and used as disciplinary tools to enforce policies. Language test leads not only create winners/losers but also successes or failure for individuals in society with high stakes decisions made on their behalf depending if they pass these language exams that determine what status your voice has within the hierarchy of languages themselves. In the present study; it was unveiled during data collection that the students are tested by monitoring officers who visit the schools and are hired by the provincial government. These tests determine their proficiency level of English language.

An article related to mechanisms and education system in England by Cushing (2021) demonstrates how the standard language ideology is perpetuated through various mechanisms in education policy, such as curriculum documents and assessment instruments. It also discusses national tests that teachers are required to take every five years or so; these assessments tend toward conservative thinking with discipline being an important aspect of success for students. Standardized English is a socio-political construct that has its origins in the written form of English and was later adopted by higher classes. Its users are characterized as having social prestige, such as being middle class or white; this continues today through institutions like such as media, schools and government universities with most tangible manifestation occurring within written language. Teachers and students are presented with a sanitized, depoliticized version of Standard English that intentionally discounts its abstract ideals; this framing is problematic because it devalues non-standard varieties which children use when communicating social meanings through grammar.

2. 7. Works Already Done

One of the misfortunes related to the educational system of Pakistan is lack of research in this field. Khan (2016) conducted his research in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan; he discusses how social norms and culture have embedded certain attitude

towards different languages by the teachers. For them, English is a product of post colonialism; forced unto them though seen as a symbol of success by people. The teachers were interviewed extensively and as Khan conclude that all the participants had favored Urdu as MOI. He furthers asserts that English as medium of instruction was not followed strictly in an English medium school. The teachers had a negative attitude towards English language though they did not deny its importance in today's world. Urdu is celebrated as a national language and a symbol of unity, on the other hand, Pashto; their mother tongue is a symbol of pride for them. Khan observed in the class-room setting that the students had to repeat every word after the teacher as he read from a textbook or the blackboard and complete understanding of the content was missing. Rather than that, memorization seemed as the main objective. He found the classroom setting undisciplined and casual. While evaluating the knowledge of students, it was found that they could not identify alphabetical letter correctly. Translation (from English to Urdu) was practiced by the teacher, in an English-medium school and it was done in chunks of words of a sentence.

Rahman (2010) compiled a book gathering his articles on language and identity in Pakistan, reflected in the educational system. According to him powerful sections of the society such as elite groups including every field are actually not at all resistant to English. He raised an issue that English in Pakistan is supported by the elite class whereas the lower class is not exposed to English language. Language policies which underpin EMI, do not leave space for vernacular-medium education. However, these policies are not implemented thoroughly, elite schools get best of English education and educators. On the other hand, the teachers teaching at public schools are not even proficient enough to get trained for English workshops.

Bukhari and Bashir (2017) studied and gathered data related to the impact of EMI policy in Punjab, Pakistan in 2009. They added in their study the result of various studies conducted to evaluate the impact of 2009 EMI policy in Punjab. It was found that introduction of EMI for the subjects of science and mathematics was a sheer disaster. A major portion of the students could not understand what was being explained in the class. Moreover, they interviewed various teachers who expressed their perception related to use of Urdu as MOI. It was found that they hold beliefs against the use of EMI, they think it is a propaganda against Urdu, policy makers are adamant on marginalizing Urdu.

This study stands apart from previous research by focusing on the teachers' ideology concerning three languages - Pashto, Urdu, and English - in a rural area. It specifically concentrates on girls' education, aiming to address the unique challenges faced by female students in a grassroots context. Unlike previous studies, this research does not involve higher authorities, allowing for a deeper exploration of the perspectives and practices of teachers within the selected schools. The study is conducted in five girls' primary schools located in the remote area of Bannu, KP, Pakistan. My choice to focus solely on girls' schools stems from cultural values and limitations that hindered interactions with male teachers at boys' schools. As a result, only female teachers were included as participants in this study, engaging in semi-structured interviews to investigate their perceptions related to the three languages. It is crucial to note that this study does not include students or parents as participants, thereby narrowing its perspective to the teachers' viewpoints. The primary data collection methods employed are classroom observations and interviews, whereas, the previous researches include questionnaires along with other research instruments. By focusing on grassroots levels, this study distinguishes itself from previous research, which often involved higher authorities and lacked the specific focus on girls' education.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned previously, this study focuses on ideologies and beliefs held by teachers teaching at girls' primary schools located in remote areas of Bannu, KP. It also sheds light upon mechanisms and practices performed by the teachers related to a new education policy which demands English to be the medium of instruction in all primary schools across the province. This chapter provides methodology and theoretical framework for this study. This study is founded on an interpretivist research paradigm, with qualitative methodological approach. In that, case study is considered to be the appropriate research strategy to adopt since the aim is not to generalize but to carry out an in-depth exploration. As put forward by Casanave (2015), in case study the interest of the researcher is to investigate a particular issue in detail rather than generalizing the issue, which is precisely what this study intends to do. Further, the focus of research in case study is a particular person, group, institution, or community (Creswell, 2013). Since this study is proposed to explore the case of rural context, four government girls' government primary schools are purposively selected for in-depth exploration (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007).

More importantly, research specialists recommend exploring the case from almost every conceivable angle to be able to give a true representation of the case (Almalki, 2016). This study uses diverse data collection tools to be able to do triangulate the data for insightful findings. Theoretically, the case of the rural context will be explored from the recommended lens of Shohamy (2006). It focuses on ideology, mechanisms and practices related to language policy and its use (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007). The following chapter discusses in detail the research instruments employed, where it was conducted and who participated. It also details how these data were collected as well transcription/translation practices among other things that ensure validity of results found through this study (Casanave & Li, 2015).

3.2 Research Design

For this study, I used exploratory case study as the research design. As put forward by Casanave (2015, p. 120). The objective of case studies is to “enhance our understanding of a phenomenon, process, person or group...” This seems as the most appropriate method to gather further resourceful data related to using EMI particularly in primary schools located in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. She further asserts that case study enables a researcher to investigate a phenomenon associated with people or institution. It is a multiple case study; a multiple-case study includes two or more cases or replications across the cases to investigate the same phenomena (Yin & Ke, 2017). The four primary girls’ schools were included in this study to investigate how one policy is being implemented at ground level in several schools located in the same area. This study is bounded to the rural context of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa only. I have explored four girls’ primary schools in the district Bannu, and how the policy of EMI takes place within those boundaries, through educators.

The approach taken by this study is considered most appropriate because it considers how people (participants) subjectively experience their reality, as opposed to objectively analyzing data or focusing on generalizations that may not apply specifically in other contexts. The idea behind this approach is that the researcher becomes part of their own research, interpreting data and being objective. Qualitative research aims to get a deep understanding of participant's views and experiences regarding the phenomenon of interest for this study. In this case, the ideologies and beliefs held by the teachers are discussed thoroughly. Furthermore, it provides a platform to the unheard stories of girls’ education in a remote area of KP where girls’ education is not appreciated.

3.3 Theoretical Framework

Language policy has been explored from diverse angles by a multitude of scholars (Johnson, 1994; Johnson, 2013; Hornberger, 1996, 2006; Garcia, 2016; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004). Whereas the focus of earlier research scholarship remained macro-level policy, the turn of the 21st century witnessed a fundamental shift in the way language policy is conceived. The research focus in postmodern scholarship has undergone a shift from the macro to the micro level (Wee, 2011), with increased interest in how a particular policy is actually practiced on the ground

(Garcia, 2016). It has also been realized that a three-pronged approach (i.e., a focus on macro, meso, and micro levels) is necessary to get a deeper insight into the ideological and implementational workings of a language policy. In this regard, Spolsky (2004) argues that a review of ideologies, structures, and practices is necessary for a thorough understanding of a language policy. Shohamy's (2006) expanded view of language policy, however has drawn immense theoretical and empirical interest because of postmodern and interpretivist orientation. This study therefore draws on Shohamy's (2006) theoretical orientation to language policy.

Shohamy (2006), in her expanded view of language policy, explains the complex interaction between ideologies, mechanisms and practices during the process of language policy formation and implementation. Shohamy places ideology as the first component of her framework (see Figure 1). She points that the languages gain power through school policies, such as English perpetuates the ideology of west to be dominant and influential.

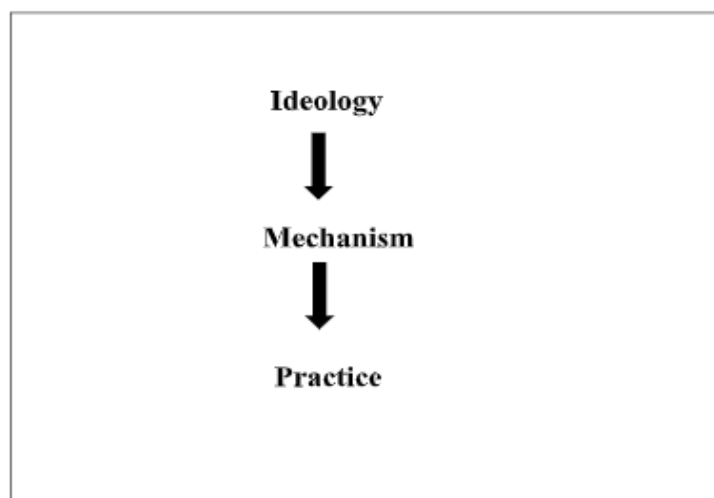


Figure 1: Shohamy's (2006, p. 54) Nexus of Ideology-Mechanism-Practices

Shohamy defines mechanisms, the second component of this framework, as “overt and covert devices that are used as the means for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies” (Shohamy, p. 54). All groups of a society can use these mechanisms; however, the more powerful groups have more access to them and can create an impact on a larger level. She asserts that as language is never neutral, mechanisms are not either; they are always embedded with an ideology – political, social and/or economic.

Language practice, the third component of the above-mentioned framework, refers to the focus given to certain languages practices that take place around us. Irrespective of policies at the macro level, individuals and communities may choose to use languages other than those that are policy sanctioned. This can be for several reasons, including the beliefs and ideologies that they carry.

Through this study, data was collected and analyzed with Shohamy's (2006) overarching theoretical framework. The framework is expected to assist in making sense of the ways in which teachers put the EMI policy into practice. I have explored the way teachers make policies on moment-to-moment basis while teaching, these policies are influenced by their ideologies and beliefs. The mechanisms are used by the higher authorities to implement a language policy on ground level. Teachers implement the policy according to their own methodology which includes different practices which were observed during class sessions.

3.4 Data Collection

Setting the scene

For this study, which is qualitative in nature, I triangulated the data collection tools to ensure that the data gathered is insightful. The sites for data collection were four girls' primary schools. Each with almost 250-300 enrolled students and had 4-6 teachers. A total of four schools were included in the study, from which a selection of 11 teachers participated. Initially, I contacted the headmistress of each school who then facilitated introductions with teachers interested in being part of the study. Each school had an average of 4-5 teachers; however, not all of them expressed interest in participating. As a result, I conducted interviews with three teachers from three schools and an additional two teachers from one school.

The schools that I visited for this study were located in rural area of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. They lacked basic facilities and were understaffed. The classes lacked required furniture and some of the blackboards were damaged. Some of the students had to sit on the floor due to shortage of chairs. The young female students belonged to lower social background; their books and school fee were funded by the provincial government. These schools only had female students and female staff.

I used to stay at those schools from 8 am to 1.30 pm. The interviews with the teachers were conducted at the school. I attended the classes and observed the

students and teachers outside of the classrooms too. Each school had classes from KG to 5th standard; however, there were only 3-4 teachers in each school. They had to collaborate with one another to take classes. If a teacher was teaching Mathematics to one grade, she also taught Science to another grade. Professional specialization in one subject was not given importance. I sat down in the classes taught by the same teachers; observed and experienced the teaching methods that were used by them. I saw, heard and observed how the classes were managed by the teachers; the teacher-student interaction and the way the students responded to the lectures.

Participants

Only teachers were selected as participants for this study along with one monitoring officer. These teachers were selected for the semi-structured interviews which were held at the school through purposive sampling. The teachers who agreed on being interviewed, belonged to Bannu except for two of them. They all had different educational background and qualifications; some had a Master's degree while others had a bachelor's. One of them had done matriculation only and she was appointed as a class teacher for Kindergarten class. There were 11 teachers who were interviewed for this study and the interviews had a duration of 10 to 30 minutes. They were ensured of confidentiality and pseudonyms were used instead of their real names. A consent form was signed by them and they were asked permission before every interview that was conducted for this study. These teachers had different work experiences but they had all faced similar issues related to educational system of the province. They were all fluent in Pashto and Urdu but I found only two of them to be fluent in English. The young teachers had gone through a test taken by the provincial government to be allocated as a teacher at primary level. However, the older ones had secured their jobs only due to their experience and qualification. All the teachers took out time to talk about their beliefs, perceptions and gave away a glimpse of their ideologies built upon social norms, culture, and their experiences in life.

