

**Sociocultural Issues in Learning English for Women in Northwest
Pakistan**

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Abstract

Conservative societies, such as that of Pakistan, tend to sideline women or lump them together with men. Yet women live in a different world in many ways. The conservative norms and trends in this society make the learning of English for women quite difficult, which can be understood from the fact that until recently, education for women was considered unnecessary - an attitude still found in many rural parts of the country, although some movement is visible. On the other hand in this modern era, learning English is of utmost importance as it leads the way to many fields of knowledge and higher education, especially those of science and technology. However, no research has investigated the social attitudes to female English literacy and its impact on traditional values in the Mansehra region. My original contribution to knowledge is examining modalities concerning women in Pakistan and the effect of its social system on their learning of English as a second language. Bourdieu (1979, 1984) and Sadiqi's (2003) models are used to identify various factors in the social context. Attitudes are assessed through the use of a mixed methods approach, including questionnaires as a quantitative technique, interviews and participatory observation as a qualitative technique. The results indicate that the urban class show relatively moderate attitudes overall, but are also confused due to their exposure towards traditional culture as well as modernization. In contrast, the thematic analysis reveals the rural class's bias against women learning English; some responses show flexibility towards the modification of traditional culture in relation to female English literacy. In addition, there are significant differences in the attitudes collected through questionnaires, interviews and participatory observation. These findings have important implications for language practitioners, educationists, second language learners and students. Following the recommendations would help to bring change in attitudes in the region.

1. Introduction to the study

The first chapter provides an introduction to the study. Starting with a brief demographic profile of Pakistan, this chapter presents relevant information about the Mansehra region, the traditional roles of women, language stasis and social factors which obstruct the progress of women. The research problem is identified. This is followed by (1) a delimitation of the study to the stated area of interest, (2) the establishment of objectives, and (3) the adaptation of a viable theoretical scheme for the purposes of the dissertation. A general overview will be presented so that readers can form an integrated concept of the interests involved.

It is important to provide a brief introduction to the context. This is given in the following.

1.1. Context

As Pakistan was chosen for this study, it is important to mention that I belong to this country and am well acquainted with its socio-cultural situation, which facilitates female English literacy to a great extent. To explore this, it is important to introduce briefly the demographics of Pakistan. This is presented in 1.1.1.

1.1.1. Pakistan: demographic profile

Pakistan has continued to be mainly a rural country since independence, and “the rural population still constitutes about two thirds of the total population.”¹ The total population of Pakistan is about 190 million, and 63 percent (120 million) of the total population live in rural areas.² Most of the people work in agriculture, some in very remote villages. Approximately 58 million people, nearly a third of the total, live in the cities.³ This number is increasing, due to migration to the urban areas driven by the hope of better employment chances and advanced income. “There are about 50,000 villages in the country with populations below 10,000; around 448 small towns with population less than 100,000; 40 medium size towns with population[s] above 100,000; 7 [large] metropolitan cities of Faisalabad, Multan, Gujranwala, Hyderabad, Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Quetta with population in excess of 1 million;

¹<http://www.pc.gov.pk/vision2030/Pak21stcentury/Chapter%20Wise/Ch%2010.Rural%20and%20Urban%20Development.pdf>

²<http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-3-235249-Call-for-speedy-development-in-rural-areas>

³<http://www.pc.gov.pk/vision2030/Pak21stcentury/Chapter%20Wise/Ch%2010.Rural%20and%20Urban%20Development.pdf>

and [...] two mega cities, Karachi and Lahore.”⁴ Mansehra is classified as a town because of its medium-large size. Some more distant settlements in the region are villages, and some of them are still quite remote.

There is a need to improve the infrastructure and services like education, health, and housing in both rural and urban areas. However, the situation in rural areas is worse than in urban areas. They are deficient in organizational structure, education, health services and water sanitation.⁵ The villages are the main feature of rural areas. The urban areas are the pivotal points of social life, and they provide public facilities better than the rural areas. The administration in towns are prioritising promoting trade, transportation facilities and telecommunication rather than fulfilling primary needs of citizens. The life style plays a dominant role in differentiating villages and towns. The people of rural areas know each other closely. In urban areas, relationships are more detached. People know each other personally in the small towns, which are actually extended villages. It has been said that rural life tends to be conservative, urban life is commercial and practical. This is not totally true in the case of Pakistan. The majority of the urban population reflects a strong rural background in their attitudes. Urban facilities modify their manners, but their thinking patterns remain almost the same. The towns and cities may be centres for selling agricultural products, but they also have other occupations. They are better organized and have better facilities for education, banking, commerce and medicine. Some of them are centres of administration.

As I lived in Mansehra city of Pakistan for more than thirty years, so I chose it as the setting for my research. The city is briefly introduced below.

1.1.2. Mansehra city: demographic profile

Mansehra is located in the Hazara division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The total area of this district is 4,579 square kilometres.⁶ According to the 1998 census, the total population of Mansehra was 1,152,839 (61,376 urban and 1,091,463 rural),⁷ and its density was 272/km² (700/sq mi)⁸. I rely on the 1998 census because the recent census

⁴<http://www.pc.gov.pk/vision2030/Pak21stcentury/Chapter%20Wise/Ch%2010.Rural%20and%20Urban%20Development.pdf>

⁵<http://www.pc.gov.pk/vision2030/Pak21stcentury/Chapter%20Wise/Ch%2010.Rural%20and%20Urban%20Development.pdf>

⁶http://www.sungi.org/situation_analysis_of_district_mansehra.html

⁷http://www.sungi.org/situation_analysis_of_district_mansehra.html

⁸http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mansehra_District

is not available. “The annual growth rate is 2.4 percent. [...] For every 100 women there are 98 men in the district. Average household size in the district is 6.7 persons.”⁹ The city of Mansehra is a doorway to China, and acts as a supporting centre for the people of smaller towns like Shogran, Balakot, Kaghan, Baffa, and Shinkiari. These have to depend on Mansehra for urban facilities and various social activities in the region. The working of various administrative institutions in Mansehra city depends upon the Tehsil (district) Municipal Administration. There are four main union councils, which are responsible for the functioning of different areas. “The four union councils of Mansehra, City No 1, City No 2, City No 3, City No 4 make up the Mansehra city.”¹⁰ The union councils are further divided into committees that are responsible for the water supply, drainage amenities and electricity. There are 1,160 villages in the district.¹¹ Two or three thousand people live in most villages of the Mansehra hinterland, and their main occupation is agriculture.

The literacy rate is “36.3 percent (males 50.9 percent as against 22.7 percent for females). There are 1042 health institutions in the district. For every 8,362 people there is one doctor in the district[,] while for 33,447 population there is only one nurse. [...] Around 55 percent of the households use piped water[,] while the access to water in far flung rural area[s] is poor. Separate or shared kitchen[s], bathroom[s] and latrine[s] are available in 21.0 percent, 21.0 percent and 9.8 percent of the housing units respectively. There is an acute problem of accessibility to [the] road infrastructure[,] as on an average there is 0.18 Km [of] road [per] sq. Km [...] [in] the district. About 49.1 percent [of] housing units have electric facilities[,] while 94 percent [of] households use wood [for] [...] cooking [...]. The access of common people to basic civic facilities and amenities in the district is [...] [low]. [In any case], the quality of these services [is] [...] below [...] acceptable standards.”¹²

Poverty is widespread in the district. “The unemployment rate [is] 28.4 percent. More than 56 percent district’s population lies below [the] poverty line[,] and 30 percent [of the] population belong to [the] middle-income group that is living hand to mouth.”¹³

Poverty increases due to continuous political uncertainty, the non-egalitarian dissemination of capital, the inefficient management of resources, and the concentration of power in a few hands.

⁹ http://www.sungi.org/situation_analysis_of_district_mansehra.html

¹⁰ <http://urban.unhabitat.org.pk/Region/KhyberPakhtunkhwa/Mansehra/tabid/91/Default.aspx?path=City+Mansehra>

¹¹ http://www.sungi.org/situation_analysis_of_district_mansehra.html

¹² http://www.sungi.org/situation_analysis_of_district_mansehra.html

¹³ http://www.sungi.org/situation_analysis_of_district_mansehra.html

The general life style of men is active compared to that of women. The situation for women is not at all encouraging. The factors involved are social bias against females, unfair strategies and plans, restraints on women's movements, and the blind acceptance of patriarchal roles by women, all of which contribute to a strong gender bias and inequity in most fields of life. This is discussed below.

1.1.3. Traditional roles of a woman

Traditionally, a woman's life in Pakistan is defined by three roles: that of the transient 'daughter,' in which she is obliged to submit to her father, that of the overworked 'wife,' in which she must not look beyond the four walls of her house, and must clean, cook and wash for her husband and children without complaining, and lastly that of the 'elderly matron' who is often found as a widow, needy and dependent on her children, with no desire except the happiness of her immediate family (Gani, 1963: 324; Mansoor, 2012). Within this tradition, the ideal of advanced knowledge in Urdu or English has no value. Girls in many parts of Pakistan may get two or three years of primary schooling, with a great stress on domestic duties and religious texts. However, they are discouraged from pursuing anything at a higher level (Noureen & Awan, 2011: 80-81). Upper-class girls get opportunities to study as much as they want, but their number is very small.

Essentially, the traditional roles of women help us to understand language stasis in relation to women's participation in learning English, which is rare. Traditional roles of English bear upon the access of other languages as is discussed in 1.1.4.

1.1.4. Women and language stasis

Access to English is very limited. Until recently, the learning of English in Pakistan started in Class Six, i.e. school year 6. This late start helps us to understand the practical limitation of women to basic low-level literacy in Urdu, with perhaps some exposure to Arabic. It also means their practical exclusion from the world of English, a world which provides possibilities for further growth and development in medicine, science, psychology, sociology and technology. They are forced to learn Urdu but not learning well enough. This is true but has been changed among middle class. We accept the importance of Urdu in the political context of our country, but an assessment shows that very few steps have been taken to modernize Urdu. This topic

will go on into greater depth in Chapter three. Moreover, skills can be acquired more easily and accurately in one's mother tongue, but if that tongue has not been developed, it can act as a hindrance. We generally see in Pakistan a kind of stillness and immobility, contrary to the movement and progress of other parts of the world. In the beginning, a great deal of translation from English is required, to be followed by serious research, science and technological progress. Presently, we rely on English for higher education to a great extent. A woman in Pakistan must be competent in it, or she is limited to the restrictive roles as identified earlier.

The restrictive roles and language stasis are greatly affected by the social factors which help us to understand the traditional culture of the region. These are presented in 1.1.5.

1.1.5. Social factors

Patriarchal attitudes still commonly prevail, even in urban groups. Women are reluctantly accepted in a few professions such as nursing, teaching or medicine. However, it is rare to see a woman in an administrative, controlling, decision-making position, even if she is outstanding in her work (Mansoor, 2012). Working women are always looked upon with suspicion, especially if they work along with men. At present, in conservative circles such women are often denied opportunities to marry. Overall divorce rates in the country are still low compared to those of many other societies, but the divorce rates among working women are increasing. There are two reasons: men distrust women more often than before, and some women cannot be tamed as they were in the past, they do not accept old assumptions and restrictions. In the past, the competition from women was not significant, but now men are challenged and sometimes demeaned at school and work. Women often perform well and go beyond men, especially in subjects related to language. Marriage remains an important part of a woman's life, but the demands of the full-time job for a working woman can affect negatively how she meets the traditional expectations of the family. There are difficulties due to social transformation: the country now has a fairly large number of well-educated women in stable jobs, but for them the chances of finding compatible, educated and liberal husbands become progressively more difficult. Advanced and higher education, that includes a large component of English, has created a paradoxical situation for women in what is still a male-dominated society

with traditional attitudes (Mahboob, 2009:179). A major part of the male segment of this society is backward-looking, fundamentalist and militantly aggressive in the continuance and maintenance of its objectives, which include the denial of education to woman. In spite of these obstructions, some women are now looking forward without losing their religious commitments. However, it is not possible to learn a second language without learning something about its culture. A learner will come across the second language's implied attitudes and norms, or even absorb them. Then the transference occurs in the form of fusion. However, the traditionalists and conservatives of our society do not accept this risk, especially in the context of women. There is an unstated and implicit battle between development and stasis which is going on in this society, and English plays a major role in it. Currently, there is little indication that all women will revert to the obsolete restrictions of the recent past.

This situation compelled me to ponder over the current problem of female English literacy in order to understand factors that help bring change in traditional attitudes. For this purpose, some initial concerns are expressed in the following section.

1.2. Preliminary considerations

1.2.1. Statement of problem

Much depends on which divisions of society we are talking about, but a general observation might be that women today are less inclined than their mothers and grandmothers to adopt the traditional roles prescribed for them in the name of morality or virtue without questioning them. Many women wish for greater equality and less dependence at every stage. In fact, many of them are forced by circumstances to make their way alone. Whereas in the recent past only those women who belonged to a small minority of liberal families could claim to be literate, we now have figures in the range of thirty percent and over. My concern is literacy in English, and the effect which this has on women as individuals in Pakistan.

Attitudes will have to change--women should not need permission to go into administration or anything even now--under the law of the land they should decide things for themselves. In some parts of the country they have been conditioned into thinking that they need permission. Of course, it is good to have the agreement of

close people for any actions one might take, and this principle applies equally to men. When the last Prophet's daughter once asked her father for permission to go somewhere, he told her to talk to Ali (her husband), as she was no longer his responsibility. When she approached her husband he said that she was an adult person who could decide for herself. The effects on society cannot be neatly packaged, but in general education is good and in the modern world it is good to understand other people also. The frog-in-the-well attitudes of some of our people need to be changed, in both men and women

Traditional norms: Educated women could help to challenge traditional norms. They can be shown to have lost their meaning and utility, that they have little or nothing to do with religion, that they were established to meet the challenges of their own times, and that they are of little relevance to conditions in the world today. They can also be shown to run counter to the laws of the land.

Social roles: social roles require literacy in English because the medium of instruction and official proceedings is English, and women need to learn English to enhance their position in society. At the moment patriarchal oppression still does not allow this learning at a wider level: this inequality hinders the progress of women.

If the movement falls largely into the hands of women, even then not much will happen easily. But it is strange how many of our otherwise aggressive women accept traditions that work against their own interests. Perhaps they do not know what their rights are. They need to be told.

The attitudes of men will have to be modified. However, if it is left entirely to men, it might never happen or it might lead to violence. Women will also have to show the way and encourage their men to work towards that end.

Delimitation

It is not possible to survey the whole of Pakistan. The country's development is not level in many respects. There are big differences in income between the richest and the poorest. Literacy rates in cities such as Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad are comparatively high. The quality of education is reasonably high in these centres. On the other hand there are regions where, despite claims of literacy, the standards are low. These regions are confined to basic Urdu or exposure to religious texts in Arabic, with hardly any element of English. Urdu is officially the national language, but

English is the language of development. People who aspire to better things, who want to proceed to advanced levels in the sciences or technology, have no option but to use the resources provided by an advanced second language, which for Pakistan is English.

I have confined my survey to the area with which I am familiar, which, by the standards of the cities mentioned earlier, would be described as a rather (though not permanently) backward area. Despite growing concerns with education, it remains very conservative. I chose to take the city of Mansehra in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province as my base and to include villages within a radius of 50 kilometres (see Appendix 2).

A further rationale is provided in the next section, in order to justify this study.