They allowed me to attend their class sessions and to observe their teaching methods which included their interaction with the students. I found all of them to be interested in this study and they seemed eager to share their opinions and beliefs with the rest of the world through this study as a platform.

Total of 11 teachers were selected from 4 schools. I was able to get in touch with the headmistress of each school and then they introduced me to other teachers who were interested to be a part of this study. Each school had 4-5 teachers; however, not all of them were interested in this study. I could only interview three teachers from three schools and then two more teachers from one school. The following table 3.1 provides essential information related to the participants who were included for the interviews in this study.

<i>Participants' Background Information:</i>			
Particulars	Category	Number of Participants	
Gender	Female	11	
Age	20-30	7	
	30-40	2	
	40-50	2	
Mother Tongue	Pashto	8	
	Punjabi	1	
	Siraiki	2	
Medium of Instruction In prior education	English	3	3
	Urdu	5	5
	Pashto	3	
Area	Bannu	8	8
	Other	3	
Education	Matriculation	1	
	Intermediate	1	
	Bachelors	7	
	Masters	2	

Those participants were selected for the interviews who seemed eligible for the inclusion criteria required for this study. I have tried to include teachers who belonged to different age groups. However, young teachers were given more importance while selecting the participants. This study revolves around a recent policy of using English as Medium of Instruction; younger minds could contribute to this policy more effectively. New generation of teachers are the future of the education system in Pakistan. 7 teachers out of 11 were below the age of 30. Although, all of them were fluent in Pashto but I wanted a few teachers whose mother tongue was different than Pashto. Only 3 teachers were accessible who had Punjabi and Siraiki as their mother tongue. This allowed me to include participants who did not show affection towards Pashto only because it was their mother tongue.

Most of the teachers belonged to Bannu; this gave me an opportunity to explore the school system with the help of local people. The teachers who belonged to Bannu had more information about the local customs and traditions. They had a better understanding of how the circumstances the students faced at home and which language plays an essential part in their lives. Teachers' educational qualifications also varied from one another. Majority of them had a bachelor's degree in subjects that they taught. I selected these teachers to find out whether their degree has helped them to teach other subjects. These teachers were asked to teach other subjects because of shortage of staff at these schools. Education of these teachers was an essential factor while selecting the participants. I wanted diversity in their education qualification to investigate how a person with a Master's degree holds different or same point of view related to different languages. For this purpose, teachers who had bachelor's degree were preferred the most. One of the reasons for this selection was the availability of these teachers who had a bachelor's degree. They were young and freshly graduated who truly wanted a change in the education system of Pakistan.

3.5 Research Instruments

The use of two methods to collect data allowed for a greater understanding and enriched quality in both interviews, as well as classroom observations. Semi-structured interviewing provides an opportunity to ask questions with a plan or structure while also permitting participants control over their responses; this allows them freedom during the conversation which can provide valuable insights. The first phase of interviewing allowed participants to express their thoughts and feelings

without being pressured or restricted by questions; while second phase observations gave me insight on how students learn when given certain instructions. The classroom observations paved a way to understand how the teachers use different methods of teaching and the ways in which a language policy is practiced is on level. Two sources: semi-structured interviews and classroom observations are used to collect data for this study. This paved way for triangulation of the data; it refers to the use of multiple methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena (Patton & Townsend, 1999). Triangulation also has been viewed as a qualitative research strategy to test validity through the convergence of information from different sources. By conducting interviews of the teachers and then observing those teachers teaching the students in the classrooms; it provided an opportunity to explore how much the teachers' perspectives influence their teaching methods and it can also be found whether their claims related to the students contradict or are verified.

3.5.1 Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted for this study to ask more open-ended questions from the participants. A total number of 11 teachers were included for the interviews, these interviews took place at their working place; the girls primary schools which were the case study for the research. I had an interview session with each of the teachers for almost 30 minutes; 4 total interviews with every teacher. The reason for conducting more than one interview with each teacher was to let them be more comfortable with me; to build a conversation which needs to be friendly in nature. According to Sewell (2009) the aim of conversation is to unfold the meaning behind people's experiences and explore what life looks like for them in general. The teachers shared their experiences outside of the schools and how they manage the use of language at their homes. This provided an opportunity to have a glimpse at how culture, social background and personal experiences shape teachers' ideologies and beliefs regarding languages.

I used Urdu and Pashto language to interact with the participants. Before conducting the interviews, I asked each one of the teachers whether they would prefer Urdu, English or Pashto to be used during interviews. Almost every one of them claimed that they would be more comfortable to converse in Pashto. Pashto proved to be a good choice to be used while conducting the interviews. I used a mobile phone

for the audio-recording of the entire sessions of interviews to be transcribed and translated into English later. Questions revolved around their perceptions and ideologies regarding use of EMI in classrooms, and how the policy has influenced their teaching methods. The teachers shared their beliefs and experiences related to language policies and the usage of three languages in the classrooms. They were aware of the social setup provided in their area and seemed to understand the socio-economic background of their students and how it impacts their lives.

3.5.2 Classroom Observations

For this study, it seemed ideal for me as a researcher to observe the classroom setting in the school, to understand the mechanisms for usage of EMI by a teacher while delivering the lecture, and to explore how they put the EMI policy into practice. The schools followed a timetable set for the classes for different subjects. The classes started at 8 a.m. and continued till 1.30 p.m. Provincial government has not set an official duration time for periods to be considered at primary level. However, teachers decide the time according to their own timetable. Each class lasted for 45 minutes, making the class observations time bound. To avoid 'observation biasness'; I attended the class sessions various times till the teachers and the students got familiar and comfortable with me. I interacted with the students so they would get familiar with me and would not hesitate while asking questions in the classroom. By attending a teachers' class session again and again, the element of 'observation biasness had gradually decreased. The students and teachers started to take me as one of their own. I used to stay in the schools and after conducting the interviews; I went to different grades to attend and observe the classroom sessions. I audio-recorded a few classroom sessions to be used later for data analysis. I kept a diary with me for field notes and kept writing down all the details of what was happening in the classroom. Qualitative field notes are an essential component of rigorous research. Taking these notes enhances data and provides rich context for analysis (Creswell, 2013).

I observed how the teachers use textbooks and other material, whether they restrict themselves to English when explaining the content provided in the textbooks or use other languages (Urdu and Pashto) as resources. Apart from the teaching practices demonstrated by the teachers; the teacher-student interaction was also considered to be an essential aspect of data collection. The instructions made by the

teachers, questions asked by the students and the languages being used in the classroom played a vital role in data analysis.

3.6 Transcription and Translation

As mentioned previously, the teachers selected for the interviews were fluent in Pashto. For this reason, all the interviews were conducted in Pashto. Urdu and English were also used at some instances. I worked effectively to transcribe and then translate the interviews in English. To ensure the accuracy of our findings, every interview was transcribed and edited for clarity. To optimize readability, I excluded all pauses or hesitations in order to focus on content that is most relevant at any given time; this eliminated irrelevant information like spellcheck mistakes while maintaining legibility. A person with a PHD in Pashto was approached to analyze the translation and transcription for the inter-rater reliability of the content. Two specialists whose mother tongue is Pashto and hold a PHD in English lent their help regarding translation. Roman script was used to type Urdu and Pashto in italicized font for some part of the data. Other than that, entire passages were translated into English to be a part of the data analysis.

3.7 Data Analysis Procedure

The present study follows Holliday's (2015) recommendation for data analysis, which involves using a diary to record comments related to the collected data during the data collection process. The data was analyzed using thematic analysis, which required to code the data during analysis by categorizing information related to specific themes using word phrases or keywords. The use of keywords allowed for the simplification of significant information and the identification of recurring themes. Headings and sub-headings were also constructed for further categorization of the data and to build an argument based on the collected data. Both interviews and class observations were analyzed using the same process, which involved reading and re-reading transcripts to ensure a thorough understanding of the content. Codes were generated through key word mining, and shorthand labels or "codes" were used to describe the content of the highlighted sections of the text.

The codes were then checked against frequent patterns identified within those themes for any emerging insights that could lead towards expanding upon them regarding the theoretical framework, which includes ideologies, mechanisms, and

practices as major themes. The data was continually reviewed throughout the analysis process to ensure that any necessary changes were made to the analysis, including the addition or exclusion of data.

3.8 Criteria for Evaluating Research

To ensure the credibility and replicability of my research, I drew on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria to evaluate the qualitative data. The triangulation between different methods was important for ensuring validity in this study because it allowed me more than one source from which information could be collected about participants' backgrounds or perceptions while also being careful not only what questions were asked during interviews but how those queries were formulated so that they would yield honest responses without leading anyone along pre-determined paths based off assumptions made beforehand. Additionally, time spent in the field; the schools in this case and working alongside the teachers and students gave relevance to this study.

For maintaining the integrity and validity of this research, ample details were provided to ensure that any other independent researcher would be able reach similar inferences. Conformability is enhanced by providing information on how data was collected from participants for them to confirm accuracy with another translator who has access only via audio recording or firsthand citations if needed; additionally, there's an additional layer involved which includes corroborating two scholarship holders' work which includes my supervisor; when translating into English so as not rely solely upon one person's translation.

To control researcher bias during the observation of classroom sessions and the interviewing of teachers, various measures were taken. Firstly, I disclosed my identity and purpose to the participants before commencing the study. Participants were also provided with informed consent forms, which clearly outlined the purpose, procedures, risks, and benefits of the study. This ensured that participants were fully aware of their rights and could freely decide whether or not to participate in the study. Secondly, I adopted an objective and non-judgmental stance while collecting and

analyzing data. I also employed a structured interview protocol, which ensured that all participants were asked the same questions in the same way. This minimized the possibility of interviewer bias, as all participants were treated equally, and the data collected was consistent. Thirdly, a rigorous data analysis technique was employed namely thematic analysis. This technique involved the systematic identification of patterns and themes within the data, which minimized the possibility of researcher bias in the interpretation of the findings. Fourthly, I maintained reflexivity throughout the study. Reflexivity involves the researcher's awareness of their own biases, assumptions, and preconceptions and how these may influence the study's findings. By acknowledging their own biases, I was able to minimize the influence of these biases on the study's findings.

Finally, to ensure the study's credibility, triangulation was employed, which involves using multiple sources of data to verify the study's findings. The use of multiple sources of data, such as interviews and classroom observations, provided a comprehensive understanding of the research phenomenon and minimized the possibility of bias in the findings. Overall, these measures were taken to control researcher bias and enhance the study's validity and reliability.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter began with an explanation of the research design adopted in this study. It then described how I arrived at the theoretical framework, which was followed by a comprehensive account from participants and context selected for analysis - including methods used to collect qualitative data such as class observations and interviews. Which were combined through thematic analysis at different stages and how reliability is ensured is also discussed thoroughly in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction:

In this chapter, I have taken a comprehensive and elaborative account of ideologies, mechanisms and practices related to EMI policy; unveiled by the teachers working at Girls primary schools in rural area. I have tried to emphasize on the major themes that were prevalent and served a purpose to explore how the EMI policy is understood, negotiated and implemented on ground levels in schools. This data analysis contains two parts: interviews and classroom observation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 11 female primary teachers which reflected upon their ideologies related to EMI. Moreover, the classroom observation sessions created an opportunity to witness how the EMI policy is practiced by the teachers while interacting with the students. This chapter highlights the perceptions held by teachers and how their beliefs are reflected in their method of teaching.

4.2 Pashto: A Necessity in KP

One of the major themes that emerged out of this study is the importance of Pashto in KP. It was witnessed during the classes that the teachers used Pashto mostly to interact with the students. The textbooks were in English language for all the subjects. However, the teachers used to translate the text into Pashto while teaching. This caught my attention for several times and I tried to include this in the interviews. Almost 80% of the population living in KP speaks Pashto. People use Pashto at their homes, in the bustling markets, while using public transport and even in government offices. The teachers expressed their point of view during the interviews. It was implied by most of them that Pashto is easily understood by the students and it is the most widely used language across the province, especially in Bannu.

One of the teachers: Hadia, was brought up in a Punjabi Christian household. Urdu and English were used in her surroundings; at her home and at her missionary school. While conversing with her, she revealed that she was sometimes ‘bullied’ for not being able to speak Pashto. She has an experience of more than 20 years of

teaching primary classes. She believed Pashto to be extremely essential if one is living in KPK; as she states that:

I had to learn Pashto to survive in Bannu. No matter how much educated person comes across you and will in Pashto. It is very essential that you are fluent in Pashto if you are living in KPK. It is fine if you do not speak English or Urdu. (p. 1, L 3-4)

Hadia spoke Urdu fluently and our conversation was held in Urdu only. However, she had a personal childhood trauma attached to Pashto. As she recalled that she had been bullied for being an outsider or a non-Pashtun person living in KP. She could not speak Pashto but then she had to learn it. She realized that she needs to mingle with the society and needs to socialize with the people around. It was only possible if she used Pashto more. She claims that even if they are educated enough to use English or are fluent in Urdu, you are still expected to talk to them in Pashto. This reflects upon the ideology linked with Pashto; since geographical boundaries play a significant role in promoting a language, Pashto is recognized as an essential language by the people living in KP.