1.2.2. Justification

My constructs revolve around a belief that women occupy a different stratum of existence from men in Pakistan.

i) The concept of segregation is still strong - even where men and women work together, there are many barriers, both visible and invisible. The old fear that women might become 'modern' and intractable if they are given English (*Ferenghi*) education is still at the back of much of this kind of discrimination.

ii) If dress is taken as a semiotic statement of attitudes, it will be seen that all women in Pakistan wear eastern dress, while many men wear western dress. This is regardless of social status or levels of education. The unwritten social edict is 'conservative/eastern for women', and 'relatively free for men'. Women are under much greater scrutiny with regard to dress, deportment and behaviour than men. This imposes heavy psychological pressures on women to conform with cultural norms as defined traditionally.

iii) If speaking is also a kind of semiotic statement, women are perforce more careful about it than men, because they have to project a conservative image. This means that standards of grace and correctness are adhered to more carefully. It is a matter of common observation that women do better than men in most areas of learning that rest heavily on language. Time after time it will be seen that women occupy the top two or three positions in public examinations, especially in the humanities.

iv) Selection within professions is also different. Women doctors may be seen everywhere, although the country is short of doctors in general. However, very few women go into science or engineering. Women select more subjects in the humanities and social sciences, while men usually have engineering or medicine as their first choice, the natural sciences as their second choice, and the humanities and social sciences only by default. This grouping also tends to give women a stronger bias towards language, social graces and values.

v) Social norms are the “unexpected result of individuals’ interactions” (Bicchieri & Muldoon, 2011). Bicchieri (2006) interprets them as the “grammar of society,” which encompasses social identity, socialization and conventional choices. Social interactions take place in accordance with social norms. Women’s participation, then, becomes dormant in a conservative society. With or without education, a woman’s life is family-oriented to a far greater extent than a man’s. A woman’s influence on her children and immediate circle is fundamental. She is seen as the primary arbiter of the next generation’s linguistic and social attitudes. Gender roles act as norms, and their analysis is an influential way of understanding the social interactions as well as social identification “governing behaviour” (McLeod, 2008). The domestic situation “entails its own particular set of expectations about the ‘proper’ way to behave” (ibid.), while outdoor activities are modelled in a different manner. Each social role develops with the expectations of that role. So a girl’s behaviour changes, and this adapted behaviour is a norm. The roles are played according to the expectations of addresser and addressee. In Pakistan, women play the dominant role in households, where they are free (in a limited manner) to monitor and perform their duties as a mother, daughter, wife. Without education (in most cases), they are unable to train their children in English. In London I recently noticed that an immigrant mother from Mansehra found it difficult to help her children at home because of her poor English—this despite having completed the Bachelor’s degree at the Government Degree College in Mansehra.

vi) There are less neat divisions between urban and rural people in the light of modern communications-however, there are still some differences; in educational facilities (education tends to be minimal in rural areas, especially for women), utilities, attitudes, background, money (some villagers are rich, but on the whole they are poor), and, occupation (most of them are engaged in small-scale farming) and location (the hinterland of Mansehra is a loose collection of villages, some fairly

large, some very small). Occupations and geographical locations are the dominant characteristics. I have used them for the division between urban and rural classes because these two features can be observed and recorded--it is more difficult to record social attitudes because they are abstract.

These justifications help me to formulate hypothesis for this study, which is shown below.

1.2.3. Hypothesis

Opening doors to English and higher education for women has had and will have a significant trickle-down effect on Pakistani society in general. Traditional norms may be challenged, but if the movement is largely in the hands of women, this will probably happen non-violently. If it is confined to men, it will either never take place, or might lead to confrontation and violence.

The corollary to this hypothesis is that higher education and exposure to other cultures is even more important for women than it is for men. Section 1.2.2 has pointed to women's dormant role in outdoor activities while they play the major role in domestic life.

This hypothesis led to the specification of the objectives of this study, which are presented in 1.2.4.

1.2.4. Objectives

- a) To assess the extent of learning English and its effect on the outlook and lives of women in the area of Pakistan mentioned in the section entitled 'delimitation' above.
- b) To assess the effect of learning English on attitudes to the social role of women.
- c) To gauge the varying attitudes of males, females, and the urban and rural classes to change in the traditional culture of the region and the effect of English.
- d) To recommend a course of educational action for women of this region - like charity, modernization also begins at home.

1.2.5. Research questions

- a) What impact does English have on values in relation to women in the social context of Mansehra?
- b) How do social attitudes affect women's learning of English?
- c) Does women's learning of English have an impact on their values?
- d) How may the development of English empower women in the Pakistan context; through encountering critical ideas?

It is necessary to design a theoretical framework in order to explore the relationship between female English literacy and the socio-cultural situation in Pakistan. This framework is discussed in 1.3.

1.3. Theoretical underpinnings

Following Bourdieu¹⁴ (1979, 1984) and Sadiqi (2003), the theoretical framework is designed to support my exploration of socio-cultural factors that impede the learning of English by women, and which, by doing so, exclude most women in backward areas from higher education (English is needed for nearly all disciplines in higher education). To the best of my knowledge, no well-defined model exists for Pakistan. However, Bourdieu's insights provide some material relevant to conditions in these areas of Pakistan, so I have used them to develop a theoretical base for this study.

1.3.1. Bourdieu's theory of class distinction

Motivated by the works of well-known sociologists Karl Marx, Max Weber and Émile Durkheim, Pierre Bourdieu highlights symbolic systems, social relations, societal networks and social structures in an adapted structuralist approach uncovering the social structures built on symbolic systems (Arnholtz & Hammerslev, 2013)..

Developing theories of social classification grounded in the aesthetic tastes of the individual, Bourdieu (1979) theorizes that the way one chooses to present one's self to the world describes one's position in society, and may detach the self from those who have lower status. Particularly, Bourdieu postulates that people at a young age adopt behaviours that direct them towards their desired social status. Such a social status may nurture repugnance towards other dispositions in the society.

¹⁴ Bourdieu is one important figure in social class distinction.

Bourdieu posits that class divisions explain the aesthetic priorities of children. These divisions are defined by the grouping of changing degrees of social, economic and cultural resources or capital, which are termed the “habitus” of each group (Vestheim, 2010). Society integrates “symbolic goods, especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence, [...as] the ideal weapon in strategies of distinction” (Bourdieu, 1984: 66). Determined according to the desires of the dominating class, their aspects or attributes are considered superb. Stressing the power of cultural capital, Bourdieu asserts that variations in cultural capital maintain asymmetry amongst the classes (Bourdieu, 1984: 69)

In addition to accrued capital as well as experience over the passage of time, social origins play a major role in the advancement of aesthetic behaviours. The acquisition of cultural capital depends greatly on “total, early, imperceptible learning, performed within the family from the earliest days of life” (Bourdieu, 1984: 66). Pointing towards the impact of familial connections, Bourdieu (1984) contends that cultural attitudes are mainly inherited from elders in the family.

Highlighting the importance of social origins in forming cultural capital, he says that social and economic capital, although largely developed through access to cumulative capital as well as the passage of time, mainly depends on cultural capital. Asserting the primacy of social conditions, Bourdieu states that one must consider all the features of social conditions “which are (statistically) associated from earliest childhood with possession of high or low income and which tend to shape tastes adjusted to these conditions” (Bourdieu, 1984: 177).

For example, according to Bourdieu, food tastes, presentation and culture designate class since tendencies to use them are connected with a person’s position in society. Further divisions in the dominant class broaden the choice of tastes, and each class defines its own aesthetic norms. Grounded in varying social positions, the range of user interests requires that each division “has its own artists and philosophers, newspapers and critics, just as it has its hairdresser, interior decorator, or tailor” (Bourdieu, 1984: 231-232).

On the other hand, Bourdieu does not ignore the role of social as well as economic capital in developing cultural capital. For instance, creating art and developing the capability to play a musical instrument presume behaviour which is not only linked to the previous creation of art and culture “but also economic means [...] and spare time” (Bourdieu, 1984: 75). Without referring to the capability to implement one’s

priorities, Bourdieu asserts that people often merely need to show familiarity, which is determined by status, with culture (ibid.: 63).

Working to define positioning, taste determines one's place, which directs the denizens of a specific social space to the social orientation or alignments which fit their taste, and to the practices or properties which are suitable for the dwellers of that specific social space (Bourdieu, 1984: 466). Different tastes for acquiring knowledge are related to cultural, social and economic capital. Also, various tastes differ in the matter of prioritizing practices. The tastes of others are perceived as strange, and hence not approved, or even causing hatred incited by shock and visceral (not reasoned) prejudice against the tastes of others in society (ibid.: 56).

Bourdieu considers that things of daily use like furniture, clothes and cooking wares as part of the basis for differentiating between classes, and as specially exposing long-established behaviours. He remarks that serving different meals in special gatherings or occasions shows one's status and social positioning, through the self-presentation of one's life style. Such occasions reflect one's likes and dislikes, which are related to the members of one's class division.

This description suggests that social origin affects preferences more than educational and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1984). One's social environment is closely linked to one's social origin, since instinctive choices start from initial periods of growth and development.

Social and gender inequality in education

Inspired by the perspective of Althusser, the French Marxist philosopher, on 'ideological subjection,' Bourdieu (1990a) contends that gender dominance affects modern social institutions greatly because institutions are the place "where the cultural reproduction of the social order is a key national project" (cited in Dillabough, 2004: 490). Education is one of the main ideological and cultural sites of socializing, and, Bourdieu claims, replicates social discrimination instead of reducing it. According to this view, gender dominance has occurred and been maintained over the years through traditional state establishments as well as the implementation of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Bourdieu discusses masculine domination in the state, and other authors such as Dillabough (2004) adopt his theory of cultural capital as a model to investigate inequity in the societal network, especially in the educational context. This dissertation focuses on social inequity in

the field of English literacy, where male domination is imposed upon women by the state as well as the family.

Schools are the places where we can see Bourdieu's idea of symbolic or masculine control, which has been related to serious feminist issues about gender inequities in educational systems (Reay, 1998; Ball et al., 2000). This idea is especially prolific, according to Dillabough (2004: 490), in guiding attention to

the 'constancy of structure' in gender relations—a theorization of how social relations and 'categories of understanding' about 'sex' and 'gender' (see Bourdieu, 1998a) reproduce a gendered division of labour in which elements of constancy and fluctuation come together, are embodied in the consciousness of political subjects, and enacted through class relations in education (see Reay, 1998).

Bourdieu recognises social structure and social class as the main factors affecting gender divisions within the broader sphere of social inequality in educational systems. His tripartite conceptual model combines the ideas of cultural capital, habitus and the symbolic violence or domination that can be seen among males and females in educational institutes in different regions. According to Dillabough (2004: 491), Bourdieu engaged himself in such discussions on the basis of his principle belief that “*symbolic domination* shapes and organizes the sociocultural conditions of gender equality.”

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is found to be relevant when feminist educational scholars see disparities in schools and at home (in the family). Such scholars, argue Dillabough and Acker (2002), attempt to grasp the educational structure: how knowledge and structural arrangements have been designed in accordance with the traditional heritage of male dominance, and how they relate to the current trend of globalisation. Bourdieu (1998b) insists strongly that the educational structure is regulated by the higher class, which is an elite with either a traditional mind-set (such as the clerics and mullahs who govern madrassa) or a modern one (the upper class who govern English-medium schools). Understanding this structure, says Dillabough (2004: 491-492) helps to recognise the “sociocultural relationship between educational structures, the cultural formation of class consciousness and identities, and the potential for, or limits of, social mobility for females and males.” Gender inequalities are shown in the social performances of producing cultural capital, which

in Bourdieu's view constitute a symbolic culture, and affect the circumstances that could bring change in the structure.

Within a model which includes the practices of cultural capital, gender inequities are not only associated with the masculine culture of the economy, says Bourdieu, but also help to compose the cultural and social structure, and these inequities further help to restrict freedom in sociocultural relationships. Furthermore, Bourdieu's description of language and symbolic power helps the understanding of cultural relations, which affect the symbols used in communication and are influenced by historical legacies of masculine dominance. Bourdieu's model draws our attention to various educational problems that other researches could not deal with adequately, "for example, exclusion in schools, the study of economically disadvantaged male and female youth in globalizing times, and the disintegration of social welfare states" (see Bourdieu, 1998b, cited in Dillabough, 2004: 491).

I recognize the relevance of these observations to conditions in some areas of Pakistan, perhaps even the whole of it. However, only one of these (Mansehra) is under scrutiny here. In order to form some understanding of women's position in a Muslim society, it is desirable to look at the works of feminist writers in different, though parallel, Muslim communities.

1.3.2. Feminism—Sadiqi

I am aware of the fact that feminism is a list of long scholars. This list includes most western scholars, and feminists in Islamic world adopted western concept to the system in their countries.

I consider the role of gender in linguistic differences in societies of the Arab world. Vicente (2009) elaborates on the practice of female conversation. Changes have occurred and are occurring in Arabic social contexts. The changes include the adoption of new roles and the replacement of orthodox trends and roles which are still practised in old-fashioned societies. Such changes show their influence on "linguistic practices and variations" (Vicente, 2009: 24). In urban communities, the social standing of Arabic-speaking women has been transformed, and this still continues. Independent educated and young women have replaced the traditional uneducated housewives who were restricted to four walls. There are still some women in Arabic societies who spend more than half their lives in private spaces. Young educated women in urban classes defined their roles as reform-oriented. They play principle

roles in linguistic change. They “use prestigious forms” of language as compared to men (Vicente, 2009: 25). On the other hand, the rural classes show a static society which is stuck with age-old traditions. Social segregation is responsible for the limited linguistic practice of women in the rural class. Their linguistic practices are described as traditional. They practise old and commonly indistinct structures of language. As compared to male groups in Arabic social contexts, they speak differently. The men tend towards current social varieties or dialectal leveling. (ibid.). Vicente is of the view that gender-based linguistic variations depend on the social context, which is interlinked with social factors such as age groups and the level of education attained. Such social variables influence linguistic practices greatly. Vicente’s concept of feminism in Islamic world can be critiqued on the basis that she understates the sociocultural context and provides researchers with insufficient guidance for operationalizing it.

So I take Sadiqi’s (2003) model from Islamic context. Sadiqi (2003) pinpoints the condition of women in a specific culture in order to understand the various features of gendered performance and the linguistic sources that point to this performance in Moroccan culture. She presents the complicated and distinct gender relationships in Moroccan society. These are illuminated by considering women’s social conditions and taking into account the relevant “cultural practices and [sic] foreground the family, the community and perhaps religion as equally significant foci for struggle against patriarchal oppression” (Sadiqi, 2003: 16). She considers four important aspects or features: “the broad socio-cultural context, the social context, the situational context and the identity context” (ibid.).

In Morocco, these features of this specific culture usually appear to be limiting for women; however, each feature is flexible enough to include a wide range of changes “according to context, situation, and individual interest” (Sadiqi, 2003: 313). They constantly work together; their constant interaction in each context helps them to gain power in a culture that is broad in nature. The vitality of human culture depends upon the continuous interaction of the features that establish it. Sadiqi relates six features in the chain of social variables to culture: “(i) geographical origin, (ii) class, (iii) education, (iv) job opportunity, (v) language skills, and (vi) marital status” (Sadiqi, 2003: 162). I call these “factors” in my study. These social variables form power relationships between Moroccan women. Sadiqi’s model of analysis is especially applicable to non-Western feminism.

1.3.3. Exploration of this research: a theoretical framework

This dissertation mainly rests on Bourdieu's (1979, 1984) notion of inequity as the result of ineffective and non-sustainable language policies (for details, read 3.1.2). These lead to different types of schools in Pakistan; they are English-language medium schools, Urdu-language medium schools and *madrassas* (religious seminaries) (Rahman, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d) (see Chapter 3). Such differences in the school system reflect the division of society into classes (for details, in 3.1.3). A class-based society does not provide equal opportunities for education, especially for women (see Tamim, 2013). Since the lower classes cannot afford English-medium education for all their children, they may spend what they can on educating sons, but daughters are believed not to need education and may get to go only to public Urdu-medium schools if at all. Chances of higher education are slim if one is not equipped with English, and there is no vision of the need of higher education for girls. This is the gap between males and females that I want to explore in my research.

I have modified Sadiqi's (2003) six variables and reduced them to the three factors, of age, class and gender. I identify two classes: urban and rural, in the societal network (Rahman, 2002, 2003, 2005b) of Mansehra. This thesis suggests a model for the sociolinguistic structure of Mansehra that shows Bourdieu's middle and upper classes, along with their attitudes and reactions towards English (see Chapter 6). Both classes are dominated by a male chauvinistic attitude towards women learning English. This biased attitude can be seen at governmental as well as local level in institutions which control the distribution of rights for women. Women are always marginalized in administrative careers in ministries and regional authorities, partly due to their lack of English competency. Substantial economic and cultural domination in Mansehra is exerted by the male gender of all groups at various levels. The most extreme male chauvinist attitude is found in older people of the rural class.

The three factors are basic in the social context of attitudes towards female English literacy. The social context has four relevant aspects: (i) the use of English, (ii) traditional values and culture, (iii) women's social roles; and (iv) modernization in the Mansehra context. Unlike Sadiqi (2003), I investigate both male and female responses in order to study the attitudes towards relevant aspects of the social context of female English literacy. Sadiqi explores urban and rural women's linguistic choices.

Moroccan society associates monolingualism and bilingualism with the traditional and rural class, while multilingualism is associated with modernization. I am not focusing on these points, since in my model modernization is seen as the result of female English literacy. Language choices in Mansehra also reveal class differences (Rahman, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005b, 2005c, 2005d).

Women's social contexts range from broad to narrow. Although a top-down or deductive research approach moving from general ideas to specifics reflects many of my primary interests, it has been enlarged and strengthened with an inductive research approach moving from an analysis of data to generalizations.