Pashto is represented as a mother tongue collectively by a large number of people. It has also been identified as an identity-marker for millions of Pashtuns living in KP, Pakistan (Rehman & Walker, 1995). Pashto acts as a common factor for Pashtuns to connect in a cultural harmony among themselves. The more I interviewed the teachers, the more it became clearer that Pashto is regarded as their identity of being a Pashtun. This is the language that most of them grew up with.

One of the teachers: Yusra, while being interviewed, expressed her love for Pashto language. She has a Master's degree in Islamiyat (Islamic studies) and has been teaching Maths and Islamiyat as a primary teacher for more than four years. She seldom uses Pashto in the classroom although, I think she was being conscious of using Pashto while I sat there. She delivered the lecture in Urdu and tried to interact with the students in Urdu. While expressing her perception about Pashto, she states:

It is my mother tongue and a local language here. We can never get it out of our lives. It is highly important here. We have always used Pashto at our home. My father was fond of Pashto poetry and I still enjoy listening to old

Pashto songs. I think the new generation does not take interest in Pashto poetry anymore. (p. 1, L 12-15)

Yusra expressed fondness towards Pashto poetry and old Pashto songs in the interview. She called it her ‘mother tongue’ and a ‘local language’. This implies that Yusra has a strong affiliation with Pashto. It evokes pleasant memories of childhood that she has had. She also claims that Pashto can never be abandoned by the people living in Bannu. By holding sentimental value towards Pashto, she claims that Pashto was used at her home. It is a language that she has heard and spoke while she was growing up. She also mentions her father being fond of Pashto poetry; it highlights how Pashto has been a part of her relationship with her father. She also shows concern regarding the new generation that doesn't take interest in Pashto poetry. This shows that she is worried about Pashto poetry not being given the importance that it deserves according to her. The Pashto language is a symbol of identity and culture for many in the country. It functions as their mother tongue, which they hold dear to themselves while also considering it an integral part on where they come from. It is considered by them to be their own, with its rich culture that it carries alongside all those who speak this language as well-loved children or cherished ancestors remember from generation upon generations past.

In 4 out of 5 classes that I attended, taught by Yusra, she was reluctant to use Pashto in the first class. Perhaps, she wanted to give an impression that she does not use Pashto with the students. However, as she grew familiar with me and was comfortable around me; she started to teach the students in Pashto. She also defended her method of teaching in an interview with me by stating that the students understand Pashto much better. According to her, the students are more familiar with Pashto than any other language(s). It was observed in the class that whenever Yusra tried to speak to the students in Urdu or English, they always responded in Pashto. They used Pashto while talking among their classmates and I never noticed them to even try speaking any other language.

While teaching Mathematics to second grade, Yusra used Pashto for the instructions; asked them to take out their books and notebooks and to settle down. The digits were pronounced in Urdu and then in English. It should be noted that the textbooks only contained English. As the class progresses, Yusra starts to teach them “Ordinal numbers”. Only Pashto is used to explain the above-mentioned Mathematics

term to the students. One student is called to the blackboard to spell the Ordinal numbers. Unfortunately, she was not able to spell it correctly.

scond --- Second

fist --- First

fouth ---Fourth

On the left side, the words that were written by the student is mentioned while on the right side, the correct form is mentioned. The student was not able to spell it correctly and was not aware of the rules of capitalization in English. Later, the words were corrected by the teacher herself and no more words were spoken to that student. Yusra used Pashto to call upon the students to the blackboard. Almost each student made a mistake related to the spelling of the words that they were asked to write down on the blackboard.

While teaching Geometric shapes to the students, Yusra used Pashto to describe the shapes. She was teaching about ‘circle’ to the students and asked a question in Pashto.

T: [*Circle sema sideena wi?*] [How many sides does a Circle have?]

S: [*Circle sideena na wi*] [Circle does not have sides]

‘Circle’ remains the same in Pashto used by the teacher although [*Girda दौरا*] can be used in Pashto for ‘Circle’ and the word [*sideena*] represents a deformed version of the word ‘sides’ in English. The teacher tries to teach them the Geometric shapes’ names in English but the description is given in Pashto. Yusra’s practice as a teacher in the classroom supports the ideology that Pashto is indeed important for the students. They rely solely on Pashto to understand the contents of the lesson being taught by the teachers. Translation to Pashto is used to ensure that the students understand the lessons better. Not only does this help with communication, but it also allows for a deeper level of understanding. According to the teachers who were interviewed for this study; it was believed that by utilizing Pashto in the classroom, students are able to gain a greater insight into the subject matter.

4.2 Glorification of English language

One of the most important and widely discussed themes that emerged from the interviews with the teachers and was based on the class observations is ‘Glorification of English language’. The demand for English has been so strong in Pakistan that it has become a magic wand to open the door of prosperity. But only certain elite groupings have access, not everyone with enough money or education understands how valuable this opportunity can be - which leads many people who don't belong on top percentiles feel marginalized because they don't know enough about what chance comes through learning another language. The mythological power associated with English thrives alongside sustained popular sentiment demanding its necessity when pursuing better opportunities both personally and nationally.

While discussing the role of English language in Pakistan, Shemeem Abbas (1993) points out several roles that English plays in Pakistan. He states that English is the major language of contact in all areas of administration, including both federal and provincial governments. The Defense Forces use English as their official language. This is mostly because the three components in which they are divided (the Army, Air Force and Navy) all have British models that were based on how these institutions functioned originally back when England had colonies across Asia Pacific regions. And finally, and most important reason to glorify English in Pakistan is for educational purpose; English is the preferred language for higher education and professional colleges such as universities, medical schools engineering colleges and Law schools.

Excerpts from the Interviews

While interviewing several teachers, the conversation turned to the usage of English language. Almost each one of them emphasized on the importance of English language in the lives of their students. They shared their thoughts related to learning English and opening doors to prosperity in the future.

One of the most educated teachers that I came across for the interview was Hafsa. She had a degree in Chemistry equivalent to Masters. She had lived in a town near to Islamabad, capital of Pakistan; after getting married, she moved to Bannu and has lived here ever since. She studied at an English-medium school and told me that the students at her school were fined if they did not communicate in English with one

another. While discussing her life journey and how she ended up in a small town of Khyber-Pakhtunkhan as a primary teacher, she expressed her disappointment by stating: “I came from Islamabad to Bannu. It feels like I have taken a step back in my life. I have learned English and I am capable of using it whenever the need arises.” (p. 2 L 81-82). Hafsa felt pride when she was able to communicate in English. Being able to speak the language fluently rewards her with a sense of accomplishment. She is one of the teachers who tried her best to encourage the students to use English in her classroom. She also revealed some insight into her personal life and expressed how English language has affected not only her married life, but also those closest to them. She further stated that:

It has helped me a lot at home. My husband has lived his entire life in the village. He does not know English at all. I told him that you will need to say certain important words in English in front of our children. I am the one who tells him how to say those words and what a certain thing is called in English. I often correct him and he gets impressed with me. He learns from me. I think I have gained more respect in my village because of English. (p. 2 L 83-87)

Hafsa was talking with such cheerful attitude while she explained how her husband is impressed with her English language skills. He is willing to get corrected by his wife and she enjoys this position. She further explains that because she can understand English; there are several people in the village who come to her to ask her to write an official letter or an application to be sent to a government body. She thinks this has brought respect to her name and the people around her praise her for her English language skills. According to her, several people of her family have asked her to provide English language tuitions to their children. She graciously agrees to provide the tuitions as she believes that this will help children with better opportunities in their future.

Hafsa gained her early education in an English medium school and this seems to be one of the reasons why she showed immense support for English language to be used in the school where she teaches currently. She expressed numerous times during the interviews that her English language skills have helped her to accomplish several goals in life. Especially the way she is treated in a village where a few have similar English language skills as she has. Her abilities as a teacher to make the students understand key concepts or being a responsible citizen of the society seems to be

overshadowed by what she claims to be her life's biggest academic achievement: speaking and understanding English language.

One of the head teachers of a school that was included in this study also shared her genuine point of view related to English language and claimed the current times to be “an era of English language”. Rabiya, a forty-four-year-old lady serves as a head teacher at a girls' primary school located in a village in Bannu. She holds a bachelor's degree in Islamic studies and in Education. During the interview, she kept mentioning her two children for whom she felt immense pride because of their educational status; both were going to a university for higher studies. While talking about her household environment, she was asked whether her children used English at home or they were asked to use Pashto only. She instantly denied this and stated proudly:

No, never. I would appreciate them. This is a good thing to move ahead in life. English helps you with so many opportunities in life. In our times, studying was an easy thing but nowadays it has become so hard. So, if any student is trying to do well in studies, we should be encouraging them. Now, it is the era of English language. (p 1, L 22-27)

Rabiya, the head teacher proposed that to be able to use English seems to be equivalent to be doing well in studies. This is a notion that is found embedded in many minds of Pakistani people that education seems to be focused on learning English language. Perhaps, this exists since most of the subjects are taught in English language; the textbooks contain English and it is also the medium of instruction across the country starting from primary level to higher education. She mentions that studying is now a harder job than how it used to be in her student life. She pointed towards the excessive use of English language in today's world especially in education. To learn a new concept in a native language that belongs to others might be a hard task for many indeed. English language and the opportunities that it brings with it seem to be one of the major reasons to glorify English language. Whether it is related to job opportunities, social status or building an image of being educated among others. This approach towards English language is represented by Kachru (1986), he compares English language to a magical lamp that grants its owner anything they wish for. It unlocks opportunities in science, technology and trade

around the world. English language is considered as a powerful tool that could be used for countless benefits to be attained by those who speak and understand it.

Another teacher named Hina, who had done matriculation in 1981 and was the most less-educated teacher teaching the pre-school classes which included kindergarten. During the interview, she expressed her views related to English language. She seemed very adamant that English should be taught to the students at an early age. Her students were the youngest ones at the primary school. She endorsed the perception that English is going to be the most beneficial language for her students when they grow up. When she was asked about any guidance been given to them regarding the new policy of using only English as medium of instruction; she denied. However, she insisted: “But we all know that English should be used now. We all want our children to speak English and same goes for my students.” (p 2, L 57-58). She suggests that everyone around her want their children to learn English. She implemented her own thoughts and feelings into the language, making it personal to her. Everyone has their own interpretation of language; however, she presumed that hers was the same as everyone else’s. She presented her view as a teacher and as a parent; both want the best for the child. In this case, learning English language seems to be the most important factor related to education of a child.

Excerpts from the Classroom Observation

The life inside the classrooms represent minimum use of English; a few words were left untranslated from the textbooks. Other than that, only Pashto ruled the classrooms. In a General Knowledge class of grade 3, the topic of the lesson is ‘food and feeding’ that discusses various types of animals and what they eat. Hafsa was the teacher in this class; she is the most fluent speaker of English that I came across during this study. She read a paragraph from the textbook and translated it in Urdu. Afterwards, she asked the students if there was any difficult word that they were not familiar with. The students replied with the word ‘flesh’. The teacher translated it into an Urdu word: ‘Gosht’. What surprised me later was that the students did not know what ‘meat’ means when just a few moments ago, the teacher has told them while translating the word ‘flesh’ for them. Translation from English to Urdu is also mentioned on the blackboard. One of the interesting techniques that I witnessed during the class observation: the fruit names were being translated from English to Pashto and then comes the word ‘beetroot’ in the textbook. The teacher was not aware

of its translation in Urdu and neither in Pashto. Hence, it was left un-translated and the students were asked to memorize it and were shown a picture of it in the textbook. The entire learning process during the class relies heavily on the teacher alone. She chooses the language to use, the one not to use and which language to be used for each purpose. The teacher acts not only as a mere educator but also someone who emphasizes on a certain language in the classroom. She chooses to translate or to not translate; she is the authority in the given time and place. I did not witness any teacher trying their best to use English. Whether they support using English wholeheartedly or it is considered important in the education sphere, they did not endorse it during the classes. Teachers' perceptions related to English as Medium of Instruction slightly contradict with their teaching practice inside the classrooms. They completely supported the new policy in the interviews but failed to implement it in the classrooms. There were several reasons for them to not use English while teaching; the most important and most reoccurring ones will be discussed later as a part of this study.