These approaches are mutually supportive, and are considered suitable in the Mansehra context. The top-down approach or deductive reasoning helps to analyse the impact of English by moving from general observations about the use of English to the specific perspective of women's use of English and its effects in the region. Conversely, the accumulation of valid data from specific instances has helped in the formation of general ideas.

Rationale

The reason for choosing Sadiqi's (2003) model is that gender procures its meaning from within a culture. The impact of gendered differences in one culture is not necessarily the same in other cultures. Similarly, the idea of feminism changes in different countries and cultures. Western feminist frameworks of gender and feminism are not necessarily applicable to the issue of Pakistani women's English literacy. The evolution of feminist frameworks or models and of the cultures in which they appeared is different in developing countries. Sadiqi (2003) maintains:

Western feminisms drew on specific theoretical and political sources to develop a powerful and original critique of patriarchy; however, when this feminism articulated its own solutions to the problems it faced, it did so in a way that only addressed the contradictions as [sic] women from Western social formations experienced (Sadiqi, 2003: 313).

In Pakistan, the imbalance in power and language is due to patriarchy, which is traditionally established or created by class differences, traditional values and religious underpinnings which are not faced by Western feminists.

Women are not provided with equal social and linguistic choices in Moroccan society, and we notice the same situation in Pakistan (Tamim, 2013, Sadiqi, 2003). The choices available to women there depend upon the attitudes of men and on women's status in each social context. Hence, urban and affluent women (small in number) have more linguistic choices than rural and illiterate women in Mansehra society. Also, the ratio of men to women who know English is strongly slanted towards men. Now, in theory education in Pakistan is supposed to be equally available to everyone. In practice, women in many parts of the country are denied the right to even basic education, let alone higher education, which shows a failure of the government's policy, or at least a failure to implement its own policy.

Next, I present organizational and conceptual framework which is used in this thesis. This is presented in 1.4.

1.4. Organizational and conceptual framework

The conceptual framework is presented in the light of the literature reviewed for this research, which is informed by various types of sources, mainly formal and some informal. Its purpose is to show aspects related to female English literacy and to provide an overall view of the basic concepts which are used. I have formulated four diagrams in order to show the general vision of this dissertation. As depicted in Figure 1.1, learning the language is structured round four main nodes: gender, social, cultural and religious.

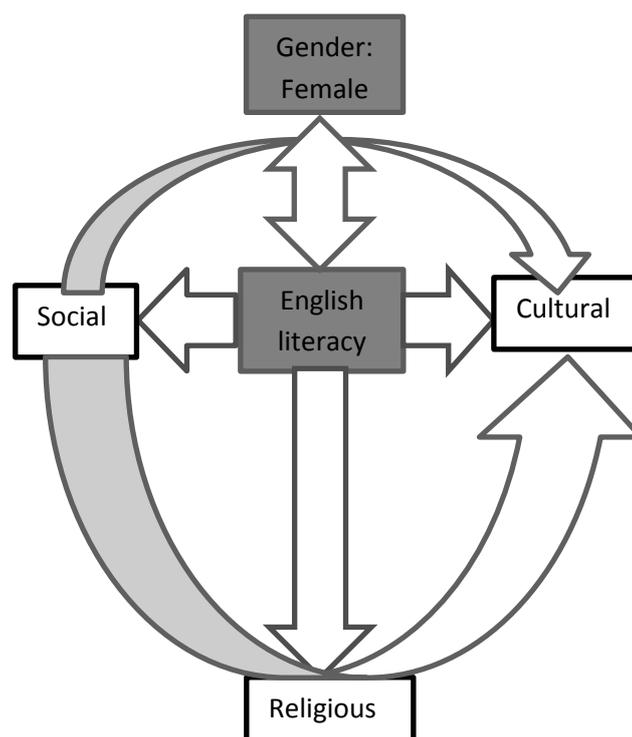


Figure 1.1

Developing a conceptual model adapted from Bourdieu's (1979, 1984) theory of social class and Sadiqi's (2003) concept of feminism in an Islamic context has helped to establish a theoretical and structural base for this research. Pakistani authors quote Bourdieu widely, and I see considerable relevance in his observations for my study. As I proceed, I look at class distinctions in Pakistani society, which I find to be largely based upon language choice and usage, with primary elite status attached by speakers of other languages first to English and then to Urdu. It is desirable to explore the presence of English in Asia in order to understand the formation of new cultures that are the result of colonialism and its impact (Kachru, 1998). Kachru's division of countries into three concentric circles on the basis of the classification of world Englishes includes most countries of Asia in the outer and expanding circles, which evolve new cultural dimensions of English as well as indigenous varieties of it after it comes into contact with regional languages (Kachru & Nelson, 2006; Bolton, 2008; Kirkpatrick & Sussex, 2012, Honna, 2006). To explore attitudes towards English in Pakistan, I try to examine attitudes towards English across Asia (Sergeant, 2009), and I note Islamic influences on attitudes towards English in Malaysia and Brunei (Rajadurai, 2009; Aziz, 1994; Haji-Othman, 2012). While the fact that differences of context exist is acknowledged, some relevance across countries can also be found. The outcome is the exploration of English in South Asia, especially Pakistan (Gargesh, 2006; Al Mamun, Rahman, Rahman & Hossain, 2012).

Various social, cultural and learning factors affect the status of English in Pakistan. The Muslim resistance to English before partition is significant as it sets a background for future attitudes towards English (Zaman, 2002, 2004; Robinson, 2002, Purohit, 2011, Rahman, 2005b). Dealing with the overt and covert language policies in Pakistan shows that they do not do justice to the population at large (Rahman, 1997, 2002, 2005a, 2006). Such unbalanced language policies create rifts in the society, not only between large categories such as the rural and urban population, but also within them between the upper, upper middle, lower middle and lower classes. Class division on the basis of English, says Rahman (2005c), generates extremes, namely strongly Anglicised attitudes in some segments of the society, and radical religious hostilities in others. Such divisions help to form opposing beliefs and attitudes towards gender-based learning. Textbooks in Pakistan are replete with masculine personalities as models: if females are represented at all, this is done within traditional parameters,

limited to household work and a few professions, especially teaching and medicine (Shah, 2012; Hussain & Afsar, 2010). Pakistani culture in general allows more opportunities for boys than girls.

The position of local languages is discussed in order to understand the status of English in Pakistan (Khalique 2007; Rahman, 2006). For this purpose, gender differences in speech patterns in Punjabi are also taken into account; they show female using apologetic and requesting forms; whilst males tend to use imperative forms (Mahmood & Qureshi, 2011). Gender-based differences in SMS texting have also been considered, with reference to Rafi (2008), who thinks that the new use of local languages in SMS texts, especially by females, is bringing change in society. Due to the rising importance of English, regional languages, especially Punjabi, are considered to carry a cultural stigma (Akram & Yasmeen, 2011; Gillani & Mahmood, 2014); this is true of Hindko, the language of the region in question.

It is important to explore cultural factors in Pakistan, where Islamic influences are especially noted in the English curriculum and English newspapers, although these encourage the joint acceptance of Western and Eastern influences amongst citizens (Mahboob, 2009). However, this acceptance can lead to imbalances in which English takes precedence over local languages. To mitigate this problem, Mansoor (2003b) emphasizes the need to introduce local cultural contexts in the English curriculum in order to make the comprehension of texts easier for teachers as well as students (Ahmad & Sajjad, 2011).

As for the language learning situation, we find that motivation for learning English is largely instrumental, and that it varies among males and females (Akram & Ghani, 2012, 2013). Girls are probably no less motivated to get higher education than boys, but always lag behind due to the scarcity of resources as well as to social and cultural norms. Higher education requires learning English at advanced levels, which is not easily available to women. The scarcity of resources for learning Standard English leads to the development of a local variety that is Pakistani English (Parveen & Mehmood, 2013; Jabeen, Mahmood & Rasheed, 2011). So students are often unable to meet the required level of English proficiency due to first-language interference at phonic as well as graphic levels (Hassan, 2004). This inability generates a kind of foreign language anxiety among both male and female students (Hussain, Shahid & Zaman, 2011; Hashwani, 2008). Language anxiety weakens language acquisition, and especially weakens the listening skill (Ahmad, 2012); this weakness occurs partly due

to problems in English language teaching, especially the adoption of the grammar translation method in schools. Such problems are mainly due to deficiencies in recent ELT reforms (see Chapter 3, 3.3.5), which need serious revision (Karim & Shaikh, 2012). The whole scenario of English in Pakistan is presented in the following Figure 1.2.

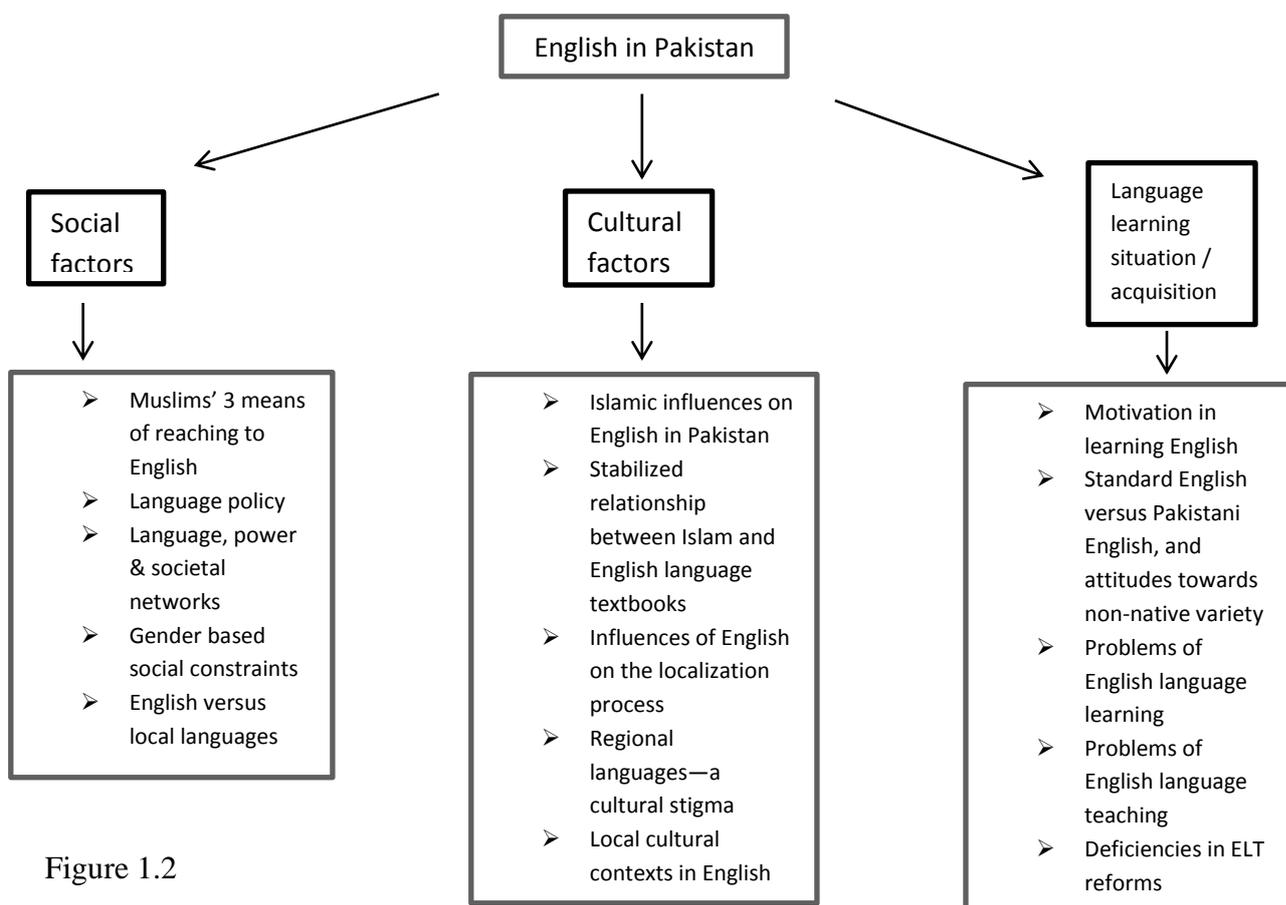


Figure 1.2

To explore female English literacy in the Mansehra region in detail, it is important to discuss women's education in Pakistan as a whole. This is affected by religious, gender, socio-cultural and supply-side factors. The religious factors comprise various interpretations and misinterpretations of religion that create clashes between secular and religious feminists (Bradley & Saigol, 2012; Zia, 2009). There is critical element that one needs to raise. Religious feminists favour *madrassa* education for girls where they are taught only to be submissive and good wives and mothers (for details, see 4.1.2) (Bradley & Saigol, 2012). The two opposing attitudes in one country give rise to obstacles that hinder the empowerment of women (BBC News Asia). In addition to this, the restrictive gender roles of females in private as well as public spaces impede the process of learning for women. These restrictions dampen the economic growth of

the country, since the labour force is limited to men only, leaving more than half of the population at home in repetitive, relatively unproductive chores at home (Malik & Courtney, 2011; Chaudhry, 2007, 2009). Even if they contribute to the economy by working in the fields in rural areas, as they do, that is usually counted as part of the husband's, son's or father's contribution to the family expenditure.

Sociocultural factors are significant in matters concerning education for women. At early stages, the parents' attitudes are crucial. Typically, they are weighted in favour of education for boys (Arai & Tabata, 2006; Buzdar & Ali, 2011). Parents in rural and semi-rural areas focus on segregation, confining girls within the four walls of the house (Ahmad & Neman, 2013). Restricting mobility leads to less education and ultimately a low literacy rate. Parental illiteracy and early marriages are also the main reasons for girls' leaving schools at early ages, as earlier narrated in the story of Mehwish (in 4.3.3, Kids' Rights Report, 2013; Arai & Tabata, 2006; Ahmad & Neman, 2013). Moreover, English literacy is considered dangerous for young females in that it might teach them westernised ways of living (*Dawn*, May, 2014).

Supply-side factors cannot be ignored. Since the inception of the country, education budgets have been minuscule. There is a chronic shortage of schools, teachers and physical amenities (Qureshi, 2003). In the resulting tight competition for limited opportunities, boys are invariably given precedence. The rural areas of the country are hopelessly short of schools for girls, female teachers and basic facilities. An effective education is not possible in such a negative environment, which is presented below in the following Figure 1.3.

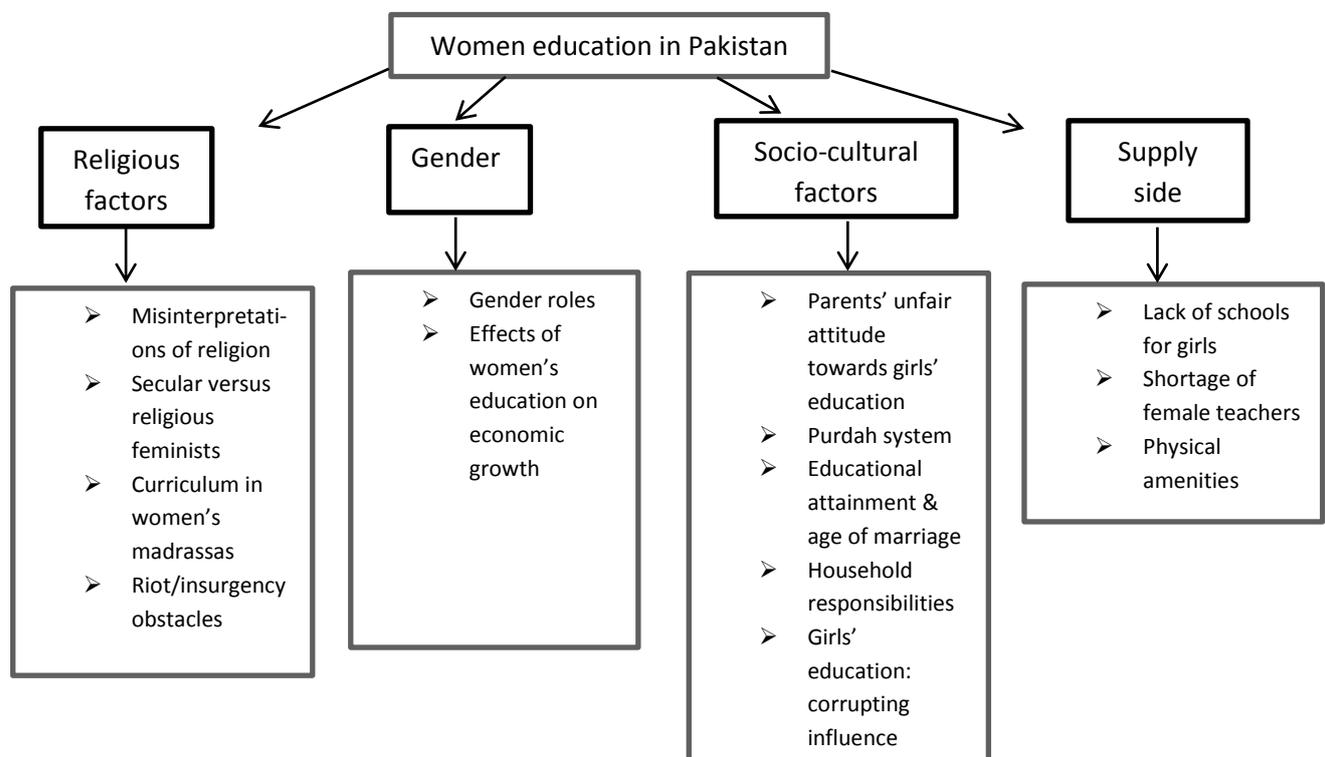


Figure 1.3

In order to draw attention to operative factors in matters regarding female literacy, especially in rural Pakistan, and generally to suggest improvements in the way they live, this thesis focuses on female literacy in English for the purposes of higher education. This is the reason that Rahman (2005a) considers English to be a means to women's empowerment and liberation.