4.3 Students' Failure to Understand English Language

Another important problem that came to the fore in the light of data analysis of the interviews conducted with the teachers and through classroom observations is that the students do not comprehend English language. All the teachers that were interviewed for this study; claimed that one of the reasons of not using English in the classrooms was related to the lack of understanding of English language depicted by the students. Due to their social and cultural background, these students are not exposed to English at their homes or outside of their homes. The only exposure that they have of Urdu language is at the school or through television media. Pashto is used at their homes, in the market places, at get-togethers and in their surroundings. At their schools, they use Pashto to interact with the teachers and their batch fellows. With little or no exposure to English language, it is difficult for them to understand it. Similarly, a study by Storch and Wigglesworth (2003) suggests that the participants, non-native speakers used their first language (L1) among themselves to discuss the definitions of unfamiliar words of English language, understand assignments more clearly and thus complete tasks easier given in the classroom. Hence, students did not only rely on English language to understand the context of what they were being

taught. However, in this study the teachers seemed adamant that the students do not understand if they are addressed in English.

Excerpts from the Interviews

Necessary instructions were also given in Pashto inside the classrooms; such as to open a certain page number in a textbook or to come to the blackboard to write something. While interviewing the teachers, all of them expressed their disappointment regarding this matter. They concluded that even if they tried to implement the policy of English being the MOI, they would not be able to succeed in making the students understand what they taught to them. One of the teachers who agreed on giving her precious time for a series of interviews: Saba, holds a bachelor's degree in Islamic studies. I found her to be passionate about the students' future and their education. She has previously taught at a community school; community schools are funded by international NGOs in collaboration with the provincial government. When she was asked about whether she had faced any hardships in her current job, she replied: "Before I was teaching here, I taught at a community school and there we used to speak in Urdu but to teach in this school, I had to use Pashto instead of Urdu to make them understand". (p 1, L 11-13) She had to change her teaching practice and adapt according to the new school requirements. She claims that if the students are taught in any other language except of Pashto, they would not be able to understand the context. These claims by several teachers made me curious to know how did they conclude that the students did not understand Urdu or English. Upon asking Saba about how had she assumed that she should be using Pashto as MOI instead of English or Urdu, she proposed:

When I used to ask them a question about something that I just taught: a very simple topic. They used to stare at me blankly because neither did they understand my question nor did they understand the topic. Even the head teacher asked me to use Pashto so that students could understand. (P 1, L 15-19)

One of the major reasons that emerged out of the interviews for using Pashto as MOI is that students lack to understand other languages. They respond differently when they are taught in English or Urdu. As a teacher, the satisfaction comes from the students' response to questions related to the topic that is taught. If the student is not

able to understand the meaning and the context of a topic, then it seems useless to the teacher to continue teaching the same topic. Hence, the teachers use Pashto to make the students understand. Their priority is not to improve students' language skills rather to enhance their understanding regarding different topics related to Science, Social Science, and Mathematics.

Yusra who teaches 3rd grade as a class teacher seems to be optimistic that in the future the students will be able to understand English. When she was asked if she has ever tried to use Urdu or English as MOI, she replied:

I did try when I was a new teacher here. They could not understand what I was saying. They did not give me any response. I think after 5th grade they will be able to understand English and Urdu. They will be mature enough then. Right now, they are too young to understand any language other than Pashto. I never try to stop them from using Pashto. I made a rule way before that only Urdu will be used in the classroom but it failed miserably. (P 2, L 17-21)

Yusra believes that being in 3rd grade, these students are too young to understand English. Perhaps after 5th grade, they might have some exposure to English language other than just through textbooks and then they might be able to understand it. These young students are only exposed to Pashto; at their homes, schools and in other surroundings. For Yusra, English is a language that can be learned with age. She claims that her students are not 'mature' enough to understand English. Furthermore, she shares her previous technique to introduce Urdu in the classroom by making a rule that only Urdu will be used for interaction, however, that had failed miserably. It suggests that the students do not wish to be part of any strict policy to be used inside the classroom. They are more likely to use the one language that they feel most comfortable with: Pashto.

Rabiya, another teacher shared her experience of the first day at school as a class teacher of 1st grade. She intentionally used Pashto to introduce herself to the students. She knew it that those students were not able to understand any other language. Reminiscing about the starting days of her job at the school, she shared:

I was given 1st grade to teach. I spoke in Pashto with them while introducing myself and asking them their names. They could not understand any other language. I remember once I was teaching them English alphabet such as "A

for Apple”, “B for Ball”, “C for Cat”. Then I used to tell them the meaning of those words in Pashto for example “*maara*” for an “apple”. This created an image of an apple in their mind and hence they could associate a letter with it. (P 1, L 38-43)

Rabiya had to use Pashto for teaching English alphabet to the students. These students were studying in 1st grade and this would have been their first encounter with the English alphabet still the teacher could not rely on English language only. Pashto is considered highly important to engage the students in learning process. The teachers codeswitch to Pashto during a lecture because they think that this will make the students understand what is being taught. Ferguson (2009) suggests that codeswitching while teaching, serves several purposes. Especially when the teachers decide to codeswitch from English (being used as MOI) to the mother tongue of the students. Codeswitching can be used for communicating knowledge, classroom management and interpersonal relations. This would cover the different teacher identities such as an educator or authority figure by indexing into their voice while negotiate how they come across in relation to students (e.g. Supervising). Codeswitch also helps humanize a positive learning environment. The way teachers see their central task is to make the classroom environment feel comfortable, familiar and safe.

Excerpts from the Classroom Observation

During the interviews, several teachers expressed their perceptions related to the use of Pashto in the classrooms. They hold a belief that the students could not understand English or Urdu as the way they understand Pashto. Hence, this makes it a necessity to use Pashto in the class or else the students will not be able to understand any of the context of what is being taught to them. The policy supports English as MOI, however, the teachers prefer to use a language that the students will be able to understand perfectly. This creates an environment which indulges the teachers in a constant confusion regarding usage of students’ mother tongue: Pashto, their national language: Urdu and an official language of the state: English. Similarly, as Jones and Barkhuizen (2011) suggests that in Kenya where there is pressure to teach learners English and Kiswahili from early grades despite the policy supporting mother tongue education, teachers find themselves caught in conflict. To manage these tensions, they employ code-switching or choral teaching methods which allow them move quickly between two languages without confusion for both students' sake as well their own

sanity during this process of learning. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, although the policy supports English as MOI, the teachers find it difficult to implement it thoroughly. Hence, they take help of Pashto; mother tongue of the masses in order to make the students understand the context of what is being taught. The teachers translate the text of the books into Urdu and Pashto; everything is explained in Pashto and the students also respond in Pashto only.

I witnessed in the classrooms that the students used to stare at the teacher blankly if the teacher had used Urdu or English with them even if it consisted of basic instructions. The students interacted with one another in Pashto only. I did not come across any student who used English or Urdu. Furthermore, if they were asked a question in Urdu or English, they replied in Pashto.

During a class of Pakistan Studies/ Social Studies being taught to 5th graders, Rabiya, their teacher was presenting the lecture. The textbook is in Urdu; this seemed interesting to me as the policy of using English as a Medium of Instruction was not applicable for Pakistan Studies. The teacher is reading from the book and then translating each line in Pashto. The teacher announced that she will be using Pashto so the students could understand what was written in the book. The topic was related to difference between democracy and martial law; this was explained in Pashto. Explanation on election system of Pakistan was presented in Pashto. The students were engaged in a discussion regarding elections in their town; all this discussion was in Pashto only. The students were told to maintain discipline in the classroom, these instructions were also announced in Pashto. Towards the end of the class, the teacher casually chatted with the students about the weather and about the incoming elections in the village in Pashto. At the end of the class, the students were given instructions for homework and only Pashto was used.

I attended another class of science, grade 4 taught by Saba. 15 students are present in the class. The topic's name was written on the blackboard; however, no translation could be found on it. She starts to read from the textbook in English and then translates it into Urdu and then in Pashto. The students give examples in English and Urdu but the words are not pronounced correctly. The topic revolves around the classes of animal kingdom; the word 'class' was not explained by the teacher. The word 'flesh' is pronounced as '*flash*' by the teacher and all the students repeat after her; no one corrects the mispronunciation. After the teacher, has stopped teaching the

topic, the students are asked questions at the end of the class. They answer the questions in Pashto. The instructions for homework were also given in Pashto, this practice has been common in almost all classes.

4.4 Poor English Proficiency Depicted by Teachers

It is highly essential that the teachers must be proficient in English language if they are to use English as MOI. Most of the teachers that teach at these primary schools located in remote areas are themselves a product of the same or similar education system. Thus, it is not expected of them to be proficient in English. During collecting data for this study, another important theme emerged; the teachers are not proficient in English and this serves as a hurdle in the students' education. Most of the textbooks used contain English and to transfer that knowledge to the teachers, it is important that the teachers should be able to understand the content on their own first. English teachers working at government schools in Pakistan are not competent enough to teach English. Similarly, a report by Coleman (2010) claims that the English language is often taught through the medium of Urdu or some local tongue because many teachers lack confidence in their own abilities and their proficiency in English language is quite poor. The interviews for this study were conducted in Pashto and Urdu; the teachers felt more comfortable in the above-mentioned languages than they could ever feel comfortable with English. Although, most of them had a bachelor's degree but still they chose to use Urdu and Pashto only. Even those teachers who taught English to a great number of students were hesitant to provide a few answers in English. The classroom observations also proved to have the same outcome; the lack of proficiency in English was evident in almost all the class sessions.

Excerpts from the Interviews

During the semi-structured interviews that were conducted in Pashto and Urdu for the ease of the teachers so, they could participate openly and find it easy to share their thoughts and beliefs; I found the participants to be comfortable with me in Pashto and Urdu. They did not try to communicate with me in English fluently or to even to use certain English words. Some of them asked me beforehand if we were going to communicate in English; when they were told that they may use Urdu or Pashto, they were found to be relieved about it. While interviewing Saba, a teacher

with the least education qualification; we discussed textbooks that were not in English such as Pakistan Studies. I asked her if the textbooks were going to be translated in English soon and she told me that there has not been anything official about it yet. She presented her own thoughts about this:

Well, if that happens, I think it will not be beneficial for these children. Even teachers like us cannot understand English then why would we expect these students to do so? It will be difficult for them and for us too. I try to prepare my lesson before the class and underline difficult English words in the book and then write the translation of those words in Urdu. I do not want to embarrass myself in front of the students in case I forget a word's translation from English to Urdu. (P 2, L 61-65)

Translating more textbooks into English for the sake of the new policy which suggests to use English as MOI, does not seem to be beneficial to one of the teachers: Saba. She believes that English is a difficult language and it should not be expected of the students to understand it easily. She mentions that the teachers are not competent enough to understand English and her technique relies on translation to Urdu scribbled on the textbook that she personally uses. Furthermore, no training or workshops are conducted to improve their English language skills; in fact, they cannot rely on any other help given by the official authorities. A policy is driven without the teachers being involved and they are left on their own to enhance their English skills. This seems to be a sad reality for several teachers who find themselves struggling with a language that is challenging for them. This affects their confidence and their teaching practices.

Rabiya, who serves as a head teacher feels proud of her children who are studying at a university and have a good command of English language. While being interviewed, she expressed her pride for her children at several moments. When she was asked whether there was any rule at her home to use Pashto — their mother tongue, she explained how she never gave importance to only one language for her children to use:

I think they should learn all the languages that are being exposed to. I find myself to lose self-confidence when I am using English with educated people

around me. Several people of my age share mutual feelings about speaking English. I do not want my children to feel like this. (P 1, L 29-31)

Rabiya holds a perspective that children should be encouraged to learn new languages, most importantly; English. She admits that she does not feel confident while using English even though she is highly educated. She tends to get nervous around people who can speak English. In Pakistan, people who are fluent in English language are deemed as educated persons. She teaches to grade 5 and for English classes; she asks another younger teacher who has a better command of English to teach her class. She also shared several instances when she asked her daughter to help her while she prepares for a lecture to be given at school. Her children also provide assistance when she or her husband needs to submit an official letter or complaint to a government authority. Only one teacher seemed to be confident regarding her English language skills during the interviews, however, her skills were not showcased during any class observations.

Excerpts from the Classroom Observation

As discussed previously, I did not witness the teachers using English as MOI; Pashto was used thoroughly by the teachers and by the students. Urdu was used to translate English content found in the textbooks and then it was explained in Pashto. It was evident that the teachers do not want to use English during the class sessions. They mentioned in the interviews that the students would not be able to understand any other language other than Pashto. Although, it became clearer that the teachers are not proficient in English. No effort was put forward by any teacher to indulge the students in using English. There were several instances when words were mispronounced by the teachers. I also noticed that the students were not always corrected if they made a mistake of mispronouncing or misspelling a word.



Figure 2: Picture of a black board

The above picture is of a blackboard that was taken during one of the class sessions; the students were called upon to the blackboard to mention living and non-living things. Below the category of ‘living things’, it can be seen that ‘*kamel*’ is a misspelling of the word ‘camel’. This was left uncorrected by the teacher. The student went back to her seat and the rest of the students wrote it down in their notebooks. A word ‘*wondons*’ can be seen below the category of non-living things on the blackboard’s picture above. This word has no meaning in English language, however, it can be assumed that the student wanted to write ‘windows’ but was not aware of its spelling. This was also ignored by the teacher and other students were told to write it down in their notebooks as class work. This endorses the fact that the teachers are not competent enough to teach English or they do not bother to correct the students because they feel it will be useless according to them.

Several questions were asked related to the process of evaluation in the interviews with the teachers; most of them asserted that they always call attention to the mistakes that are made by the students in tests, exams, quizzes or in homework. I also checked a few students’ notebooks to see what they have been studying and writing down in them. I was surprised to see plenty of mistakes made by the students that remain uncorrected by the teachers. Those notebooks also contained a few tests which were marked incorrectly.

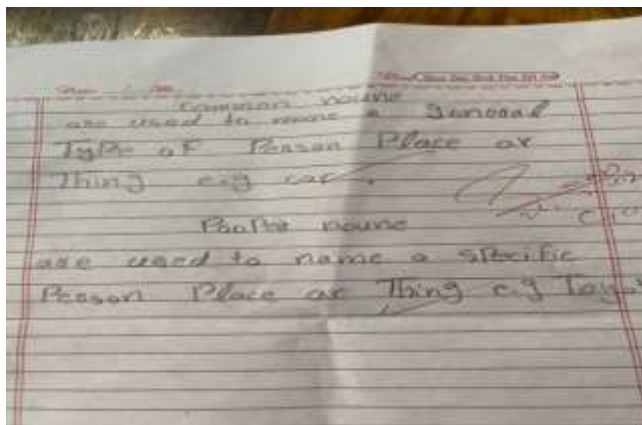


Figure 3: Picture taken from student's notebook

The above picture presents a page of a notebook that belonged to a 3rd grade student. She has written the definition of common noun and proper noun; a necessary grammar topic that is taught at primary level of schooling in Pakistan. Several mistakes related to spelling and grammar can be observed in the picture; such as the word noun is misspelled as “*noune*” but it is not corrected by the teacher. Red ballpoint markings show that it has been checked by the teacher. Some essential punctuation rules have been ignored such as a comma must be inserted between “person” and “place”. Auxiliary verbs such as ‘are’ or ‘is’ are inserted in a sentence according to plural or singular nouns; it can be seen in the picture that ‘common noun’ and ‘proper noun’ are used as singular but “are” is used with them. This is grammatically incorrect but the teacher has not corrected it. The classroom observations which include teacher-students’ interaction verbally and the use of blackboard for the written expression along with the notebooks for class work and homework suggest that the teachers do not often correct the students. During the interviews and the classroom observations the teachers did not seem to be confident about their command of English language. They seemed extremely hesitant while trying to converse in English. If a person is competent enough to be an English teacher, then the confidence develops on its own.

4.5 Urdu is Only Used for Translation

As discussed previously in this study, teachers use Pashto as a MOI whereas the official policy suggests to use English instead. During the process of data collection; another language that emerged as an important factor of teaching practices and embedded in the minds of the teachers was Urdu. It was present in all interviews

and class room observations; the national language of Pakistan enjoys a high prestige in these primary schools located in remote villages of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. As the question rises that how do the teachers include Urdu in their teaching method? The answer lies in a system that has been practiced since a long time especially in post-colonized states: The Grammar-Translation Method. The Grammar-Translation Method provides students with accurate, meaningful and appropriate skills by providing them access to a wide variety of exercises that teach how different languages are constructed (Fish, 2008).

Excerpts from the Interviews

While conducting interviews with the teachers and attending class sessions; it was observed that Urdu is used for translating the English content present in the textbooks. Line-to-line and word-to-word translation is practiced in all classes. The teachers seemed to believe that translation is a necessity if they want the students to understand the context of different topics being taught to them. After translating from English to Urdu, the content is then explained in Pashto. This practice indicates that the students are not proficient in Urdu and need Pashto to understand the topic completely. This also proposes that the teachers might not be competent enough to translate directly from English to Pashto, hence they require another language to fill the gap. One of the teachers: Yusra who teaches 2nd grade, expressed her beliefs and shared her techniques that she uses while teaching maths. While conducting the interview with her, we discussed her methods of teaching Mathematics to her class. The textbook only contains English and no other language is added to it. Yusra is of the opinion that learning Mathematics is hard in English by stating:

I use Urdu while teaching Mathematics. I teach them what math symbols are called in Urdu and they learn quickly. I think it is easier for them to pronounce the Urdu words than to pronounce English ones. I have taught them the digits in both languages. Our new generation does not know the digits in Urdu; they only focus on English now. I think this should not be happening and it is important that we should know Mathematics terms, symbols and digits in Urdu. (P 1, L 26-30)

Using Urdu as MOI seems as a reasonable choice for most of the teachers that I interviewed. They feel the need to translate each word from English to Urdu while

teaching. Such as Yusra believes that students will be more comfortable pronouncing Urdu words than English ones. The textbook contains English only, however, the teacher seems adamant that teaching them in English will be difficult for them to memorize the names of symbols, understand or practice the exercises. Yusra also holds a belief that today's generation is not quite sincere to their national language, Urdu. She gave an example that most of the people do not know the numeral digits in Urdu. Saba, another teacher who was interviewed for this study discussed the process of examination in the school. She stated: "all of the teachers translate every question into Urdu and Pashto. We do this all the time, however, in Urdu exams, they do not need any translation then." The students are not assumed to be competent enough to understand a simple question written on an exam paper in English but they are made to memorize, understand and write down answers consisting of several paragraphs in English in order to get promoted to the next class.

Some of the teachers expressed their views related to Urdu being used in the classrooms. Most of them believed that Urdu has helped the students a lot in learning the content in the textbooks. To translate from English to Urdu is also easier for the teachers than to translate from English to Pashto or to use English as MOI. Another teacher: Zainab expressed her fondness for Urdu.

She claimed:

I always tried to use Urdu in my class as often as possible while interacting with the students. I think they are also fond of Urdu but are not able to feel confident about it. If we speak to them in Urdu then the confidence will build on its own. The hardest of all three languages (English, Urdu, Pashto) being used in the school; I think Urdu is the easiest one to use. It also has so many advantages being the national language in Pakistan. I can translate directly to Pashto from English but I want them to learn Urdu. (P 2, L 57-62)

Urdu is believed to be much easier to understand for the students than English is according to most of the teachers that I interviewed. Urdu fills the gap between English and Pashto for the students. The students have more exposure of Urdu than they have of English. It is due to the fact that the common means of media for majority of Pakistani people is available in Urdu; the drama industry, radio stations, music industry, film industry and news channels are in Urdu. The teachers also

claimed that the students try to talk to one another in Urdu sometimes. It indicates that the students are competent enough to use Urdu in their daily lives. However, they are never seen to be using English while interacting with one another. They feel shy and lack confidence because they are not skilled enough to construct sentences neither do they know the vocabulary.

Excerpts from the Classroom Observation

Urdu was present in all the class sessions that I attended for classroom observations. The teachers used Urdu to translate the English content in the textbooks. This enabled them to effectively communicate with their students. Additionally, it allowed them to adapt the material to better suit the needs of their students. Translating was beneficial for the students, but it was a time-consuming process. The teachers who took the time to translate provided a better understanding of the text to the students, but it took significantly longer than simply reading the text in English. Translation was not limited to reading only; it was also found in written form. The blackboard was often used to write down the Urdu translation next to its English part. The students were also told to write down the meaning in Urdu next to the English word. The students also possessed 'guide books'; these books had line-to-line translation of entire paragraphs of the textbooks. The students used these books to memorize the content with the help of translation.

In one of the class sessions of 3rd grade (Subject: English); taught by Hafsa, I observed that the definitions of grammatical terms were also being translated in Urdu. The topic is 'Noun'; the students do not seem to have an idea about what noun is or what part of speech is. Blackboard is being used but only English is written on it. The teacher moves to the next topic: 'Pronoun' without explaining the types of noun present in the textbook. Following lines are written on the blackboard: a definition of pronoun along with its translation in Urdu next to it.

It is a word that is used instead of noun.

[*Wo lafz jo noun ki jagah istamaal ho*]

The equivalent word for noun in Urdu is '*Isam*' but it was not used by the teacher. Perhaps, the teacher was not aware of this word in Urdu. The students were expected to write it down in their notebooks with the translation. She gave an example of using

a pronoun in a sentence on the blackboard; again, the translation in Urdu was written next to it.

Ali is a good boy. He goes to school.

[*Ali acha larka hai. Who school jata hai*]

The teacher used Urdu to explain pronoun further. The students were told to memorize the definition in English. The teacher did not give any examples in Pashto and only used Urdu. The teacher taught the students what a certain word or sentence meant in Urdu, but she observed that some of them were still struggling to understand the language. So, she began using Pashto to explain the concepts. She found that this was more effective in helping the students grasp the material. It could be observed that code switching between three languages (English, Urdu, Pashto) was practiced by almost every teacher.

Furthermore, if the students were being taught to write something in English; they were also taught to write the same thing in Urdu. It seems as if they were being taught two languages at the same time. Many teachers claimed during the interviews that their students are not proficient in Urdu. They need help with Urdu along with English. This was an effort by the teachers to make the students learn both languages. Most of these students belong to such family background that does not allow them to have more exposure to Urdu. Their parents or grandparents converse with them in Pashto: their mother tongue. Hence, while studying the students try to retain three languages in their mind. If they are told the meaning of an 'apple' in Urdu; it will be required by them to know its meaning in Urdu and Pashto. This applies for every sentence that they are taught from the textbook. This results in more time being spent in the class on translation and less time is left for explanation or memorization. When they are writing down the class work in their notebooks; they use two languages for that. It is indeed very time consuming. During one of the class sessions, I checked one of the students' notebook and found several pages that had Urdu translation written next to or below the English word and sentences.

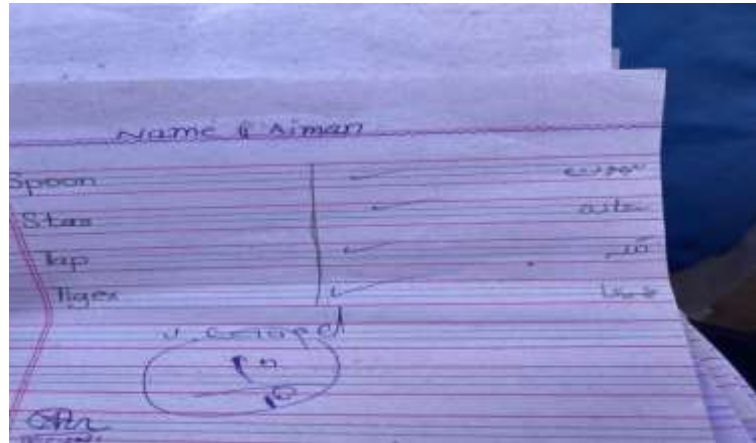


Figure 4: Picture of a student's test

The above picture belongs to a student's test taken on a notebook page. The students were asked to write down a few words that they remember from the previous classwork and were told to write the translation in Urdu next to the English words. The equivalent word for 'spoon' in Urdu is [*Chamach*], however, in the picture as it can be seen; the word for spoon in Urdu is written as 'spoon' but in Urdu script. This has been checked by the teacher but the mistake remains uncorrected. The student has scored full marks and seems to be unaware of what a 'spoon' means in Urdu. This paves way to a new debate consisting of teachers' inability to evaluate a student's work efficiently or teacher's inattentiveness towards a student's progress. Both pose a threat to a student's ability to perform well at studies and to ensure better opportunities for them in the future.

4.6 Our Language Dilemma: Urdu as the National Language

Urdu has been a part of identity for people of Pakistan; before 1947, during the process of partition the political scenario revolved around language and identity separately for Muslims and Hindus. Urdu was taken as an identity for Muslims whereas the Hindus celebrated Hindi as their own. Urdu has been promoted as an integrative symbol of Pakistani identity, rather than just ethnic roots. This wins over support from the urban middle class and consolidates power in rural areas. As Rahman (1997) mentions about the history of forty years after independence in Pakistan; the elite have always had an ethno-nationalist agenda related to Urdu. They've used language to promote their goals and desires, with Urdu being one such tool that was employed by these leaders for centuries until it became part of our national identity during independence from Britain when politicians started using this

"national" Persian dialect rather than English or any other tongue so people would identify more closely as Pakistani instead of being identified primarily based off geographic location alone.

Moreover, the ruling class, however wanted English to be used all official domains to ensure its cultural predominance and distinction from other languages. To enter positions of power they gave priority for children who spoke only this language at home with an intention that these would become more authoritative figures in society. 'English Vs Urdu' debate has been found in all domains of life and education also falls in this category. During the interviews for this study and while observing the classroom sessions; another essential theme emerged related to the usage of Urdu language at primary schools located in remote areas of Bannu, KP. The teachers seemed confused regarding Urdu being used for translation only. The students understood Urdu to some extent, however, the teachers were adamant that the students could only understand Pashto.