Next, I present a general view of the chapters in this thesis, in order to provide an outline of what the readers will find in them. This is presented in 1.5

1.5. Overview of chapters / Structure of thesis

The first chapter provides an introduction to the thesis. It introduces the urban and rural areas of the Mansehra region and elaborates on the social role of women and the importance of English language and culture. It also briefly discusses the attitudes of men to female education. Then it defines the basic issue for the thesis: English literacy and its effect on women in Pakistan. Next, the area is delimited to the city of Mansehra, in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, and its immediate environs within a radius of fifty kilometres. The delimitation is followed by a justification of the choice of the topic for the thesis. This is related to women's subordinate role in social activities and their dominance in private households. Then the study hypothesizes that the exposure to English language and culture is necessary for women's progress. To clarify this assertion, a theoretical framework is designed in order to explore various factors. Based on the theoretical framework and literature review (in Chapters 2, 3 and 4), the conceptual framework is designed in order to show the sequence of concepts which flow in the subsequent chapters.

The second chapter deals with the literature review, which encompasses the socio-cultural and learning situation of English in different Asian contexts and draws our attention to the importance of local languages along with English also identifies the clashes between religions, English and national or regional languages in some contexts, for instance, Malaysia and Brunei, in order to portray the social and cultural outcome of learning English in some Asian (Islamic) countries.

The third chapter discusses the situation of English in Pakistan, with reference to the work of prominent researchers such as Tariq Rahman. It is important to discuss the general position of English in Pakistan in order to understand the attitudinal patterns

towards women's English literacy. I discuss social, cultural and learning aspects of English. The social factor includes Muslims' reaction to English, the language policy enshrined in the law of 1973 and gender-based social constraints. The presence of the genders in the English textbooks is not equal; there is a need to include equal gender-specific details in these textbooks. In addition, other aspects included are the need to integrate and represent local cultural contexts in English textbooks in order to enhance the usefulness and liking of English. I discuss the language learning situation from different aspects, for instance, the role of motivational factors in learning English at college and university level, students' specific attitudes towards English developed as a result of anxiety, and language reforms in higher education, which needs to be modified.

The fourth chapter explain factors that affect women's education in Pakistan; such as religion, gender roles, economics, and sociocultural and supply-side effects. The discussion of these factors reveals that they are all so tied together that it is difficult to separate them. The religious and social structure underpins a segregation system in the country, which restricts women's functioning to a limited area. Culture, in the general opinion, is based on religion (Islam) that is misinterpreted by half-literate clerics, who often mislead illiterate people in the country. Traditional attitudes of parents and grandparents towards girls need to be revisited in the light of current trends and fashions. With regard to gender roles, some of the expected activities, though not impossible, are difficult for women, and, certainly there is a great burden of housework and motherhood, which has to be borne by women alone. Less expenditure on girls' education reinforces the idea of patriarchy which imposes the marginalisation of women in all fields of life, especially education.

The fifth chapter is divided into two parts. The first part provides a review of the methodologies used for this research. The second part deals with the research design employed for it. This research design combines qualitative and quantitative enquiries and participatory observation. Qualitative interviewing was adopted to learn the responses of the rural class to female English literacy. The validity and reliability of the questionnaire was checked with the help of two experts' opinions and the Cronbach's alpha procedure. This chapter also elucidates the strengths and weaknesses of this research.

The sixth chapter elaborates on the analysis of responses to the questionnaire as well as examining the interviews and findings from participant observation. The division

of the questions asked in both the questionnaire and the interviews into groups or themes is designed to clarify women's levels of English literacy and how their social roles are related to traditional values. The questions also draw our attention to the respondents' attitudes to change in the region as a result of the impact of English. The thematic analysis of the interviews reveals the traditional attitudes of the interviewees to female English literacy.

The seventh chapter provides a brief commentary on the methods used for this research, and returns to the three factors which guide the choice of respondents: age, gender and class, as well as the four areas of enquiry in the fieldwork: female English language learning, English and traditional culture, social roles, and modernization and female English literacy. It also gives final comments on the three instruments or tools: the questionnaire, the interviews and participatory observation. This chapter also expounds the implications of the findings, which lead to suggestions for improving the current traditional attitudes to female English literacy in the region. The last part gives recommendations for educationists, local government administration, teachers, students and general readers.

2. English in Asia: cultural revitalization and attitudes

This chapter provides, through a literature review, an account of the socio-cultural as well as learning situation related to English in Asia, and elaborates on some of the East Asian, South-east Asian and South Asian countries. I start the review with relevant broad studies, and gradually go on to delimit it to South Asia. I have looked at other studies and experiments in different parts of the world. I will discuss them briefly.

The global dissemination of English as a lingua franca is forming a new culture, which shows the social and cultural imprints of colonisation. In the process of the social and cultural development of attitudes towards English, Kachru's three concentric circles prove useful, for instance in differentiating between the countries of the outer and the expanding circle. In order to assess the social and cultural factors affecting the extent of learning English, relevant studies have been focussed. I start with Rahman (2006), Pennycook (1998), Kachru (1998), Kachru and Nelson (2006), Bolton (2008, 2012), Kirkpatrick (2010, 2012), Kirkpatrick and Sussex (2012). Bolton, Kirkpatrick and Sussex elucidate the varieties of Asian English and direct our attention to the need to learn about local languages. Rahman and Pennycook shed light on colonialism, which helps to create the multicultural environment in different parts of Asia, and which is discussed in the following section 2.1.

2.1. Impact of colonialism and formation of a new culture

2.1.1. Impact of colonialism

The colonists sought power in other lands for their own purposes, that is for sure--they were not bothered by what happened to them. At the same time it would not be fair to say that the impact was all bad. India was under a decadent monarchy at the time of the British expansion, whereas Britain, while still preserving its kingship, was rapidly becoming a working democracy with ideals of equality and human rights. Also, the Industrial Revolution, which gave Britain its advantage in weaponry and commerce, enabling it to conquer several countries round the world, had its beginnings in Britain in the eighteenth century. India benefitted from it to some extent. The main damage was psychological. Indians began to suffer from an inferiority complex with regard to

their own languages and ways of thinking, and their culture in general (Rahman, 2006). I suggest that some of this is still visible in parts of India and Pakistan (for details, see 3.2.4), and there is fear that too much English will erode the local culture. But the situation now is different from what it was then (in pre-partition days). We need English, not to impress the British, but because it is a very useful global language (Leitner, 2012: 179). There is so much modern writing which is growing all the time and available in English, and hardly anything worthwhile for practical purposes in Urdu, Hindi or other regional languages. English has tended to dominate in some institutions—for administration, commerce, banking, planning, engineering, medicine--almost everything, in fact.

In China, British power ended with the end of the colonial period and was replaced by Chinese sway and dominion in Hong Kong in 1997. The British administration left Hong Kong, but the legacies of colonialism are rooted deeply there. The role of English in this colonized territory, together with English language teaching, produced a cultural outcome after the end of the political and economic form of colonialism. Previous studies have reported the impact of colonialism, which is pervasive in the traditions and discourses of colonial and colonized groups (Pennycook, 1998; Poon, 2010). The loss of Chinese sovereignty had originally occurred due to the opium trade, which was the main reason for the growth of many corporations in the financial hub of Hong Kong.

Several studies investigating English language teaching in India explore the connection between the discourses of colonialism and ELT, and trace the impacts of colonialism on the neutral, global forms of English (Lange, 2012; Pennycook, 1998; Ferguson, 1996). Neutral English is used all over the world. Neutral English is compared with Standard English, which is loaded with colonial traditions and interpretations. Pennycook grasps the situation of English and ELT in China and India. He does not delineate the world view of English or world English in his account, but discusses different writings about colonialism, for example travelogues, articles, books and interviews.

Institutional colonization has also been noticed in contemporary Asia, for example in Hong Kong and India. Asians travel to advanced countries like the UK to get professional degrees, for example, the B.Ed. After completion, they go back to their native lands and teach there.

I am of the view that the above mentioned authors attempt to analyse the spread of English as a global language. The notion is explained with the help of the discourses of colonialism, but English is not only a language of colonization. It is also a world language. This world language is also a modern language for the global village. In his analysis, Pennycook draws our attention to the narratives of colonialism, which are written in different forms. They appear in talks, travel stories, articles and books. The most famous topic is the Indian colonial legacy. However, the main weakness of his study is the failure to address how women's English literacy is promoted in the post-colonial period.

2.1.2. Cultural and linguistic imprints: a new culture

The scope of Asian English, with different dimensions expressed in “linguistic, cultural, interactional, ideological and political terms,” has been discussed by Kachru (1998: 89). The English language is unique in its functions, dissimilar fields and overpowering diversity. Every part of the world uses English in different ways. In this connection, we may identify two main features of English-using countries. One is the colonial era and its aftermath. The second is identity construction. Kachru quotes Soyinka's (1993) comment that English has become a “medium of communication” and therefore epitomizes “a new organic series of mores, social goals, relationships, universal awareness—all of which go into the creation of a new culture” (cited from Kachru, 1998: 104). Soyinka (1993) says that Black people are creating new concepts by using English as a medium of communication. Then Kachru (1998) discusses two rapidly emerging genres. He maintains:

One expresses the «guilt» of the Colonizee users of the language—the genre of guilt. And the other attempts to search and seek out the Colonizer within one's self—the genre of atonement (ibid.: 105).

Such approaches towards language confuse people like me. I am a product of the post-colonial era. Most Asian peoples have seen colonizers' as well as conquerors' assaults. As Kachru explains, these attacks left behind their “cultural and linguistic imprints” (ibid.). The major part of these imprints has been diffused in the society and hence resulted in a plurilingual and multicultural inheritance. We transfer such legacies to the future generations consciously as well as unconsciously. The transference occurs without guilt. People in South Asia cannot take the risk of using

strategies which will weaken them “in terms of [...] [their] tradition of assimilative multilingual and multicultural identities” (ibid.). Doing so is actually troublesome as well as upsetting for individuals in India and Pakistan.

The plurilingual and multicultural inheritance divides English speaking communities into different categories, which gives rise to the revitalization of the English language. That is the theme of the next section 2.2.

2.2. Kachru’s three concentric circles and the revitalization of the English language

2.2.1. Three concentric circles: inner, outer and expanding

There is a broader aspect of the educational and cultural dimensions of Asian Englishes in the context of world Englishes. The undercurrents of Englishes are modifying. Shifts are taking place so rapidly that they influence the “profile of world Englishes” (Kachru & Nelson, 2006: xx). Kachru and Nelson discuss Kachru’s three concentric circles (Kachru, 1985, 1992). Kachru locates countries in three circles. Countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America are placed in the inner circle. In the UK and the USA, English is considered as the mother tongue. The second circle is the outer circle, which includes, for instance, India, Pakistan, Singapore, Nigeria, and the Philippines. English is used as an additional language in these countries, where English is also known as a second language (ESL). The third circle is the expanding circle, comprising countries like China, Japan, and South Korea. There, English is considered as a foreign language (EFL). The nativization and acculturation of English is accelerating with this development. The nativization and acculturation of the varieties included in the outer circle are prominent. This interaction of forms and cultures initiates bilingual ingenuity. Furthermore, the notion of identity and the problem of intelligibility have also been discussed by Kachru and Nelson, and are also considered by Widdowson (1994). Kachru and Nelson’s study would have been more useful if they had included a chapter on attitudes to change in the traditional cultures, as well as the effect of English on relations between males and females, and urban and rural classes.

The progress of world Englishes demonstrates creativity and innovations in the multilinguals’ language use. There is also a debate on assisting English language teachers while considering world Englishes in teacher education as well as curricular

changes in teacher training. I found these areas useful, because they are related to pedagogical training, which is a major issue in Pakistan. Kachru and Nelson elaborate on South Asian, East Asian, Southeast Asian and African Englishes and African-American Vernacular English. South Asian English is analysed as symptomatic of linguistic heterogeneity, as well as of various linguistic competences found in different contexts. Various regional varieties, for instance “Indian English, Lankan English and Pakistani English,” show the rejuvenation of the language in different cultural contexts (Kachru & Nelson, 2006: 153). Various regional varieties bring various cultural dimensions with them, which initiate the process of acculturation and revitalization which is to be presented in 2.2.2.

2.2.2. English language and cultural dimensions: revitalization

The blend of linguistic and cultural dimensions is the accepted identity of present-day South Asia (Byram & Feng, 2004). The usual strategy is to modify the language for Asian contexts. In Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines, India and Australia, we see that most of the population “with its linguistic diversity, cultural interfaces, social hierarchies, and conflicts, is represented in various strands of Asian English, in Asian terms” (Kachru, 1998: 106). The language users and designers in each region have assimilated and acculturated the shared medium of communication, which is English. As a result they produce “a liberated English” that includes “vitality, innovation, linguistic mix, and cultural identity” (ibid.). In this way, English has been revitalized in different ways in different regions. I agree with Kachru’s standpoint on the rejuvenation of language. The transformation occurs in Asian contexts, and allows non-native speakers to express themselves in Asian terms. Many Asians use English as a medium of communication and identify themselves with some current trends of English-speaking nations, resulting in the acculturation and assimilation of non-native varieties. However, Kachru’s study fails to consider acculturation and women’s English literacy in the Asian context. The first objective 1.2.4 (a) given in Chapter One states the need to fulfil this gap in the South Asian context, which is to be discussed in the 14th and 24th questions in the chapter 6.

Using English in multicultural contexts makes it different from Standard English, and leads to the evolution of various indigenous varieties. This is discussed in 2.3.

2.3. English (as a lingua franca) evolves indigenous varieties

2.3.1. English language versus regional languages

A change is occurring in Asia, from monolingual to bilingual societies. Asians are inclined towards bilingualism. Some are multilingual, due to the regional or local languages spoken in Asia. As Bolton (2012:18) maintains:

The contemporary importance of English throughout the Asian region, coupled with the emergence and recognition of distinct varieties of Asian Englishes, has played an important part in the global story of English in recent years. The numbers of people having at least some knowledge of the language have grown remarkably over the last 40 years in the Asian region, which for our purposes here may be defined as including the countries of South Asia, Southeast Asia and East Asia. It is in these regions that we find not only the greatest concentration of “Outer Circle” English using societies, but also a number of the most populous English-learning and English-knowing nations in the world.

According to Bolton (2008:7), English is used by 812 million people in Asia. They are known to be multilingual. There is a need to know the ways in which they use English as a medium of communication (details in 2.4). In many Asian countries, English is a compulsory component of schooling according to language education policy. Except in Indonesia, English is a compulsory subject in the primary curriculum in Asian countries. English acts as an important medium of instruction in some countries, for instance, Singapore. It has been introduced in the primary curriculum there by eliminating regional languages. Some people from the middle classes do not bother to learn their national language. Contrary to such developments, Kirkpatrick (2010, 2012), and Kirkpatrick and Sussex (2012) maintain that primary schools should promote the teaching and learning of local or regional as well as national languages. If children learn local and national languages fluently and accurately, this will pave the way for learning English efficiently. Kirkpatrick and Sussex (2012:1) say,

[...] there is great variation in spoken Englishes, where the “new” Englishes have been shaped by the cultural needs of their speakers. Asian Englishes form part of these new Englishes and are commonly described in reference to their countries of origin. Brunei English, Malaysian English, Philippino English and Singaporean English are well known examples.