Excerpts from the Interviews

During the semi-conducted interviews with the teachers; it was made evident by them that they all were fluent in Urdu. They could converse fluently and have studied Urdu as one of the main subjects at primary, elementary and advance level. All of them allowed a deep view of their practice as a teacher which unveiled that Urdu is used to translate the English content found in the textbooks. It is not used to interact with the students and seldom used to explain the content. One of the teachers: Hina, supported the practice of using Urdu in the class instead of English or Pashto. She expressed her point of view by stating:

Personally, I prefer to use Urdu more and I also ask my other fellow teachers to use Urdu more than Pashto. I feel that it is better to use Urdu than Pashto. Learning Urdu is more beneficial for them and they need to be fluent in a language that is used widely in our country. (P 1, L 36-39)

Hina prefers Urdu over Pashto or English to be used in the classrooms. She believes Urdu to be an important language and almost a necessity for people living in Pakistan. She has also asked other teachers to use Urdu more which suggests that she wants to bring a change in the teaching system of the school. She wants students to learn Urdu and avoid speaking Pashto in the premises of the school. While conversing with Hina,

she emphasized on the importance of Urdu as the national language in Pakistan. She believes that in order to promote the national language of Pakistan, Urdu must be used more often and publicly. Hina explained that it will never be an easy task to replace the position of English with Urdu, however, some steps can be taken to revive Urdu in the government sector. She stated:

This is a crucial step in replacing English as it continues its reign over all official working environments even after 70 years since independence from Britain. English continues to dominate official working environments with executive use in departments like legislation or judicial proceedings as well. (P 2, L 94-96)

To replace English language and its prestige in Pakistan with Urdu seems to be an arduous task. It is instilled in the young minds of the nation that adoption of Urdu in all spheres of life will bring prosperity to this country; on the other hand, no such steps are taken by the government to ensure that Urdu is used officially in the country. It appears to be limited to the media only. None of the job opportunities for people rely solely on their proficiency level of Urdu language. This is a dilemma of this nation which has been present since independence. Urdu is used to provoke patriotism in the hearts of the people and to provide a sense of identity for them. However, no opportunities in most demanding careers are presented to those who spend their entire lives to learn Urdu.

None of the teachers seemed to be in favor of using Urdu as MOI; they believed that it will bring more obstacles in the future of the students. However, some of them wanted the students to communicate in Urdu with one another. Teachers also wanted to interact with the students in Urdu but they feel reluctant and use Pashto instead. They want to make sure that the students understand what is being taught to them using the textbooks and they believe that students are only able to understand Pashto.

Excerpts from the Classroom Observation

Urdu is taught as a compulsory subject starting at primary level and up to advanced level education in all schools across Pakistan. The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) recognizes two main languages -English and Urdu. Since the founding document was implemented in 1974, however, there has been a lot of confusion about

how it should be applied on an everyday basis for business transactions or education opportunities. Urdu and English are widely used in Pakistan and hold an important position in all spheres of life (Gillispie, 2018).

During the process of data collection for this study, I attended a few classes of Urdu being taught to the students as an observer. Pakistan studies and Urdu were the only subjects that consist of Urdu in the textbooks. The subjects which consisted of English in the textbooks were taught through translation method. English text was translated into Urdu and then it was explained in Pashto. Interestingly, while teaching Urdu; the teachers translated the text into Pashto for the students. The difficult words were translated into Pashto which was similar to how English words were translated into Urdu. Pashto was used in the classroom by the students while interacting with the teachers. The teachers were observed giving instructions in Pashto and Urdu was only used while reading the text in the textbooks. The teacher read from the textbooks and the students repeated after the teacher.

During one of the class sessions, the teacher translated the title of a new chapter to be taught. *Majlis k adaab* was translated to [*Da mehfil adab*] in Pashto. By looking at the translation it could be assumed that the students would have easily understood its meaning without it being translated into Pashto. However, it seems as a ritual to be followed by every teacher to translate each Urdu word into Pashto for the understanding of the students. As the chapter is finished, the teacher asks the questions given at the end of the chapter and translated the questions in Pashto. The students gave the answers in Pashto and the teacher accepted them without asking them to use Urdu instead. The students did not understand the Urdu word: *Sarghoshi*, the teacher translated it into Pashto as [*Pasposay kaol*]. The students asked the teacher to repeat the word *Sarghoshi* and tried to memorize it. It seemed fascinating for them as a new word to be learned in Urdu.

The teacher asks the students to read the text from the textbook which has already been read by the teachers. One of the student finds it hard to read the Urdu words, however, she is not corrected by the teacher. Instead she is asked to sit down and to stop reading. This practice was observed in various class sessions; the teachers did not use Urdu while interacting with the students. Therefore, the students do not seem interested in using their national language among themselves or while interacting with the teachers. Urdu is considered as one of the subjects that they need

to pass in order to get promoted to the next class. I did not observe any interest in the students to learn Urdu or their effort to use Urdu inside the classrooms or outside the classrooms.

4.7 Lack of Guidance from the Authorities

The KP government has implemented a novel policy to make English the main language of instruction for all students at primary level, regardless their mother tongue. The move to English as the main language of instruction in KP was a conscious decision by policymakers who wanted more people from around this region gain access and mastery of Science and Mathematics. The teachers are expected to practice this policy in order to make the students more skillful when it comes to English language. Through this study, it was high lightened that not all the teachers were proficient enough regarding English. Therefore, it seems to be an unwise decision to ask them to use English as MOI. On the other hand, several researches prove that policy of using mother tongue as a language in which learners are taught, will lead to better learning outcomes especially for marginalized students whose exposure to English language outside the school is limited.

The new policy is only found in the papers as it fails to get demonstrated at ground level in the public schools located in remote areas of KP. In case a new policy is introduced by the provincial government; guidance should be provided to the agents through whom the policy will be practiced. In this case, the teachers are the agents through which English as MOI would be practiced at primary level in schools of KP. Through several interviews conducted with the teachers and by attending a training session organized for the teachers; it became clear that no guidance is provided by the higher authorities to use English as MOI.

Excerpts from the Interviews

During the interviews with teachers; they were asked directly whether any official notice was provided or a verbal announcement has been made regarding the use of English as MOI. All the teachers denied about being asked to use English in the classrooms by the authorities. Some of them also concluded that they have not had any training sessions or guidance to improve their English language skills organized by the provincial education department. Rabiya, one of the teachers shared her

experience related to several visits that were made by the authorities to the school. She states:

It has been told to us that we need to make it very simple to make the students understand what we are teaching them. Even if it takes us to use Pashto. The use of cramming should be reduced and concepts should be made clearer. We have never been told to use English as MOI. Instead, we are told to use a language that the students are most familiar with. (P 2, L 68-72)

It is clear that the higher authorities have not played their part fully or actively in assuring that English is used as MOI at primary level in these schools located in KP. Instead, they are more concerned about the students being able to understand the content of the textbooks in any language that the students find most familiar. Educating children in their native language is considered to be a tenet of good practice. Research has shown that this is generally more effective than teaching them in a foreign language specially to gain academic success or for social development of an individual at early stages of education (Mundy & Madden, 2010). While discussing this further with Rabiya, she unveiled that in case people from the provincial government visit the school to interact with the students; mostly to look for issues that need to be resolved, they engage with the students in Pashto only. They want the students to express themselves freely and Pashto seems to be the only choice for that. This suggests that the provincial government understands the importance of Pashto and the role it plays in the education of these young girls, however, the policy of using English as MOI is still present in the papers although not found in practice at the schools located in KP.

During one of the interviews with a teacher: Hafsa, she expressed her disappointment for not being able to be a part of the management which gets to decide the mechanisms to be used while teaching the students. She believes that teachers should be made a part of these meetings, seminars or other official sessions which play an important part in deciding matters such as which language used be used as MOI at primary level in schools. When she was asked if the people from higher authorities have ever interacted with her or asked about her opinion about any matter related to the school; she denied and stated:

No, they only interact with our head teacher and that only consists of complaints regarding electricity, washrooms or furniture. There have been very less instances when they initiated to talk about education or matters such as English as MOI. They have never considered the teachers to be worthy of having an opinion related to bigger issues regarding education of these young girls. It makes me feel so powerless and useless that if any education policy will be implemented through me even then I shall never be a part of it when it is being drafted. (P 2, L 68-74)

Several teachers hold the same belief regarding their absence in meetings organized by the provincial government where new education policies are drafted. According to Hafsa, discussion related to the problems of infrastructure of the school are not to be discussed with the teachers. More staff should be hired for this purpose. However, when it comes to education and all the related matters to it; the teachers should be involved. Their opinions should be taken in consideration as they have a lot to share in terms of their experience of teaching and a connection that they share with the students.

Excerpts from the Teachers' Training Session Observation

Teacher training is a necessary step to becoming an effective teacher. It is essential for the professional growth of the teachers and to enhance their teaching skills. As Richards and Farrell (2005) suggest that teacher training involves learning about basic concepts and principles, applying them in the classroom with supervision to try new strategies. It also includes getting feedback on one's practice from other senior colleagues during this process. A training session was organized by the education department of the provincial government of KP inside the premises of a Girls' high school. The session was held for the primary teachers; a high school was selected because of a better infrastructure, suitable space and availability of required furniture. I wanted to explore more about the role played by the provincial government in implementing the new policy of English as MOI. For this reason, I attended the training session to have an insight of the role played by the teachers in developing new strategies of teaching and to have a glance of how their voices are heard or are remained unheard.

Fortunately, I was invited by one of the head teachers of one of the schools where I had interviewed several teachers. Hence, I could sit with the rest of the teachers and had the permission to record the session on my cellphone and to keep my diary with me which was used to note down the classroom observations previously. Senior teachers from the girls' high school were assigned with the task to head the training session for the primary school teachers. Main subjects such as English, Mathematics and Science were included to be discussed and selected topics were assigned to other teachers for demonstration of a lecture. The session starts with a science session and one of the teachers is explaining what a magnet is on a white board and she speaks in Urdu. The session is being held in a science laboratory. As the teacher stops teaching, others are asked to get involved in an activity; the steps and instructions are mentioned on a paper provided to the teachers in groups.

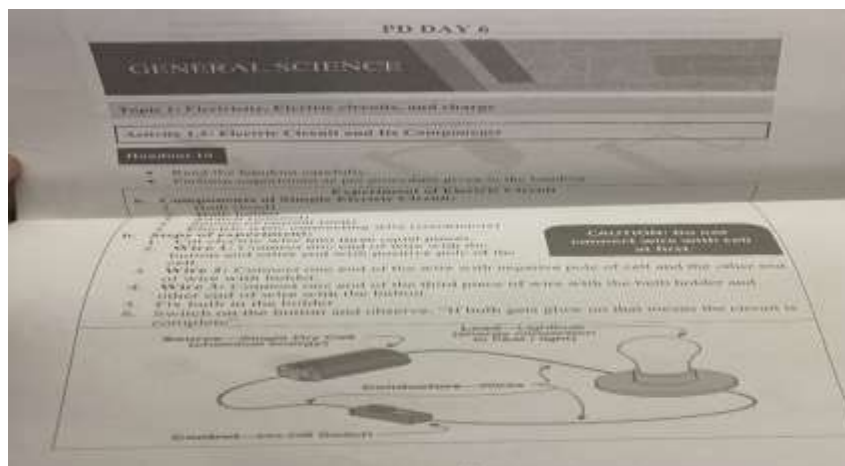


Figure 5: Teacher's training session handout

The above picture represents a handout that was provided to the teachers to conduct an experiment. Equipment was provided to two groups only and there were four groups consisting of twenty teachers from four girls' primary schools. The instructions provided on the paper were in English, however, the teachers interacted with one another in Pashto. The instructor was seen talking in Urdu and English was only used to refer to the items used in the experiment such as 'bulb', 'circuit', 'positive' and 'negative'. These words usually lack their equivalent words in Urdu language. Other teachers are asked to explain the experiment and they use Urdu to do so. The four groups of teachers were asked to give a presentation regarding the Science experiment and they used paper sheets which had the instructions written on

them. English was used to write on the paper and were attached to the white board using sticking tape. It can be seen in the figure below:



Figure 6: Picture of training session demonstration

The teachers used Urdu to explain what was written on the paper sheets; no one used English to explain the experiment or any of its instructions. They read from the sheets and then translated the text into Urdu as they would do in the classrooms; reading from the textbook and translating into Urdu. Majority of the teachers did not seem to be interested in the experiment. They complained that they were never provided with equipment required for Science experiments in their schools. The head of the session agreed with them and promised that their complaint will reach the authorities soon.

The Science session ended and was followed by an English session; it unveiled the poor proficiency level of English language shown by the primary teachers as discussed earlier in this study. The topic for the discussion is ‘Simple Past Tense’; the teacher starts discussing the topic in Urdu. Translation from English to Urdu is used to learn about the tenses. She mentions personal pronouns under the subtitle ‘Subjects’ on the white board. She continues to explain another tense: ‘Past Continuous Tense’; she starts writing on the board in Urdu to explain how to identify a tense in Urdu to translate it to English afterwards.

[Urdu mein pechaan — raha, rahi, rahay]

The above sentence was written on the board in Urdu which can be interpreted as one of the methods to identify continuous tense in Urdu. This highlights the Urdu-to-English translation method used at primary level in schools all around Pakistan. It is considered as an important and easy method to learn English. The students are provided with translation exercises at primary level to translate sentences given in Urdu to English. McDonough (2002) concludes that learners find exercises like

translation and reading to be helpful for learning language. During the training session, Urdu is used by the teacher to explain the translation method to be used to translate from Urdu to English. She teaches an easy way to translate a sentence consisting of ‘past continuous tense’. In Urdu, [*raha, rahi, rahay*] are used with the subject in a sentence to show the verb as a continuous action. In continuous tense; ‘—*ing*’ is used to convert a verb into a continuous action such as eating, sleeping or playing. Hence, the teacher tries to build a connection between the verbs of two different languages to highlight the verb that needs to be changed in a continuous tense.

During this session; several teachers made different mistakes related to the grammar and pronunciation while teaching topics related to English as a subject. However, no one was corrected by another colleague. This practice was also observed during the classroom observations and while students’ notebooks were checked. Students’ mistakes are ignored by the teachers during regular class sessions and while checking their notebooks for homework or classwork. This deprives the students of an opportunity to correct themselves. One of the teachers was asked to teach about ‘proper noun’ and while giving examples; she wrote examples of proper nouns on the board starting with a small letter such as ‘aslam’ (name of a person) whereas a proper noun should have been written with a capital letter (A). No one pointed it out and she completed her lecture. I found this to be a non-serious attitude towards an important training session that would have been proved to be productive and would have provided a platform for the teachers to discuss their opinions regarding the new policy of using English as MOI. There was no instruction made to use English during the training session and no one raised a point to highlight the policy of using English as MOI in the classrooms. The teachers were provided with a guide book related to Mathematics in the session; surprisingly the guide book was in Urdu and not English. Although, the textbooks of Mathematics used in the classrooms consist of English with no translation provided in Urdu. The teachers were given the guide book to learn different mechanisms to teach mathematics to the students and to include the methods in their practice to make it easier for the students to understand.

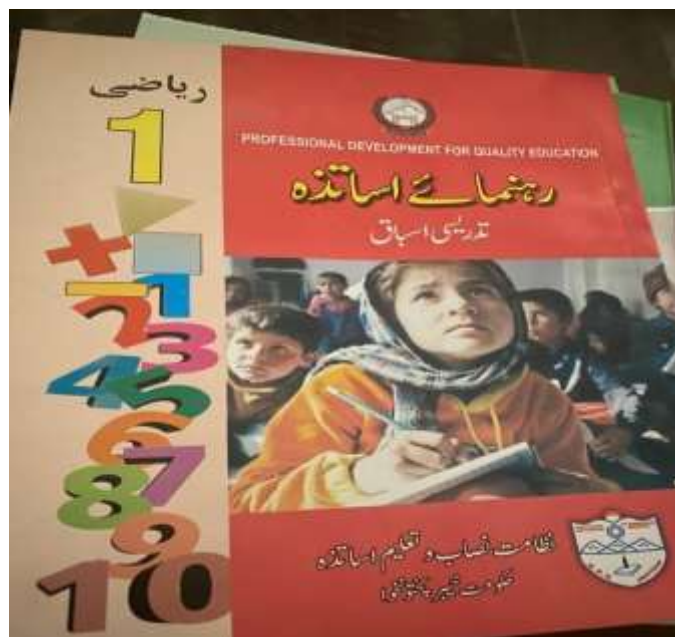


Figure 7: Picture of a guidebook for teachers

The above figure represents a cover page of the guide book for the teachers provided during the training session. It is mentioned on it that it is provided for the teachers by the provincial government of KP. It contains ‘lessons for teaching’ as it is mentioned on the cover page as *[Tadreesi asbaaq]* in Urdu. The teachers were asked to use this book for their guidance and they were told that this will help them to teach Mathematics in a more effective manner. No one indicated the difference of languages (English and Urdu) between the textbooks used by the students and the guide book provided to be used by the teachers.

4.8 Mechanism: An Interview with a Monitoring Officer

Previously in this chapter, ideologies represented by the teachers and the practices shown by them have been discussed respectively. The second component of the theoretical framework by Shohamy (2006) focuses on mechanisms. Certain mechanisms are used by the higher authorities to implement a policy on a ground level which represent an ideology that is perpetuated through practice and other means. To understand the provincial government efforts to implement the policy of using English as MOI at primary level schools; I found it essential to discuss it with someone who represents the government on a higher level than the teachers. A monitoring officer acts as a mediator between the government and the staff of the school. I found it essential to investigate the claims made by the teachers in the

interviews which point towards the carelessness of the higher authority regarding the implementation of English as Medium of Instruction. For this purpose, an interview was arranged with a monitoring officer at a school which I visited for the interviews and class observations. A monitoring officer is hired by the government for frequent visits to a school in order to check the conditions of the school. He or she is required to inspect the attendance of teachers and students, the requirement for furniture and the condition of infrastructure of the school.

In the interview, various aspects of the primary schools of KP located in remote areas were discussed. The monitoring officer named Aila holds an MS degree in Chemistry and has been working as a monitoring officer for two years. During the interview, she mentioned her duties such as to look for the furniture, water supply, electricity supply and attendance of teachers and students. While discussing her duties as a monitoring officer; she states:

We are a team of 6 people in this region. Every single day I visit three to four schools and we are given a different task on daily basis. For example: one day we will be responsible to look at the attendance of teachers or schools and some other day we will be looking for the furniture required at the school. Then we update the data to an online platform and the higher authorities act accordingly. (P 1, L 8-12)

These monitoring officers are responsible to report to the higher authorities of the provincial government. They are required to report any lack of furniture, the attendance of students and teachers, bathroom conditions or any funds that are required for the school. When Aila was asked during the interview whether they are told by the government to give instructions to the teachers related to languages being used in the school. She denied this by stating:

We do not interfere in the teaching methods being used by the teachers. We do not have the authority to do so. We are never asked to check which language is being used in the school. This is the duty of the teachers to get guidelines from the higher authorities and then act accordingly. They will be answerable to the provincial government education department. (P 2, L 5-8)

Monitoring officers also interact with the students to hear directly from there about their problems faced at the school which require utmost attention. During the

interview; Aila mentioned that she uses Pashto to interact with the students so that they can easily understand her. The same reason has been mentioned countless times by teachers to use Pashto with the students. She further mentioned that the students are asked to answer a few questions related to the subjects that they are taught and then their performance is ranked online. Most of the questions are related to English language.

Language tests are classified as mechanisms used to perpetuate a language policy. Shohamy (2007) argues that even while language policy seems transparent on the surface, much of it is realized through a variety indirect actions and practices that serve to create de facto policies. This occurs because official documents do not provide complete information about specific decisions regarding languages but rather leave them open for manipulation by those in power who seek different outcomes than what was originally intended or desired. Language tests are often a covert mechanism for manipulation. This can be demonstrated by looking at how policies declare specific languages as significant and important, yet establish criteria that include testing another language--which effectively makes the tested language most desirable to learn or master. In this case, skills of English language shown by the students are tested; however, Pashto is used to interact with them while teaching.

4.9 Child Bride: Impact of Early Marriage on Girls' Education

During the process of data collection for this study; one aspect of girls' education in KP could not be ignored easily. It was discussed by the teachers during the interviews and the lack of presence of the students on some specific days could also be observed easily. Another theme that I think demands to be included in this study: early marriage of girls studying in primary schools located in KP. Previous themes have highlighted the beliefs held by the teachers regarding the use of language in the classrooms, practices implemented by the teachers and mechanisms related to language teaching. However, the impact of early marriage on girls' education seemed to be an important factor that needs to be included while discussing girls' primary schools in remote areas of KP.

The practice of marrying adolescents is not uncommon in many countries, especially those where girls have limited choices. One-third women aged 20–24 years old married before turning 18 and this figure rises to 50% for under 15 year olds. The

highest rates occur within South Asia where more than twenty-five per cent marry earlier than their marriageable age with around 20 percentage going ahead a similar arrangement even earlier at 14 or 15 respectively (Corno & Voena, 2016). Child marriage has been found to be more prevalent in low-income households, where daughters are seen as an economic burden. A study conducted by Field and Ambrus (2008) discovered there is preference among males towards younger brides because these women seem less experienced than older counterparts which would make controlling them easier and fertility issues are found more often in older women.

While conducting the semi-structured interviews with the teachers; several of them mentioned that one of reasons the girls' education is not given utmost importance in KP is because their families are more interested in getting girls married in early age. Their marriage is more important to their parents than their education. They believe that marriage is a crucial part of their lives and they want to prioritize it over their studies. Education is still important to them, but they feel that marriage is a more pressing issue that deserves their attention. One of the teachers named Sundus, expressed her opinion on early marriages of her students by stating:

I teach a class of 5th graders; they must be eleven and twelve-year-old young girls. I was devastated to know that one of the brightest students had to discontinue her studies due to her marriage. I talked to her parents; however, they remained adamant that their daughter will still have a bright future without studying further. being used in the school. This is the duty of the teachers to get guidelines from the do not have the authority to do so. We are never asked to check which language is being used in the classrooms. (P 1, L 14-17)

Most of the girls' parents in the remote areas of KP think that their daughters need a good marriage prospect for a secured future. Education is not a necessity for them; they think education till 5th grade for girls is sufficient for them. The girls do not seem to be interested in university education or jobs in later stages of life. It is embedded in most of the girls' minds that marriage is the only purpose of their lives and it should be focused upon the most. It seems heart-rending to the teachers who work hard to provide quality education to these young girls only to see them getting married at an early age. As Sundus mentioned earlier; their parents do not care about their daughters' education. Instead they think that any man who is earning a good

amount of money will take care of their daughter's needs. Hence, education cannot be more beneficial for them than marriage.

The attendance of certain days used to be very low; especially Thursdays and Fridays. Upon asking the teachers, they informed me that most of the wedding ceremonies in their area are celebrated on these days. In case a girl is getting married on that day, several girls from the class attend the wedding instead of coming to the school. I had a chance to interact with a few students; two of their class fellows got recently married and had left education when they got promoted to 5th grade. The students were not aware of the fact that this is child marriage. They seemed to be happy for them and shared some fun moments related to the wedding. It showed that the students do not know the importance of education in their lives. For majority of them, getting married is more important and seems like an achievement in their life. Their marriage is more important to them than their education.

Early marriage is a major social issue that affects many children. These young girls are deprived of their right for education, preparation towards adulthood and effective contribution in the future well-being not only at home but also outside it. With literacy rates on rise worldwide there has been an increase in number girls; who want to continue schooling in areas where females are not granted equal opportunities as males even though they often perform better than male counterparts when given same challenges.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings of an analysis focused on data related mainly to objectives and questions asked in this study. The findings represent the ideologies linked with three languages (English, Pashto, Urdu) held by teachers working at primary schools in remote areas of KP. They expressed their perspectives and beliefs through semi-structured interviews. Most of the participants found English to be the most important language in the modern world and an essential aspect of children's early learning age. They believe that English opens new doors of opportunities for the students in the future. Urdu is also given importance by the teachers, however, its use is not considered to have a global impact. It only seems important to them while only being used in Pakistan in case a need arises. Pashto, on the other hand, is used excessively by the teachers to interact with the students and

they believe that only through Pashto they can teach a certain topic to the students. It does not matter which subject is being taught to them; it needs to be taught in Pashto. The MOI policy does not allow them to use any other language other than English; however, it was made evident through the class observations and student-teacher interactions at other instances that only Pashto is used exceptionally by the teachers.

The higher authorities do not interfere in the teaching practices of the teachers especially regarding the implementation of the policy of using English as MOI. They are only concerned with teaching the correct concepts to the students and to make sure that the students can understand the context of the textbooks which is mostly in English. Most of these teachers do not seem qualified enough to teach the entire curriculum in English. They did not evaluate the mistakes correctly made by the students in tests and class/homework. During class observations; they used Urdu to translate the text from English and then explained it in Pashto. Simultaneously, three languages (Pashto, Urdu, and English) were being used in a class. Pashto was given the utmost importance among these three.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the summary and findings of this study are presented in relation to the research questions that were asked in this study. Data was collected from 12 interview participants and from 34 class sessions for classroom observation. The data analyzed keeping in view the theoretical framework presented by Shohamy (2016), as per Holliday's description of thematic analysis steps, with attention paid to identify themes and codes that emerged through this process. The findings of this study are discussed in light with previous research done on the subject and compared against participants' beliefs, teachers practices as well as mechanisms used to implement language policy at primary schools. Additionally, limitations were noted while drawing implications for further studies focused around Pakistan's education system which will involve English being used as Medium of Instruction at primary level. It is important to note that the findings presented here in relation to each research question are interlinked in agreement with the theoretical framework of the study, so the connection cannot be excluded.