Sub-varieties of each variety exist in the multilingual countries of Asia. Code switching and “code-mixing between English and local languages” have been considered creative techniques (Kirkpatrick and Sussex, 2012:2). This creative strategy also acts as an identity marker in the multilingual locales of Asia. The multilingual users use English in their daily routine as a lingua franca. This is used to communicate with “fellow multilinguals across the region” (Kirkpatrick and Sussex, 2012:2). English plays multiple roles in Asia. The varieties of Asian English lead to further sub-varieties. Since English has been used as a lingua franca, there is another variety known as a “lingua franca English” (Canagarajah 2007: 90). This is an evolving and vibrant variety of English, which is a continuously discussed and not a sole and established variety. I agree with Bolton (2008), Kirkpatrick (2010, 2012) and Kirkpatrick and Sussex (2012) that there is a need to learn local and national languages first in the primary schools. Doing so helps to learn English better than learning it with less proficient and less trained teachers in schools, as is discussed in 2.3.2.

2.3.2. Indigenous varieties are evolving

Recognising the development of indigenous varieties, Honna (2006) elaborates on East Asian Englishes in different contexts, for instance China, Japan, Korea and Taiwan. The number of students learning English in East Asia has greatly increased, which supports the position of English there. Honna (2006: 114) maintains:

While China witnesses 300 million people toiling at English lessons, Japan has officially activated an English-speaking Japanese development project. Korea and Taiwan are conspicuously committed to strengthening their primary-school English language teaching (ELT) programs.

English is used as a medium of communication within these Asian countries. Differing programmes of English language teaching are established; therefore different indigenous varieties are evolving (McArthur, 1998). The communicative approach has been adopted in various programmes of English language teaching. This approach focuses on shared understanding rather than the traditional practice of repetition. The “increased exposure to English-using environments” helps “to make learners aware of varieties,” thus helping them to realize that English can be used in an effective manner “without speaking like a native speaker” (Honna, 2006:114).

Using English in various settings helps in forming attitudes to English, which vary in different regions, and reflect the scope of English. It is necessary to explore the attitude to English in various Asian countries in order to understand the importance of English in each specific context, which is to be discussed in 2.4.

2.4. Attitudes towards English across Asia

This study reveals different attitudes towards English across Asia. This includes East Asia, Southeast Asia and South Asia. Different attitudes reflect different approaches across the region. The following reviews help us to understand the scope of English as well as cultural differences perceived in various regions.

2.4.1. East Asia

The attitude towards English in East Asian countries, for example, China, is based on good prospects of learning English and its culture (Honna, 2006). But still there are some countries, such as Japan, which consider it only a leisure activity (Seargeant, 2009). Apparently, the Japanese do not realize the importance of learning English, so there is a need to change their attitudes through reforms. By contrast, Koreans' excessive work on learning English creates anxiety and an inferiority complex, which gives rise to linguistic schizophrenia that they can never acquire native-like proficiency in English (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012). The attitudes of East Asian peoples towards English are analysed in the following.

Chinese students learn English due to instrumental reasoning

Surveys such as that conducted by Honna (2006) have shown the present English language scenario in China. A group of Japanese teachers who visited universities and colleges in China were astonished by the attitude of Chinese students, who greeted them in English. The Japanese teachers asked them to speak Chinese, as they "are Chinese teachers from Japan" (Honna, 2006:115). The students are motivated to learn English due to instrumental reasoning; for example, they wish to find good careers and to use it for communication at the international level (Gan, 2009), where English is a common medium of communication. The maximum scientific information is available in English. Previous studies draw our attention to the importance of learning English in China due to the country's development and trade policies. Hence, the

Chinese government reviews English language teaching. English is given primary importance in the educational system of China, and it is started from grade three in schools. TV and radio stations also play vital roles in spreading and commercializing the English language teaching programmes in the country.

Motivation of Japanese people to learn English

Seargeant (2009) examines the motivation of Japanese people to learn English. He finds that there is no link between drives to learn English and English skill, and that Japanese people may show relevant desires to change their daily living and life styles. They may want to mould these according to English culture. Apparently, the learning of English in Japan is associated with one's identity. Learning English becomes a resource for showing one's self and it also gives further opportunities to discuss one's local principles and beliefs. The status of the use of English language in Japan is different from in other neighbouring countries. Learning English is not seen as necessary for the sake of communicating with the outer world. Most Japanese people perform well in employment as well as in their routine communication in Japan. English is not required as an essential language in employment and routine lives (Sugita & Takeuchi, 2010; Seargeant, 2009). Thus, people living in Japan are not compelled to study English. The Japanese take it as a leisure activity, as Seargeant (2009) claims. There is a need to change attitudes towards English in Japan. It needs to be considered as a language for the global world. I find a gap in Seargeant's study as he does not consider the relationship between learning English and its cultural effects on attitudes, which is the third (c) concern of this dissertation in 1.2.4.

Reforms needed in Japan for English literacy

Previous studies have reported Japanese "responses to English as an international language" (Honna, 2006:121; Sakamoto, 2012). Japanese people explicate the reasons for their English incompetency: English is not required at a high level in Japan. Honna (2006:121) maintains:

Actually, however, in this age of information and communication, Japanese naturally have more actual, immediate, and potential needs for English use in their country than they apparently realize. Internet communication is a good example.

In Japan, the English language teaching reform project focuses on three targets: “(1) understanding other cultures, (2) explaining our own culture, and (3) teaching English as an international language” (ibid.). The Japanese English language teaching reforms chiefly stress reading about other cultures, especially those of the USA and the UK. Japanese people are seen as needing to learn English as an additional language in order to share their experiences and to understand other cultures, for instance, learning English culture which is also one of the focal points of this dissertation (for details, see Questions 7 & 8 in Chapter 6, 6.1.4).

Koreans’ anxiety towards English

South Korea is famous for the study of English, and has invested greatly in the learning of English language (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012; Jin-Kyu Park, 2009). The government plays a significant role in revising the English language curriculum and inviting native English teachers (see, for example, Kim, Tatar & Choi, 2014; Tanghe, 2014; Jeon, 2012). The local governments try to establish local English-speaking communities where learners can learn English. Parents spend heavily on helping their children to attain English proficiency. Joseph Sung-Yul Park opines that the English language skills of Koreans are not adequate to cope with the emerging trends of the world. Koreans’ anxiety about English is characterized by their “strong sense of inferiority” (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 215). Communication with native speakers increases this anxiety and I have observed similar anxiety in the participants of this thesis while they are learning English. Yun (2001:111-112) “highlights the psychological reality and complexity of the anxiety Koreans feel towards English” (cited in Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 216). Yun (2001:121) argues that “if English is not your mother tongue, your English language skills will always be limited, always inferior to those of a native speaker” (cited in Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012: 217). He criticizes excessive investments, as they will not help students to attain the status of a native speaker. The sense of subordination and subservience originates from the demarcation of the border which divides Koreans from native speakers. However, the process of diffusion and hybridity cannot be ignored, due to the globalized importance of English everywhere. Linguistic anxiety has been created amongst Koreans by telling them that the border they want to cross is not the one which they belong to. Therefore, linguistic schizophrenia is produced in the Korean nation. The study would

have been far more interesting if the author (Joseph Sung-Yul Park, 2012) had proposed some recommendations in order to remove this linguistic schizophrenia, which I attempt to discuss in the recommendations in my concluding chapter.

2.4.2. Southeast Asia

The scope of English in Southeast Asia reflects English as a default language in Malaysia and other countries of Southeast Asia (Azirah & Leitner, 2014). However, the analysis of social attitudes to English in Southeast Asia reflects the clash between identity and the English language, especially in Malaysia, where some people describe English as un-Islamic and un-Malay (Rajadurai, 2009). Although they accept it as a language of trade, they do not want to adopt it as a part of their cultural identity. A somewhat similar situation has been observed in Brunei, where people are divided into different classes on the basis of language use (Haji-Othman, 2012). The social, cultural and learning situation of English is elaborated in the following paragraphs.

Scope of English in Malaysia

Azirah and Leitner (2014) conducted a research on the scope of English in Malaysia. Malaysia and other ASEAN countries are multilingual communities. English is a certified language in these regions and speakers must fulfil the needs of fluent and proficient English speech. Native like proficiency is not required, but appreciated if it occurs in situational settings.

The use of English in Malaysia and other Southeast Asian countries is not consistent. It changes from region to region. Leaving aside deficient competence in English, speakers practise long established local forms of English like Malaysian, Singaporean and Philippine English. These varieties of English become patterns when they are transferred to other Southeast Asian countries “through regional networks of cooperation, knowledge transfer and training within the region” (Azirah & Leitner, 2014: 26). Some countries, where there is no long tradition of established English, still have practically unchanging structures, which are similar to the aforementioned varieties since they share typological structures. Azirah and Leitner (2014) stress the need to resolve issues related to national and regional varieties, and inquire about the use of localized forms in English textbooks, which are part and parcel of not only primary school students but also university students.

The authors touch the most practical problem of Asian students. They raise the question of using English as international language which will create problems related to academic writing since it is not possible to separate “English from culture and pragmatic norms” (ibid.).

Biased attitude towards English in Malaysia

The attitudes of English language learners in an Islamic country, Malaysia, are pertinent to this discussion. Understanding the notion of language attitudes as language ideologies, Rajadurai (2009) says that the Malay community reacts negatively to Malay students who speak English in outer spheres or circles (also see Dan, Haroon & Naysmith, 1996; Hamid, 2004). The social practices of the Malay community “present English as foreign, pagan and even evil, and its speakers as rude, snobbish, arrogant, un-Malay and un-Islamic” (Rajadurai, 2009: 79); (for details see Ratnawati, 2005). However, Stephen (2013:3) argues that there are varied attitudes from “conservative [...] to general acceptance” towards English in Malaysia, but she can not explain the complex roles of English and Malay in the Malaysian education system. The tension persists between the language of identity (Malay) and the language for trade (English) (ibid: 7). The identity of Malays is attached to strict religious, cultural and social commitments. Second language learners of English need to practise outside the classroom in order to become proficient in English, but the negative attitude of the Malay community narrows the space for English language learners to practise English in local spaces. This hinders their ability to acquire the language, and their experience “may prove to be inadequate to develop higher levels of competence in the language” (Rajadurai, 2009: 79; Hamid, 2004). To become proficient in English, second language learners need to access “information, resources and opportunities for participation beyond the ESL classroom” (Rajadurai, 2009: 80). There is a need to provide safe environments for second language learners to practise English where they are free to make mistakes and practise continuously. Teachers need to train second language learners to adjust their identities in accordance with the community’s social practices. The different communities’ practices encompass the “class room [sic] community, the L1 community and the target language community” (ibid.). The social practice of the classroom community varies from that of the first language community as well as the target language community. Teachers play a vital role in making students understand their role in different communities while

pinpointing their weaknesses and strengths. Rajadurai discusses the connection between English and the strict religious and cultural identities of the Malay community, but he overlooks the role of women, which is the crux of my thesis.

The discrepancy in attitudes to English courses and the English learning process in Malaysia

Identifying the discrepancy in attitudes to English courses and the English learning process, Aziz (1994) analyses the attitudes of Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia's (UKM) graduates towards English. He takes a sample of more than 137 UKM undergraduates in order to measure the attitudes of UKM undergraduates towards English. Particularly, the goal of the study is to measure "the students' attitudes towards English, the University's English language policy, their attitudes towards English vis-à-vis their national language, how they view speakers of English and their attitudes towards the compulsory English language courses offered at UKM" (Aziz, 1994: 85). The students do not show a positive attitude towards the university's English language courses. On the other hand, they show positive attitudes towards other aspects of the university. The findings prove that the students do not show negative attitudes towards the English language learning process. The university has indeed succeeded in teaching the importance of English to the students. The students also show positive attitudes towards the university's "language policy" (Aziz, 1994: 97). Aziz says that UKM is famous for spreading the local language, bahasa Melayu, but it also gives due importance to English language learning and teaching. The fact that the university's policy includes students' registration for learning English and passing in two subjects requiring reading in English shows how it gives importance to English. Most of the students follow this policy for their language learning. The UKM students show a positive attitude towards English speakers. They think that the learning of English strengthens their bond with "their culture and religion" (Aziz, 1994: 98). Through this connection they get more knowledge about not only their own culture but other cultures and religions too. They consider English as an impartial language, and for them it is just a resource for getting information and knowledge. Unlike Stephen (2013) and Rajadurai (2009) (for details of biased attitudes, see 2.4.2), Aziz (1994) reports that many "Malays who are religious," acknowledge the importance of English in today's world (ibid.).

However, the students do not show a positive attitude “towards the English language courses offered at [university] (UKM)” (ibid.). They do not find them interesting. They think that speaking, listening and writing skills should also be focused, rather than only reading. They consider that much reading activity is a burden. The survey shows that beliefs, culture and patriotism have had a minimum effect on framing students’ attitudes towards language learning, but this is not the case in other parts of the world; for example, in Pakistan the attitudinal patterns towards English language learning are really affected by beliefs, culture and nationalism. The language policy in Pakistan also reflects such effects (for details, read 3.1.2).

English versus Malay in Brunei

In Brunei Darussalam, English plays a major role in the education system. It is an important part of bilingual education in this country. After gaining independence, Brunei has become a part of the global village. The people are educated in English in order to compete in the globalized scene, but the national policy emphasises maintaining Bruneian identity. Haji-Othman (2012) says that “Malay and English, can be said to have played the role of ‘Aunties’ – the former, a close relative; the latter, a slightly more distant, but still familial aunt” (2012:176). The Malay language “aligned them (the people) to the politically dominant Malays (the Bruneis – an ethnic group, as opposed to ‘Bruneians’, the national citizens), whilst as Haji-Othman says (2012: 176-177), English’s “good connections in the wider world were seen as highly beneficial.” The modernized people of Brunei had preferred Malay in the 1970’s. Gradually they started realizing the importance of English. Those who were educated only in Malay were marginalized in employment. English had a strong influence on the job sector of the country. The language shift has played a major role in the “language ecology of Brunei” (Haji-Othman, 2012: 187), and also has an impact on cultural identity (Coluzzi, 2007: 82-83; Coluzzi, 2012). ‘Bruneian-ness’ is revealed in the common features of Brunei’s Malay language. The different languages and identities are assimilated in a common national medium of language as well as a common national identity. Haji-Othman (2012:187) perceives a cross-generational shift “from ethnic minority languages to Malay.” With this shift, English is considered as the “‘useful Auntie’, being learned for the instrumental purposes of competing internationally,” whilst Malay is considered more detrimental to the existence of

minority indigenous languages (Haji Othman, 2012: 188). On the other hand, some Brunei scholars consider “English language as a threat to the Malay language” (Martin & Abdullah, 2002:31). The local people decide to learn both languages for public domains, which is quite useful and practical.

His (Haji Othman’s) conclusions would have been more convincing if the author had considered the relationship between the national language, ethnic minority languages and gender in order to provide a comprehensive view of the language ecology of Brunei Darrussallam.

Attitudes towards varieties of English

Siregar (2010: 66) analyses “the [l]anguage [a]ttitudes of [s]tudents of English Literature and D3 English at Maranatha Christian University toward American English, British English and Englishes in Southeast Asia, and their various contexts of use in Indonesia.” It is an established fact that different Englishes are spoken around the world. The knowledge of only British or American English may not be functional in foreign contexts. The studies of Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003) and Hiraga (2005) reveal that people show positive attitudes towards Englishes “which have a more prestigious status. Siregar chooses 108 participants for her survey. She uses the technique of qualitative interviewing or less structured interviewing as well as questionnaires. The findings reveal that the students have a less positive attitude towards Malaysian, Philippine and Singaporean English than to British and American English. We can see that the main purpose of participants is likely to be learning Standard English rather than focusing on any specific variety of English. Although the participants interact more with the non-native society of speakers, they do not feel any need to be aware of non-native Englishes. It is the responsibility of teachers to create awareness and knowledge amongst students that English acts as an international language nowadays. It “belongs to all of its users and not exclusively to speakers of the Inner Circle” (McKay, 2002: 127). The participants’ less positive attitude to non-native Englishes show that there is a need to develop awareness of varieties of English. This awareness would help foreign language learners “to develop their communicative competence [...] as well as intercultural competence” (Siregar, 2010: 87). Communicative and intercultural competences are important in Englishes in their specific contexts.

Siregar contends that relationships between all Englishes cannot be formalised. British and American English do not correlate with each other. The students who show a positive attitude to American English will not show the same for British English. American and British English do not correlate with the other varieties of English. It is not possible to determine whether the participants have same attitude towards other varieties of English as they show for American English. The varieties of English will have to pass through various stages, says Siregar, “to be accepted” (Siregar, 2010: 87). There is a need to investigate foreign language learners’ “feelings, stereotypes, expectations and prejudices [...] [concerning] the target language” in order to determine foreign language “learners’ and users’ attitudes towards new varieties of Englishes” (ibid.). Siregar’s study would have been more convincing if she had included participatory observation in her methodology.

2.4.3. South Asia

English has attained a specific position in the language policies of South Asia (Lange, 2012). It has this position due to its extensive use in important fields of life like education and intercultural communication. Recent evidence suggests that English is well established in South Asia, and has more users or speakers than in the countries of the inner circle (the USA and the UK) (Lange, 2012; Gargesh, 2006). In South Asian countries “English is viewed as a language of power and as a means of economic uplift and upward social mobility” (Gargesh, 2006:90). Moreover, its widespread use in South Asia has promoted the nativization processs which can be seen in numerous indigenous varieties of English in South Asia. This process has revitalized both English and local languages through various word formation processes, such as borrowing. English acts as a contact language between people from different ethnic backgrounds, as well as being “the link language among the South Asian countries constituting the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)” (ibid.). It is now recognized as a medium of communication between national and international agencies, promoting progress in different sectors like education and the economy.

Attitudes towards English in India

Most people favour using English as a medium of education and information, but it is not preferred as a local language. The local language or mother tongue is considered as an identity marker, but educationists like to use English in education. There are instrumental motives for learning English. It is considered as a resource for gaining a higher social position in both India and Pakistan. The people of India consider English as a neutral resource, and think that advancement and development in science and technology are not possible without it. But they are mostly not willing to change their culture; as Gargesh (2006:102) contends, “more than 60 percent of informants considered them[selves] to be sensitive to Indian culture.” Parents motivate their children to choose English as a subject in colleges and universities. English is considered as an important tool in India in order to enhance progress in science and technology. However, Gargesh fails to fully acknowledge the significance of the effect of learning English on attitudes to the social role of women, this effect is the second objective of my research.

Attitudes towards English in Bangladesh

There have been studies of Bangladeshi attitudes towards English as a foreign language (Erling, Seargeant, Solly, Chowdhury & Rahman, 2012; Al Mamun, Rahman, Rahman and Hossain, 2012). Al Mamun et al. (2012) elaborate on the attitudes of undergraduate students at the Life Science School of Khulna University, who study English language as a compulsory subject. This is in accordance with the “foreign language acquisition policy of Bangladesh” (Al Mamun et al., 2012: 207). Moreover, English is widely used as a medium of teaching and learning, which promotes its academic use in Bangladesh. The authors think that it is relevant to examine the attitudes of the undergraduate students towards English. It stands to reason that their attitudes can influence the “implementation of the foreign language acquisition policy of Bangladesh and the medium of instruction policy of Khulna University” (ibid.). This is because undergraduate students are the main agents of linguistic practice in the country. The findings reveal that the participants show positive attitudes. They are told that there is a need to learn English in this globalized world. They like to learn English, and encourage others to do the same. They also inform others that English is “associated with modernity and high social status” (Al Mamun et al., 2012; Erling et al., 2012:18). Those who are fluent get good jobs and

improve their status in society. The participants confirm that there is a need to use English at macro level, for instance in other social spheres like media and official proceedings, as well as in education (also see Erling et al., 2012). Erling et al., (2012) argues that English is not perceived as a danger to local cultural values and Islam. Although they favour its use in broader spheres, they do not want to eliminate Bangla (their national language) from the institutions. They think that English and Bangla should be practised side by side. The participants also focus on the use of English at higher levels of education. I agree with the authors' stance. There is a focus on using regional languages in broader spheres in the country. Al Mamun et al. (2012) have shown the significant impact of the attitudes of undergraduate students, who may be the main participants in forming the medium of instruction policy of Khulna University.

2.5. Summary

Summing up the social, cultural and learning situation of English in Asian contexts, it is pertinent to draw an inference that despite cultural clashes, social and ethnic problems, English is inevitable for all parts of the world. With all flaws and drawbacks, learning English is considered of prime importance, but the issue of gender-based learning has not been explored yet. For some countries, the reason may be that there are equal opportunities irrespective of gender, but unfortunately this is not the case with all Asian countries, especially South Asian countries, which lag behind in this respect. Currently, Pakistan is facing many challenges including women's disempowerment and the lack of female English literacy. The following part of this dissertation will focus on the factors contributing to this social issue as well as the position of English in Pakistan from socio-cultural perspective.

3. English in Pakistan: the sociocultural and learning situation

This chapter describes the specific socio-cultural situation related to English in Pakistan, and elucidates Islamic sensibilities with regard to the use of English in South Asia. It includes a presentation of Pakistani society, which is divided into different social classes, leading to the unequal distribution of rights to English education, gender disparity and islamisation effects on culture, all resulting in a complicated situation for learning English. The expansion of English education leads to a controversy over learning English or Urdu (the national language) in the institutions, which has created language learning and language teaching problems.

3.1. Social factors

3.1.1. *Muslims' three means of reaching to English*

Explicating the Muslim reaction to English in South Asia provides a solid basis for understanding the current scenario of attitudes of Pakistanis towards English language and culture. Many Indian Muslims could not define explicitly the logic of resisting English. This is probably why the British overcame them. The demarcation on the basis of religious responses may have provided the grounds for some Indian Muslims' opposition to English. Researchers have divided these responses into three types: rejection and resistance, acceptance and assimilation, and pragmatic utilization (see, for example, Zaman, 2002, 2004; Robinson, 2002; Purohit, 2011; Stephens, 2013; Arshad, 2012, Rahman, 2005b):

Rejection and resistance

The “rejection [of] and resistance” to English is observed as occurring on the basis of religion to some extent. Some scholars, who supported its learning, desired to comprehend modernity by learning English (Zaman, 2002; Robinson, 2002; Rahman, 2005b). Some scholars were of the view that a grasp of English is vital for understanding Western ideas and philosophy. However, the *ulema* or *alim* (Islamic scholars) feared losing their identity in the turmoil of foreign values transmitted with the learning of English. So they were cautious about incorporating English as a part of the syllabus in *madrassas* (religious seminaries) in South Asia. On the other hand,

those Muslims who did not fear an identity crisis criticized the anxiety of Islamic scholars (Purohit, 2011; Zaman, 2004). The oppositions and refutations of Islamic scholars epitomize Islamic traditions, even in the present day. They argue amongst themselves because of the apprehension of the mingling of alien principles and standards that could affect their vision of the world.

Acceptance and assimilation

However, there was also a reaction of “acceptance and assimilation” (Rahman, 2005b: 123). This was justified by the attitude of “pragmatism,” which directs to assimilation or adaptation. Recent studies also show how the assimilated and adapted version of pragmatism ultimately led “to the emergence of modernist or secular, Westernized Muslims” (Rahman, 2005b: 123; Purohit, 2011; Zaman, 2004). When Parsis and Hindus gained more authority in British service due to their command of English, modernist Muslims appeared. This change was reinforced by the notions of “modernizing reformers—Abdul Latif (1828-1893) and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1899)” who maintained that English education was vital to cope with British rule’s distribution of authority (Rahman, 2005b:123). It was not wise to reject and oppose English. This reaction of modernist scholars, and subsequently of ordinary Muslims, found a practical logic for accepting English (Zaman, 2002, 2004; Robinson, 2002). This became a significant characteristic of the emerging skilled/ professional middle class. Consequently, the emerging professional middle class turned out to be isolated from “the English-rejecting *ulema* (or *mullahs* [...]) and those who did not know English” (Rahman, 2005b: 123). The English acquired the status of the principle indicator or sign “of modern identity” that demarcates “Muslim society into two classes i.e. “the English-using elite and the traditionally educated proto-elite or the illiterate masses” (ibid.). Thus, Muslim society is divided into two groups (for details of the class division on the basis of English, see 3.1.3) on the basis of the principle indicator of English. The reason behind this division is acceptance and assimilation contrasted with resistance and rejection.

Pragmatic utilization

After discussing the first two responses to modernization, Rahman (2005b: 123) switches to the third reaction, which is “pragmatic utilization.” The Islamist reaction

to English is to handle the chosen aspects of modernity in order to approve one's self, strictly retaining the individual's identity. In the nineteenth century, the Wahabi sect or the Ahl-i-Hadith opposed British rule in India, but they also gained understanding of English and the West. As they were lacking in power, it was often not possible to oppose British rule. As a result of opposition to British rulers, some Wahabis were tried in court from 1863 to 1865 (Stephens, 2013; Rahman, 2005b). Later on, they attained the knowledge of English and achieved equal prominence to modernist scholars in the areas of their interest. They gained modern knowledge along with English education, but stayed hostile to advanced Western outlooks. English was simultaneously attractive and repulsive to Muslim society in South Asia, due to a rising suspicion of its association with outsiders (the British) and foreign ethics and standards (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Rahman, 2005d). But at the same time it was also desired as essential, on the basis of practical grounds (Arshad, 2012). The attraction was followed by assimilation or absorption under a shell which was not completely Western in its nature. Studies reveal that the repulsion of English was followed by severe opposition to modernity as well as to the learning of the language (Zaman, 2002, 2004; Robinson, 2002). The misgiving and doubt about English were directed to their deprivation of the power and authority enabled by advanced scholarship largely available in English. While the approval, acceptance and assimilation of modernity accompanied the fluctuating levels of modernization, active opposition or hostility, along with the construction of closed minds among fundamentalists, was frequently found in Muslim society. This study reveals that today those who will not accept are not willing to adapt to modernity, or they see its practical implications affecting their identities (for details of this study, see Chapter 6, 6.1.4 & 6.1.6)

Numerous studies have attempted to elaborate on the handling of the reaction of South Asian Muslims as change occurred in the socio-economic fabric of their society due to the popular role of English in the region (see, for example, Robinson, 2002; Zaman, 2002, 2004; Stephens, 2013; Purohit, 2011; Rahman, 2005b). Previous studies have drawn a broad picture of the three means of countering English used by Muslims in South Asia. In Pakistan these are inequality, intolerance and militancy. During the British era, "English was used in different domains of government, administration, [the] judiciary, military, higher education, higher commerce, media, [and] the corporate sector" (Rahman, 2005b: 119). The Muslims were dominated by British

power and authority. The use of English in multiple realms established it as a well reputed and popular language in Pakistan. It continues to be the main language required for gaining authority, control and influence in the region. The rulers and leaders have persisted with the same language policy for English, which is to be discussed in 3.1.2.

3.1.2. Language policy

Overt policy versus covert policy

Rahman's writing provides a detailed account of "the impact of a European language (English) in a former colonial territory (Pakistan)" (2005a:1). The author discusses the status of English, which was limited to "the armed forces and the bureaucracy" in earlier years (ibid.). By this the author means just after gaining independence from British rulers. He also focuses on state policies of supporting English. According to Rahman (2006: 74) "the overt policy, which was enshrined in the 1973 constitution [now current], was as follows:

- (1) The [n]ational language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day (see Appendix 5).
- (2) Subject to clause (1) the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu (Article 251 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973)" (2006:74).

The "covert policy" was quite contrary to what was declared in the "overt policy" (Rahman, 2005a:9; 2002; Shamim, 2011). English was allowed as a medium of instruction in "the elitist schools" in the covert policy (Rahman, 1997). The bureaucracy and military invested highly in the establishment of English- medium modes of teaching. English is taught as a compulsory subject from the entry level of Class 1 in all parts of Pakistan. It is treated as a compulsory subject for the two-year F.A/F.SC certificate (classes 11 and 12) as well as the two-year bachelor degree (classes 13 and 14). The acquired competency level is not good. The grammar translation method is adopted to teach English, and does not prove helpful to acquire real competency in English. The contradiction between overt and covert policies

violated the rights of all citizens, and created unrest in the 1960's among students, who called for equal rights in learning. At present the students of "the elitist private English-medium schools [...] gain much more competence in English than their counterparts in the vernacular-medium institutions" (2005a: 14). The elite class who is fluent in English is very small in number in Pakistan.

Unfair language policies

In Pakistan, there are five main local languages used in the domains of daily life. They are Punjabi, Siraiki, Pashto, Sindhi and Balochi. Rahman (1997:145) discusses the "medium of instruction in Pakistan, beginning with the use of English for elitist education in pre-partition days." The aim was to strengthen the British Empire. The medium of instruction adopted for the masses was Urdu, except that Sindhi was used as a medium of instruction in Sindh (Mansoor, 2004). After the implementation of this policy, office workers were produced, receiving low salaries and not seen in higher ranks. Currently, the same situation prevails in Pakistan. The children of the elite class get education in costly English-medium schools, while Urdu remains the medium of instruction for schools for local mass education, including institutions in urban Sindh, where most of the students speak Urdu as their mother tongue. This policy is not supported by the people who use Urdu as a medium of instruction. They consider the lack of English as an obstacle to gaining power in high ranks (Rafiq, 2010; Gouleta, 2013). They think that if the medium of instruction were the same for everyone the power distribution would also be egalitarian. So they do not favour the policy of English as medium of instruction; the elitists in power have supported Urdu to strengthen their own power ties with the base. The regional centres opposed the policy of using Urdu, and supported regional languages as media of instruction, yet no strict regional language policy has been implemented.

Use of English in the Pakistani press

Using English in the press, computing, entertainment, literature and various official spheres is also a part of policy. The English language press is more popular, liberal, balanced and well informed than the press in Urdu or regional languages. The daily contact with English through newspapers, the internet, television and radio endorses its importance as a source of "cultural capital" (Rahman, 2005a:18), which Powell

labels “systematic cultural intrusion” (2002:207). It not only enhances the exposure towards English but also increases the desire to learn English among literate circles only, because illiterate circles are unable to approach expensive media of English.

English – a window to women’s liberation

English plays a major role in high-level employment in the public and private sectors. Women are always marginalised in these sectors, due to their weak competence in the English language. Even with knowledge of English, they cannot take part in the governmental affairs. If they try to do so, they have to face severe consequences, like the late Benazir Bhutto (former Prime Minister of Pakistan) and Malala Yousafzai (2014 Pakistani Nobel Prize winner). Benazir Bhutto, the first woman leader of Pakistan, was assassinated by the Taliban in 2007 for condemning extremist acts in the country. Malala Yousafzai, a young Pakistani activist, was attacked in 2012 for advocating girls’ rights in education. Rahman elucidates woman’s position in the following way:

English is also the window to the outside world and has discourses with liberal, democratic values which do have the potential of changing male-dominating, macho values from Pakistani traditional sub-cultures. It can also act as a moderating influence against the influence of religious extremists who are intolerant of points of view different from their own or of women’s empowerment and liberation. However, since these liberalizing influences of English are available only to people who, being from the elite, are alienated from the ordinary people, they do not have the capability of making society really moderate or liberal (2005a: 22).

English opens the door for liberal and democratic rights, and can help women to gain their rights in spite of the traditional cultures of Pakistan (also see Tamim, 2013; Rahman, 2001). English as a subject as well as a medium of instruction can act as a moderating agency in the age-old traditional and conservative society. The big difference between overt and covert policies has made it difficult for the elite (usually small in number) to develop a moderate society. The elite and their thoughts and expressions do not represent the whole society. Although extensive research has been carried out on women’s rights, no single study exists which adequately covers learning English for women in Pakistan.

Besides, researchers evaluate the method of power distribution as unfair (see, for example, Robinson, 2002; Zaman, 2002, 2004; Stephens, 2013; Purohit, 2011; Rahman, 2005b). This unfairness forms the basis of a rift as well as conflicts in the social order. So far, however, there has been little discussion about this attitude of unequal distribution of power which results in inequality and the distribution of society into classes, which is the theme of the next part (3.1.3).

3.1.3. Language, power and societal networks

The languages used in Pakistan reflect the maturity of societal networks of ideology and power (Rahman, 2002). The language is a source of traditions and the scholarly accomplishments of the members of society. The liveliness of a language largely depends on the artistic and aesthetic writings of writers and artists (Bourdieu, 1979, 1984). If societal networks do not contribute to recent advancements, then the language becomes stagnant. Rahman (2002) asserts the inequalities of the relationship between language and power. This view supported by Manan and David (2014), highlights that the elite class, which exercises power, establishes a standardized medium which differentiates them from the local mass. In Pakistan, several studies reveal that Urdu has lost its importance as a privileged language (for details, see 3.1.5); it is replaced by English, which has become the language of government, administration, the military, business, education and the media (see, for example, Rahman, 2006; Mansoor, 2004; Rassool & Mansoor, 2007; Mustafa, 2012). Nonetheless, there is a group of landlords and religious scholars who enjoy high social positions but are not competent in English. They enjoy these positions and gain power due to their huge amount of property ownership as well as their religious scholarship.