5.2 Findings:

The aim of this study was to explore languages-related ideologies perceived by the teachers and to further investigate the influence that these beliefs exert on the teaching methodologies used by them. Mechanisms incorporated to practice English as a medium of instruction at girls' primary schools were also investigated. Through classroom observations; teachers' practices to implement the language policy at ground level was explored extensively. The purpose of this section is to summarize the main findings with respect to each research question. This includes a description of the data collected and the results of the analysis.

The first research question attempted to explore languages-related ideologies' influence on the perceptions of the teachers in girls' government primary schools. The

analysis of the results shows that the teachers prefer usage of Pashto in the classrooms in order to make the students understand the context and concepts of a certain topic given in the textbook. These teachers belong to Bannu, KP; most of them use Pashto at their homes and in their surroundings. The students' mother tongue is also Pashto. Hence, the teachers believe that the students are able to understand Pashto only. Using English or Urdu in the classrooms will not benefit the students. Some of the teachers expressed their love for Pashto language; they also discussed that today's generation is not aware of the impact of Pashto. They are not fond of Pashto poetry and literature. The students were not able to read or write Pashto; they could only speak in Pashto. It was also discussed that Pashto is a necessity in KP and it was not possible to survive there without communicating in Pashto.

On the other hand, English is glorified by each teacher that participated in the current study. They believe that learning English will provide countless opportunities to the students in the future. As Crystal (2003) concludes that English is the lingua franca of today's world. It underpins our newspapers, science and technology as well as medicine; it provides communication between people from all over the globe when they are interacting with one another. Third individual out of every three individuals worldwide speaks only English at an effective level. English is presumed as a language that the teachers admire and think of it as a language that is highly important in students' life. The teachers expressed their point of view that students will be able to get good jobs if their English proficiency is good. The higher education in Pakistan is provided in English; the teachers expressed their view that if the students are under skilled regarding English language, they will not do well in colleges and universities.

Those teachers who were proficient in English language seemed to be confident about their educational background. They claimed that they are well-respected at their homes and their families ask for favours from them which include official letters and applications to the government. These teachers discussed their experience that due to their skills related to English; they have been given good opportunities in professional life. It also had an impact on their personal life; they were respected by the people around them and were thought to be highly educated because they were fluent in English.

Urdu was thought to be an essential part of every Pakistani person by the teachers. They believed that Urdu is their national language and should be

incorporated in daily routine. However, their students do not seem to be fluent in Urdu as they are in Pashto. The teachers use Urdu to translate the text given in English. Some of the teachers expressed their point of view that the students do not prioritize the use of Urdu. Urdu is not widely used in KP; Pashto is preferred at homes and outside. Some of the teachers claimed that they want Urdu to be used by the students to communicate with one another. The students feel reluctant while using Urdu. The teachers believed that Urdu should not be used as MOI because it will cause obstacles in their future. English is thought to be more important for their future. The teachers think that it is easier to understand Urdu than English and it is better to use Urdu than Pashto. This will help the students to learn Urdu which is used widely in Pakistan. However, in KP; Urdu is not preferred by most of the people and Pashto is used to communicate with other people.

The second research question attempted to investigate the mechanisms used to manage the recently-introduced EMI policy in girls' government primary schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The analysis of the results show that the official policy of KP provincial government was never guided to the teachers verbally. All teachers denied about being told to use English as MOI by the higher authorities. Furthermore, the training session that was held for the guidance of the teachers had no guidelines to use English as MOI. In an interview conducted with a monitoring officer who is responsible to visit the schools in order to investigate if the schools need more furniture, check the attendance of teachers and students and to test the learning skills of the students. The tests are taken by the monitoring officers on tablets provided by the government. These tests are online and the results are provided to the government to comprehend the education status of the students. These tests mainly consist of English language; the emphasis is on learning English. These tests act as a mechanism and prove that English is given utmost importance by the education department of KP government. These tests work as a tool to investigate the skills of a student related to English language.

Findings reveal that the EMI policy of KP education system focuses on establishing English as MOI at primary level due to the importance given to English language in the education system of Pakistan. The higher education given in colleges and universities consist of English. The students are trained at primary level to build their English language skills. However, the analysis unveils that English is not used in

the classrooms as MOI; Pashto is used instead. The government desires to implement EMI policy all over the schools in KP. It has started to provide jobs to more qualified teachers who are proficient in English. The test taken to appoint a teacher consist of questions related to English subject. Other subjects' questions are also asked in English. These mechanisms work as policies to implement English language as Medium of Instruction in primary schools all over KP.

The third question attempted to explore the way teachers at the schools implement, negotiate, and practice the policy inside the classroom. The results of the analysis show that irrespective of the policy of using English as MOI; the teachers do not establish this policy in the classrooms. Through classroom observations; it was unveiled that the teachers use Pashto as MOI and use Urdu to translate the text given in the textbooks. The textbooks consist of English language only except for two subjects: Urdu and Pakistan studies. Pashto was used by the teachers to give instructions to the students; English was only used while reading the text from the textbooks. Quizzes and tests contained English and were poorly evaluated by the teachers. Findings reveal that the students memorized the content without understanding the basic concepts of the topics. Grammar-Translation method was used by almost every teacher to teach every subject to the classroom. The findings reveal that English is not preferred by the teachers to use in the classroom due to their perception that the students are not able to understand English.

The students used Pashto among themselves and while interacting with the teachers. They were most proficient in Pashto and this was the reason given by the teachers for using Pashto as MOI. The findings unveiled the proficiency level of teachers related to English. Most of them were not proficient and made mistakes while teaching English. They did not correctly evaluate the students' homework and class work; major mistakes were found in their notebooks which were ignored by the teachers. The teachers wrote Urdu translation next to the English sentences on the board. It was a necessity to use Urdu and Pashto in the classroom; English was only used to read from the textbooks. When asked about their perceptions of English as Medium of Instruction, teachers were in favour with the new policy but when it came down to implementing these ideas inside classrooms they seemed less confident.

5.3 Limitations

This study was limited with its focus on five girls' primary schools located in the remote area of Bannu, KP, and Pakistan. Only girls' schools were selected for this study because as a woman I could not freely interact with the men teaching at boys' schools due to the cultural values of KP. Only teachers were included to participate in this study for semi-structured interviews. The study revolves around the perceptions linked to languages held by the teachers only. Hence, students and parents were not included in this study. Due to time constraint, not every teacher in the school was included in this study. Some of them were not willing to express their thoughts and beliefs for this study and their opinion was respected. Hence, I could not interview the targeted number of teachers. I could only interview 11 teachers out of 15. Moreover, the target number for schools to be included was 5 but only 4 schools were accessible. The other limitations of this study are that it only uses classroom observations and interviews as a data collection tool when more detailed account could be generated through other types or methods. The analysis I did was insufficient to reach an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under investigation as it only presents one point of view. It is essential to spend more time analyzing all aspects and looking at them from different angles which will allow the study to be more expansive without losing coverage due to its limitations.

5.4 Recommendations:

This study has shown how teachers from different backgrounds hold perspectives related to languages and their use as a teacher. It also explored the implementation of certain language policies in classrooms, but there is still room for further research into this area to add to what has already been established about ideology and practices involving various teaching methodologies used by educators when teaching foreign languages such as English.

The following are several suggestions for future research related to language-linked ideologies and practices. It should be noted that this is only a sampling of the many possibilities available, but it offers insight into some potential directions worth exploring in greater depth:

1. Further studies can be carried out on comparative analysis that includes comparison between different schools that provide MOI in different languages (Urdu, English, Pashto) located in remote areas.
2. Researchers can also contribute to this study by investigating the role of ideologies held by teachers while teaching in schools that are located in urban area of KP. This will bring a new perspective to this field of research.
3. This study has a gender-specific perspective; only girls' schools were selected. To contribute further to this theoretical framework, the same research can be carried out in boys' schools to establish more data related to the same topic.
4. This study does not include the perspectives of students or their parents. Future researches can play a vital role in investigating the ideologies held by students and their parents regarding the usage of Pashto, Urdu, English or any other language.
5. This current study only included the schools located in remote areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhan; more research can be carried out in different provinces of Pakistan to further add to the same theoretical framework consisting of ideologies, mechanisms and practices used by the teachers.
6. The current study only involved two types of data collection methods: interviews and classroom observation; however, more research should be done in order to get an accurate analysis on how different factors affect the use of English language at schools. In the future, it is recommended for researchers to explore this phenomenon using other types of data as well. This includes journal entries and questionnaires among others.
7. The present study was limited to a specific time frame, with only five primary schools. Future researches can be done on a broader scale that includes more schools and teachers for interviews referring specifically about language-linked ideologies, mechanisms and practices.
8. The present study is an initial exploration of the issues that arise when the data is looked at from different perspectives. In addition, many other interesting questions can be answered by analyzing this information in more detail.
9. The current study includes primary schools only; however, researchers in the future can use the same methodology and include high schools, colleges and even

universities. This will provide more data for analysis and bring a new perspective to this field.

5.5 Conclusion

This study was an attempt to explore the language-linked ideologies held by the teachers along with mechanism used to implement a language policy and the practices presented by the teachers. I aimed to investigate the teachers' role in implementing a language policy at ground level and how different ideologies linked to languages influence the practices of the teachers within a classroom. One of the most striking features of this study is to be a case study of different girls' primary schools and give an insight of social and cultural norms faced by these young girls while being enrolled in a school. The gender-specific perspective of this study is seldom researched especially in the setting of a remote area.

Another significant contribution of this study is its focus language policy being practiced on micro level. Previous researches have focused more on language policies being implemented on macro level. Viewing LiE (Language in Education) policy in terms of macro and micro levels is one method to describe its nature. Large-scale planning and the establishment of precise rules and practices are macro-level processes. Micro-level processes, on the other hand, deal with the various ways that tiny organizations, such as schools and the instructors inside them, interpret and carry out policies. When seen from a broad perspective, many linguistic issues could seem unimportant, yet for a particular group or community, they may be of utmost importance. Therefore, research on micro-level planning aids in determining how much macro-level policies influence both micro-level behaviors and policies. It also emphasized on the importance of the role a mother-tongue plays in education gained in early age of a student; along with importance given to the development of language policies by the higher authorities and their implementation on ground level.

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APPENDICES:

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Title: Ideologies, Mechanisms and Practices: A Case Study of Rural English-Medium Government Schools in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

Researchers: Dr Aziz Ullah Khan (supervisor) and Sadia Khan (MPhil student), National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

I am Sadia Khan. I am an MPhil (linguistics) student at the Department of English, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad, Pakistan. I am conducting research for my thesis on the topic as stated above.

Project description and invitation

The purpose of this study is to explore languages-related ideologies perceived by the teachers working at girls primary schools located in rural Bannu, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. It will investigate mechanisms incorporated by the teachers to practice language(s) as medium of instruction and it aims to analyze teacher's classroom practices; how do they implement and negotiate the policy that emphasizes the use of English as medium of instruction at primary level. The study intends to look at the curriculum, textbooks, class observations and interviews with the teachers will be held to understand how the policy is practiced on ground level. We would like to invite you to participate in this project. Your class has been selected to participate; however, if you do not wish to take part in this research, you are not obliged to.

Project procedures

There are two parts to the study: (i) semi-structured interviews (ii) class observation. I would like to conduct a series of interviews with you during non-class / recess time, which will take about 30 minutes to complete one interview; these interviews will be

audio-taped. Class observation will be held with your presence in the class. Your lectures will also be audio-taped and I will be taking short notes while sitting at the back of the class.

Right to withdraw from participation

You are welcome to discontinue participation in the study at any time, should you wish to do so.

Anonymity and availability of data

Information from this research will be used in an MPhil thesis without identifying you or your institution in any way. Your participation will remain strictly confidential. Your name will be attracted to any of the data you provide. I assure you that no information regarding your responses to the interview questions or your teaching practices during class observation will be disclosed to any third party.

As researcher, I undertake to abide by all local laws and regulations pertaining to research, data collection and privacy.

Signature of Investigator: _____ Date: _____

As participant, I give my consent for my answers to the interview questions to be audio-taped and to be used for the study; I allow the researcher to audio-tape my lectures and to be present in the classroom for class observation.

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B: Interview Guidelines

Teachers' personal background

Their life story about where were they born, where they obtained education, their professional experience and struggles in professional and personal life.

Teachers' Experience

Journey of their jobs

heir position in the society

- Treatment by their families
- Difficulties while gaining education
- Social and economic background
- Access to type and extent of resources

Teacher's Perspectives

- View on English language
- Use of English, Urdu and Pashto in the classroom
- Personal fondness of Pashto
- Opportunities provided through English language
- Language policies by the authorities
- Challenges faced by them while teaching
- Relations with the students

Appendix C: Fields Notes