Sanskrit was known as the medium of religious scholarship in pre-partition India. The class of Brahmins used to control it (Sanskrit). After the Turkish invasion of India, Persian became the medium of communication and the court. This is pertinent because Islam entered pre-partition India through the gateways of Iran and Central Asia. It stands to reason that the Arabic language could not be the language of the court. The use of Arabic became limited to religious scholars. During the era of British rule, the Persian language was replaced by English. The Hindus adopted and practised English open- heartedly. When Muslims inquired about the issue from the

religious scholars, some of them said that Muslims can learn English but they should not adopt English culture, while others strongly opposed Muslims learning English, as Rahman (2005b) explains. After a long time, urban Muslims realized the importance of English in governmental affairs as well as at the international level (for details of Muslims' three means of reaching to English, see 3.1.1). Therefore, Muslim society was linguistically divided into two groups, urban and rural. Even today, we see the same divisions in society (for details, read the following paragraphs).

The findings of previous research indicate that English is considered the most advanced language in Pakistan. Those who know English well are considered open-minded, reformist and educated. The teaching of non-native languages (e.g. English) in Pakistan opens various world perspectives. Urdu and other local languages do not allow the same depth of knowledge as is provided in English. Researchers condemn the attitude of the ruling class towards language policy (Manan & David, 2014; Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Rahman, 2005b). In national language policy, Urdu is the national language while English is additional, or merely the formal medium of communication between the people of elite class. Difficulties arise, however, when an attempt is made to implement the policy. Hence, the role of local languages is ignored and thus the power domain is restricted to a few rather than involving the local masses.

Class division on the basis of English

The unequal distribution of power results in the unequal distribution of rights. The society is divided by different social stratifications (Tudor, 2013: 67, 98). Mahboob (2003) and Rassool and Mansoor (2007) argue that the Pakistani state has adopted the previous (pre-1947) British policies on teaching. Such policies create a rift, which has split the society into classes. Many restraints are instigated by the class-conscious society. Recent evidence suggests that the medium of education is dominated by the affluent class, which gives rise to a system with many defects (see, for example, Manan & David, 2014; Shamim, 2008; Rahman, 2004, 2003, 2001). The major defect which this study explores is the deprivation of the rural class. The Standard English medium schools are not available for them. Of course, they are unaffordable for them. Rahman (2003) also lays stress on the need to give up of a worn-out concept of class. The education system, according to Rahman, works on two bases: 1) the local

languages for the common people 2) English for the upper middle class and the elite. This division creates an unjust system of education. There is yet another schooling system, which is the *madaris* (plural) or *madrassah* (singular), the religious seminaries (Manan & David, 2014; Rahman, 2004). The rural class usually gets religious education in them. The different kinds of schooling lead to a variety of attitudinal patterns towards English. Rahman (2003) warns against this variety. This division is not favourable to the rural class. I believe that the division gives rise to two main social strata. They are the rural people and the elite. An unbalanced society is created. This study defends the view that the class-based society is not favourable to learning English (for details, see Chapter 6).

Expensive English-medium schools – rural versus elite

There is increasing concern among educationists that the rural class in the country is deprived of the English language. It is presented to them as “un-Islamic,” and the negative aspects of slavery to a foreign culture are identified with the language to keep the poor mass away from it (Sulemani, 2011). The rural class is also deprived of English-medium schools due to their high tuition fees and other monthly charges (Rahman, 2004: 315). By contrast, the children of the elite can easily enter English-medium schools, and British and American universities for further education (Rahman, 2001: 249; Shamim, 2008). When the rural class raises their voices against injustices, then they are asked to show patience, as Islam preaches patience. Therefore, they are misled. The two groups of the society, i.e. the elite and the poor class, do not maintain a balance in the society. People are engaged in useless discussions dating from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for instance, “what to do with English and democracy in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan?” (Sulemani, 2011). Sulemani tries to convince the people of Pakistan to acquire “perfection in the global language,” i.e. English, rather than engaging in useless debates on the “acceptance of English” (ibid). However, research has consistently shown that “English serves Islam and Pakistan more than any other language in the Cyber Age” (ibid.). Previous studies stress the need to accept English as a national language along with Urdu and the other local languages of Pakistan.

Controversial attitude

Surveys have been conducted in some urban areas, which reveal that the upper middle class of the country had understood the role of English long ago (Rahman, 2005c: 24). So they “have institutionalized the process of acquiring the same” (ibid.). The upper middle class does not harmonise what they claim to think about their national languages and what they practise for their children. This kind of attitude is not limited to the upper middle class but has entered into institutions such as the army, navy and air force (see, for example, Rahman, 2001: 244; Manan & David, 2014: 204; Shamim, 2008: 235-236). So their children become westernized in their life style and open-minded towards India. On the other hand, the products of local private schools, says Rahman (2001: 248-249), are similar to the products of local government schools. The products of elitist private schools are more westernized than the products of state-controlled schools. This difference also has a negative impact on the country. The products of the elitist private schools are estranged from the country as well as its local languages and culture. They do not show sympathy with the traditions and expectations of their counterparts. They generally believe in “liberal-humanist and democratic values” (Rahman, 2005c: 37). Hence, they are less liable to religious or factional biases. The author maintains that “[b]eing less exposed to nationalistic and militaristic propaganda, they are also less prone than others to India-bashing and undue glorification of war. However, this liberalism is often held as an ideal norm” and not actually applied (ibid.). In real life conditions, these members react normally to social occurrences.

The products of the private English-medium schools are more similar to the urban middle class Pakistanis than to the upper middle class or elitist group discussed above. They also are not very well acquainted with the local language or vernacular or rural culture. They have little knowledge of local culture and are less prone to factional biases than the products of Urdu-medium schools. Rahman (2005c:38) argues that “being nationalistic and militaristic, they [those from Urdu-medium schools] are quite vocally anti-India and supportive of the military.” The products of superficial English-medium schools accept being regarded as an elite, with relevant ability and knowledge. This acceptance is not just with regard to monetary gains. They are separated from Pakistani society and its values. Some of the products of English-medium schools favour an egalitarian society, freedom of choice and democracy. Most of them show liberal attitudes in their life style. However, when a question comes regarding values, they show strict, not liberal attitudes in their values and

traditions. The English-medium schools do not play a significant role in creating a democratic society in Pakistan. Although the products of these schools know the democratic trends, they do not support them fully. Rahman (2005c) aptly points out the situation of English medium schools and their products, but leaves behind the question of the social impacts of female illiteracy, especially in the field of English. While these factors are, I suggest, a matter of the social situation of English in Pakistan, they help understand the impact of gender-based social constraints, which is the theme of the next section (3.1.4).

3.1.4. Gender-based social constraints

Gender differences in learning English (social norms)

Gender differences are significant in the learning of English in Pakistani culture (Ali, Chaudhary and Arshad, 2013: 409) as well as worldwide (Erten, 2009; Fontecha, 2010; Heinzmann, 2009). Society is responsible for the transference of cultural values and norms to the next generation. These norms and values help to establish attitudes towards learning different subjects. We can see this situation in Pakistan where English is taught as a second language. “[L]earning a language means acquiring the set of pragmatic norms and cultural values embedded in that language that may be contradictory to the socio-cultural values that children are adopting from home and society” (Ali, Chaudhary and Arshad, 2013: 409; Bourdieu, 1979). Gender differences and their influence on learning English in Pakistani culture were focussed by Ali et al. (2013). For this purpose, they used a questionnaire with a five point Likert scale. The sample was chosen from “students [...] [in the] intermediate class” (ibid.). The findings show that social norms play a pivotal role in learning English language. These norms are more favourable for female than male students. Similar findings are reported in previous studies (for example, Fontecha, 2010; Heinzmann, 2009; Kissau, 2006). These researchers pinpoint the high level of motivation of girls to learn a second or foreign language. The domestic environment offers more guidance and assistance to the female students they say, while for male students it is expected that they can seek help elsewhere. The “parents should play an active role in their children’s learning English at home” (Ali, Chaudhary and Arshad, 2013: 414). The parents should also support their children’s performance by giving rewards. They

should not discriminate between females and males, but give them equal opportunities of learning English.

I do not agree with some authors' claim that girls are provided with a favourable environment at home to learn English; this may be true for a few, but most of them are deprived of English education. Spellerberg's (2011:164) research proves this argument, but contradicts Ali et al.'s (2013) findings of a high level of motivation for girls to learning second language. However, far too little attention has been paid to reducing the gender-based differences in language learning.

Unequal gender representation in English textbooks

English textbooks play a pivotal role in the education system of Pakistan. There are officially approved textbooks for all students in the government schools. The English language curriculum emphasizes that “functional competency [and] the inclusive aspects of education need to be reflected in the textbooks” (Shah, 2012: 118). Shah (2012: 118) examines “the gender inclusion in the textbooks used for teaching English language at the secondary level in Pakistan.” The three English textbooks, questionnaires and interviews are studied for the purpose of content analysis. The content of the English language textbooks helps to mould the perspectives of learners. The concept of inclusive content refers to the inclusion of gender-specific details in English textbooks in order to promote the idea of equality. The findings show that such gender inclusion is still not visible. The chapters on male and female characters are unequal. Those on female characters show them as traditional. Their characters are associated with religion, Islam and family roles, but they have no representation in the development of the country. The female gender has always been sidelined by presenting orthodox negative images of women in the textbooks, whereas male figures have always been highlighted as the main focus of interest. Similar findings are reported in a UNESCO report (2004) and by Hussain and Afsar (2010), which verifies Mattu and Hussain's (2003) conclusion. This issue of gender equity has also been discussed in “Pakistan Education Sectors Reforms 2001-2005, and [the] National Plan of Action concerning Education for All [EFA] 2001-2015” (Hussain & Afsar, 2010: 27). The present scenario in the educational system of Pakistan does not show gender equality. Although females constitute half of the total population of Pakistan, they are not represented in a balanced manner. Shah maintains:

[English] [t]extbooks are the focal point of education in Pakistan. They not only deliver the essential skills and knowledge to the students but also inculcate in them values and attitudes, which shape their personalities as an individual and the society as a whole. The recognition of the feminine gender in the textbooks will [sic] make the students appreciate the contribution and worth of women as a productive and essential part of the society (Shah, 2012:125).

English language textbooks must surely affect the attitudes of learners. I agree with the researchers' standpoint, that in the books women are not given an ample share in modern roles; this not only affects greatly the progress of nation but also contributes to shaping and reshaping the attitudes of English language learners towards women's role in society as well as gender equity (see Ullah & Skelton, 2013). Role allocation in the books has also been described by Kobia: "more men are depicted in prestigious occupations such as engineers, pilot, judges, dentists and masons. More women are portrayed performing less esteemed occupations as teachers, secretaries and farmers" (Kobia, 2009: 66). The same situation prevails in real life in Pakistan. Mkuchu (2004) opines that the textbooks pass on the existing norms and culture of the society. Such norms play vital roles in forming the attitudes of students towards males and females. Sometimes they are used as a controlling tool to make an impact on the students' attitudes to prevailing concerns.

This study reveals that the textbooks do not often include chapters on female personalities. They have not been revised, and present the condition of women in the past. The conventional use of language influences students' minds in a negative way. Female characters are presented as "oppressed, dependent on males, confined to their homes as mothers, housewives and home keepers" (Hussain & Afsar, 2010: 38). Contrary to that, the "male characters are independent, free to adopt any profession and breadwinners of families" (ibid.). In general, females are confined to home-keeping, child nurturing roles, with very little regard to their professional accomplishments. They are relegated to subordinate, powerless positions. In most cases, decisions in family or social matters are taken by males.

There are various reasons for the “unequal or biased gender representation” (ibid.). When the syllabi of English textbooks were designed, gender depiction was not given adequate importance. The textbook chapters or items were not chosen with care. They have become outdated. The textbook contents and examples are not thoughtfully planned for the books. The essays, short stories, poems, plays are not written especially for the specific syllabi. The chapters or items in the English language textbooks should be considered from the gender perspective. Hence Hussain and Afsar recommend that the English language textbooks should be redesigned in order to present an unbiased picture of males and females in the current social scene. A gendered balance should be shown in these books.

However, all the previously mentioned studies suffer from a serious limitation. They do not propose a plan for the implementation of policies for the representation of gender equality of social roles in English textbooks (For details, see 3.1.2). Clarifying the effect of learning English on attitudes to the social role of women is the objective (b) and (c) of my study, which have been mentioned in 1.2.4 in Chapter One.

Gender based sociolinguistic constraints

It has been shown that gender affects social values related to language. Shah, Mahmood and Qureshi (2011:118) examine “gender based social constraints associated with language in Punjabi society in Pakistan.” Their paper investigates the use of language modes “(assertive, apologetic, declarative, requesting and imperative) on the basis of gender roles under economic status, professional status, family roles, class status and in social dealings” (ibid.). Their questionnaire was designed to discover any relevant differences between males and females. The results show that the women are more inclined to use polite forms as well as the standard language. The declarative forms are common among females, rather than the imperative and assertive forms. Pakistani society is conservative, and although attitudes are changing gradually. Men are still inclined to use imperative forms with their wives, sisters etc. Females use declarative, apologetic and requesting forms while interacting with people in public as well as private spaces. Women are not allowed to speak loudly; they have to be very polite and submissive. Although women may be well educated and occupy good social stratum, they have to communicate in a specific way and they

are bound by the limitations of Punjabi society. I agree with the authors. This situation prevails not only in Punjabi society but also in other parts of the country.

However, the main weakness of the study is the failure to address how regional sociolinguistic constraints affect the social role of women, which is reflected partially in objective (b) in 1.2.4 in the first chapter of my research and analysed in the chapter analysis under Questions 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 in 6.1.5 in chapter 6. Using only a questionnaire as an instrument does not lead to trustworthy findings.

Gender differences in the use of short message services

The use of mobile short message services among Pakistani male and female students is found to differ by Rafi (2008), who analyses the use of short messages among males and females at different universities in Pakistan at different levels. He focuses on lexical and morpho-syntactic choices. The effect of the language of media or commercials on messages is studied by analyzing the lexis of male and female text messages. He draws attention to the different ways of using language in same text messages. Rafi's results show the female usage as more complex than that of males, especially in capitalization and punctuation. Females use these two syntactic properties more than males. Females' syntax is more dense and complex than that of males. His research shows, and my daily observation also verifies, that many females (51.61%) make ornamented statements, while most males (more than 74%) practise simple statements. They do not indulge themselves in intricate and sophisticated language use. Females' basic nature is made explicit by the ornamentation of their sentences. As they use make-up, so they fabricate sophisticated clauses, not only to make themselves prominent but also to present themselves as different and unique. In my opinion, the practice of short text messaging is found more among female groups than males. Females' skilful messaging has formulated a unified medium of communication, and influences "standard English language and media language in Pakistan" through its "backwash effects" (2008:10). Psychologically, when a woman or girl is gifted in the English language, she feels elated and confident. Similar phenomena can be found in other parts of South Asia. I think that females may use ornamented language, but they are also often blunt. Rafi discusses the case of morpho-syntactic choices in text messaging. He does not see the other side of the

picture, where females use very specific words just to convey the point of their message.

Rafi's study shows that the evolution of a new use of language, which is SMS texts using local languages, in the multilingual society of Pakistan where women contribute greatly to writing complex messages, influences media language. Since the learning of English by Pakistani women will "improve their status in life and offer them greater opportunity [in order to bring change in the attitudes to English], then access should not be denied" (Erling et al., 2012: 18).

As the use of local languages in social domain has caused controversial exchanges of ideas, it is now necessary to explore how the English language is functioning in a society where local languages are practised widely. This is discussed in 3.1.5.

3.1.5. English versus local languages

In Pakistan, language attitudes are multiethnic and multiregional. They are not national. Tracing the relationship between English, Urdu and the regional languages of Pakistan, Khaliq (2007) says that the effect of this relationship does not play a continuous role in the country's social development. The policy makers select three languages because of their definite views about English, Urdu and local languages of Pakistan (see, for example, Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Shamim, 2011; Rahman, 2002). The opinion makers are not in favour of switching to Urdu as an important medium of instruction, knowledge and communication. On the other hand, Rahman (2006) wonders, whether the Urdu language can be restored as a medium of instruction. He emphasizes the importance of local languages and their cultures in the regions, while Khaliq (2007) does not favour this idea. He contends that English is the advanced language of information, technology as well as a link language between Pakistan and the international world. This may lead us to realize that moving back to Urdu would not be effective. English plays a crucial role in the country's progress. A return to Urdu and other regional languages would marginalize the country in matters of information, instruction and socioeconomic growth. English in Pakistan is modified by the interaction with regional languages and the national language. It is not possible to promote all Pakistani languages. The country has more than seventy-two of them (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig 2013). The policy makers and opinion makers collectively

agree to accept English as a core language, while Urdu is only accepted at the level of a contact language in the multilingual regions of Pakistan.

There are many multiethnic and multilingual groups living in Pakistan. The population, languages and ethnic groups of Pakistan are very diverse (See Appendix 4). The different language communities include Punjabi, Pashto, Siraiki, Hindko, Balochi, Brahvi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Urdu and Persian. Others are Khowar, Shina, Wakhi, Burushaski, Balti, Kohistani, Rajasthani and Brahui, Kashmiri, Puthwari, Gujari (See Appendix 3). Studies reveal that some of them lag behind, especially in the educational sector (Shamim, 2011; Rahman, 2002). They are unable to find good careers. There is a need for the development of a common medium for relationships in a multilingual state. This study considers the problems of a multilingual society in Pakistan, which indicate the strong connection between language and society. This leads to difficulties for various groups in any region. Some groups are migrants from surrounding regions. Moreover, some groups create connections between language and power, which have been discussed in 3.1.3. The groups who are limited in number are dominated by the groups who are greater in number. The general pattern of the region is of dominating groups (Bourdieu, 1984; Dillabough, 2004). In addition, no research has been found that surveyed the English literacy of the chief underprivileged group of the society, that is the women, which is the issue for Objective (a) as mentioned in 1.2.4 in the first chapter.

English versus Punjabi

Speech communities use more than one language for communication in this linguistically diverse country. Languages differ in their “status, prestige and function” (Akram & Yasmeen, 2011: 9). English attains a highly prestigious status as compared to regional languages (see Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013; Rahman, 2008; Gillani & Mahmood, 2014), for instance Punjabi, the tenth most spoken language in the world (John, 2014). Akram and Yasmeen (2011:9) investigate attitudes towards English, which is considered as “sophisticated, official, formal, as well as [the] language of education, science, heritage.” Attitudes towards the Punjabi language are also examined. This language has been considered as “[a] local, vernacular, broken language as well as [the] language of [an] illiterate community” (ibid.). In Punjab, English is playing a dominant role in society, and regional languages are sidelined.

Thus, Punjabi has not been given due consideration, comment Gillani and Mahmood (2014) and Zaidi (2010). The tool of a close ended questionnaire to gather data from university and madrasa students is used by Akram and Yasmeen (2011) and Gillani and Mahmood (2014). They show that the two languages have different social standings. There are several reasons behind this difference; they relate to “economical, social and educational values” (Akram & Yasmeen, 2011: 29).

The findings reveal that the people show a positive attitude towards English as compared to Punjabi, which is given low economic, social and educational values. People in Faisalabad feel ashamed of it. On the other hand, knowing English is considered to be a token of success, as has also been discussed in chapter 2. People who speak only Punjabi are not considered educated and respectable. If someone gets a master’s degree in Punjabi, his degree is also considered as useless. Contrary to that, people are proud to take bachelor’s, masters’s and other specialized courses in English, which is deemed as a ticket to success in the social environment. The culture of Faisalabad has also been changing. Punjabi literature and that of other traditions are disappearing, slowly being replaced by English culture. Akram and Yasmeen have drawn a picture of a specific area. Contrary to the studies done previously, John’s (2014) recent research reveals prominent alterations in the attitudes of young Punjabis, who consider Punjabi language to be their “ancestral, cultural and historical heritage” and feel the need to preserve it and transmit it to future generations. We see a similar situation in other parts of Pakistan, like Mansehra and its immediate environs. There, people do not marginalize the regional language at the cost of English. They still keep to the age-old traditions, and the traditional culture is strong. One question that needs to be asked, however, is whether the preservation and promotion of a regional language will maintain a balance with the progress of the international language i.e. English? I will answer this question while analysing questions 23 and 24 in 6.1.6 in the chapter 6.

Regional languages promote local culture, but culture is not a static quantity. It does (and should) change with the changing needs of the age. It is not possible to maintain a medieval culture in the modern world. Islamic influences on English in Pakistani local culture are visible in the English language textbooks, which is the theme of the next section (3.2).

3.2. Cultural factors

3.2.1. *Islamic influences on English in Pakistan*

Focussing “Pakistani English and Islamic and Pakistani cultural values,” Mahboob (2009: 181) analyses various samples of the English created and employed in Pakistan to examine the relationship between the linguistic features such as the lexical, semantic and pragmatic aspects of language used. The sources for this content analysis are extracts from English-language newspapers and English-language textbooks. The semantic and pragmatic aspects can be traced well in newspapers by considering both connotative and denotative meanings. Another aspect, i.e. discourse structure, is elaborated by examining extracts from English language textbooks taught and studied in Pakistan. Mahboob also uses a genre-based pattern to analyze discourse structure. He is of the view that the same approach can be opted to analyse the relationship between the “English language and Islam in other Muslim countries” (2009: 181).

The lexical features in Pakistani English are easily identified in connection with Islamic usage, for instance: greetings---*Assallam-o-Alaikum*, and expressions of approval and admiration---*Maasha-Allah* and *Alhamdolillah*. People not only use them at the personal level but also publicly, as is noticed in the speeches of ministers while addressing the public on radio and television. They make use of such expressions frequently. Pakistani English, being a non-native variety, is greatly swayed by local languages. Many religious terms showing an Islamic perspective are used, for instance the terms for “‘administrative posts’ (*amir, nazim* etc.), ‘concepts’ (*hadith, zina*, etc.), ‘education’ (*iqra, maktab*, etc.), and ‘marriage’ (*halala, nikah*, etc.)” (2009: 182). The author quotes another example, “*pardah*”, which has connotative as well as denotative significance. It not only denotes segregation but also signifies local people’s efforts to make women observe *pardah* (For details, see 4.3.2). He quotes various examples to elaborate the Pakistani concept of this lexical item. He says that the stereotypes have been challenged on occasion, as when Sana Abdul Wahid swam in a bathing suit at the Commonwealth Games in 2002. (<http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/sport/article798105.ece>, July 31, 2002).

Here, the local cultural meanings of “*pardah*” also indicate the concept of a departure from age-old traditions of *pardah*. The example indicates Pakistani women coming

out of *purdah*. Such interpretations are influenced by the local culture, here portrayed in English. Similarly the lexical and semantic facets of English in Pakistan are coloured by the local Islamic heritage. Mahboob's analysis does not include a detailed account of "*purdah*," nor does he examine its relationship with English culture, which is to be discussed in question 20 in 6.1.5 in the chapter 6.

3.2.2. Stabilized relationship between Islam and English language textbooks

The published material available in local languages is not adequate to accomplish the Islamic and cultural purpose of official syllabus planning. So the English-language textbooks used in public schools as well as private schools integrate Islamic and cultural identity (see, for example, Yaqoob & Zubair, 2012; also see Rahman, 2002; Zubair, 2003; Mahboob, 2009). This integration normalizes the doctrines of Islam and promotes the joint acceptance of English and Islam amongst Pakistanis. Mahboob (2009) quotes the example of a "text taken from the Secondary Stage English Book One for Class IX published by the Sindh Textbook Board (n.d.)" (2009:186). The text is a biography of a historical figure, Shah Abdul Latif. The biography begins with the general characteristics of Islam. The writer lays stress on Islam and Islamic personalities. He also refers to the four provinces of the country, to show national solidarity. "The influence of Muslims in the region" is focused by referring to the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, who is projected as a good emperor (2009: 187). Thus the relationship with Islam is stabilized and regularized through English language textbooks. Similarly, Mohd-Asraf (1997, 2005) asserts that "the learning of English is not in conflict with Islamic values" (2005: 103). But this view cannot be generalized; it may be true in other Islamic regions but not in Pakistan.

Mahboob has forcefully projected the impact of Islamic sensibilities in his paper by selecting linguistic features (for details, see 3.2.1) in different samples of English language texts taken from newspapers and textbooks to depict the Muslim cultural identity in the Pakistani society influenced by the local culture of the region. Some Muslim analysts, such as al-Attas (1995) and Wan Daud (1998), have attempted to combine foreign elements, like foreign culture, with Islamic elements through English, which is termed as the Islamization of concepts, but "non-Muslims are [not] expected to conform to the Islamic worldview" (Mohd-Asraf, 2005: 115). These researchers assume that English is a dominating global language. I agree with the

connection that they create between English language learning and traditional Islamic culture. As Mahboob mentions, chapters on prominent Islamic and national personalities, for instance, Shah Abdul Latif Bhittai, are included in textbooks in schools. So it is true that English as studied in educational institutions transmits the core of Islamic principles and beliefs. This is the reason that the general populace gets confused by the two cultural systems, English and local (for details, see chapter 6, 6.1.4). However, far too little attention has been paid to the issue of the attitudes needed to bring change in the local culture, which is the objective (c) of this thesis in 1.2.4. The localization process does not favour the national (Urdu) and local (various) languages, which is the theme of the next part 3.2.3.

3.2.3. Influences of English on the localization process

Localizing computer software in the regional languages could not be successful. This localizing domain is influenced by power and control, and could not progress further due to financial restraints (*Digital Review of Asia Pacific, 2007-2008*). The languages used for localization are those of “government, bureaucracy, judiciary, military, commerce, media, education, research etc” (Rahman, 2004:1). Hence the languages used for this purpose strengthen their ties with the spheres of power. On the other hand, the regional languages of the people are sidelined. The process of localization should be based on rights. This can be done in this way: “all language communities should be considered equal and their languages should be localized, not because of their present use in the domains of power but because they too should be strengthened by being put to such use” (ibid.). Furthermore, the language policy in Pakistan supports the English-speaking elitist system in country. I reiterate that the elite has established strong ties with the dominant, productive and profitable employment fields in government as well as private spheres. The English-medium schools receive funding and grants from government and other sources to enhance their campuses as well as their instructional strategies (Shamim, 2008: 241). On the other hand, the local Urdu-medium schools lag behind. They have received neither grants nor encouragement to enhance their institutional plans or teaching strategies.

While discussing the policy of supporting Urdu, some analysts (for example, Coleman & Capstick, 2012: 15) indicate that the ethnic groups show antagonism towards Urdu due to its influences on regional languages. This finding corroborates the ideas of

Gouleta (2013), who suggests that the localization process should prefer local people rather than the English-using elite. The localization process has already started for Urdu and Sindhi (Rafiq, 2010). It needs to be spread to the other regional languages of the country. In the beginning, this process will not be effective from the economic point of view, but it will help local people to preserve some aspects of their identities and culture while going through the process of modernization rather than feeling embarrassed. This is discussed in 3.2.4.

3.2.4. *Regional languages – a cultural stigma*

As we have already discussed, Pakistan is a plurilingual country, home to more than seventy languages (Khalique, 2007). The national government's policies support only two languages, English and Urdu. This is done at the cost of sacrificing other vernaculars. Rahman (2006) maintains:

[The policy] has resulted in the expression of ethnic identity through languages other than Urdu. It has also resulted in English having become a symbol of the upper class, sophistication and power. The less powerful indigenous languages of Pakistan are becoming markers of lower status and culture shame. Some small languages are also on the verge of extinction. It is only by promoting additive multilingualism that Pakistani languages will gain vitality and survive as cultural capital rather than cultural stigma (Rahman, 2006: 73).

The linguistic pyramid puts English above Urdu and Urdu above regional languages in Pakistan. Pashto and Sindhi are used informally in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Sindh respectively, and taken as the basis of identity construction in these provinces, but the status of the regional language is different in Punjab. The use of Punjabi is considered as a cultural stigma, as indicated by Rahman (2006), Akram and Yasmeen (2011) and Mansoor (1993: 49-54). Students feel embarrassed while speaking Punjabi. This shame is created by important agents of the society (Rahman, 2006): parents, teachers and fellow students. I think that, as emphasized by Rahman (2004) and Varraich (2010) the children should not be told that their language is inferior; doing so implies that the person who uses that language is inferior and communicates a message of stigma or shame. This also implies that “the ‘cultural

capital' they possess is not capital at all but a [...] a cultural shame" (Bourdieu, 1979, 1984; Rahman, 2004: 7).

[...] there are many literary works in Urdu and other languages---not to mention one's own observation---showing how embarrassed the poor are by their houses, their clothes, their food, their means of transportation and, of course, their languages. In short, the reality constructed by the rich and the poor alike conspires to degrade, embarrass and oppress the less powerful, the less affluent, the less gifted of the human race. This relates to language-shame--being embarrassed about one's language---and hence to possible language death (Rahman, 2004:7).

The elite schools, where English is the medium of instruction, strictly prohibit Punjabi. If a student tries to communicate in Punjabi, others call him rural and pastoral and make him feel embarrassed.

Most of the parents prefer to communicate in Urdu, but the children of elitist English-medium schools are proud to show incompetence in Urdu. They show their interest only in English books rather than those in Urdu or other local languages. Such attitudes do not encourage the use of the national language, or of regional languages. Urdu is extensively used in low profile occupations in business, education and media (Rahman, 2006). Although using Punjabi is considered as a cultural stigma, it is the medium of intimacy, songs and witticisms in Pakistan as well as India. So the languages are vital in their own contexts. Similar findings are reported in previous researches (Zaidi, 2001; Mahboob, 2003; Akram & Yasmeen, 2011; Kalra & Butt, 2013: 543). However, the trend of globalization has increased the pressure of English on the other languages of Pakistan. It has also enhanced the awareness of language rights. Recently, in 2013, a conference has been arranged in the Lahore College for Women University to support the regional languages and the establishment of independent linguistic departments which deal with vernaculars in the universities, but unfortunately these vernaculars will not help students to compete at the international level. The establishment of regional languages departments will, however, help to reorganize English language teaching by including local cultural contexts. These are to be discussed in 3.2.5.

3.2.5. Local cultural contexts in English

The awareness of culture plays a pivotal role in second language learning. A link has been established between the local “culture and [the] teaching of English as a second language for Pakistani students” (Mansoor, 2003b). Mansoor (2003b) suggests that there is a need to improve and reorganize English language teaching in Pakistan. Reorganization is required to make this teaching more significant and applicable to Pakistani students. The experts recommend that this process should encompass knowledge of the specific cultural needs of the students who learn English (see, for example, Nault, 2006: 314; Lange & Paige, 2003). The understanding of local as well as global culture also plays an important role in this process of learning, says Zafar (2008) (cf. Ahmad & Sajjad, 2011). The reforming and reshaping of the subjects of English language and literature must consider the sociolinguistic aspect at local as well as international levels. Pakistan is a plurilingual society of multicultural groups, although Muslim beliefs unite them on one platform. The teachers must be aware of the connection between language and culture. Mansoor (2003b) also draws on the “relationship between second language learning and second culture learning.” The different kinds of second language learning settings evolve different levels of acculturation: personal and social. The nature of second language learning is not the same in foreign cultures and in the native culture, suggests Nault (2006).

Most studies in the field of language and culture recommend that the students in Pakistan should be taught about local cultural contexts in English, so that they can better understand the texts and pragmatic effects of the texts or the contexts (Mansoor, 2003b; Ahmad & Sajjad, 2011; Zafar, 2008). If the texts are set in foreign contexts, then it is difficult for the learners to establish a connection or understand them. The authors recommend that there is a need for publications about local contexts in English, to make second language learning easier. There is also a need to develop language materials which students can access and understand, but these will be easier for them to understand if they study the contexts of their own culture. I agree with Mansoor (2003b), Ahmad and Sajjad (2011) and Zafar (2008). Textbooks published in English representing local culture would be really helpful for non-native speakers of English. Therefore, there is a need to redesign and restructure the curriculum of English language teaching in Pakistan. The research to date has tended to focus on L2 culture in classroom and textbooks rather than focussing on the daily life activities of

non-native speakers of English. Watching TV and movies is one of the most common daily activities in Pakistan. Producing local dramas and movies in English would help to acquire it easily. I will deal with this issue in Chapter 6, section 6.1.2 in Question 5.

Changing the current syllabi of English, Urdu and other regional languages in various institutes, colleges and universities would help to change the current situation. Incorporating “*Desi* [homely or domestic] English writers” in the syllabi would ease the tension between English and local culture (Sulemani, 2011). Modifications in the basic teaching method and approach of educationists, teachers and professors would require alterations in their outlook and approach towards the content of learning and teaching (see Mansoor, 1993; Shamim, 2008; Sulemani, 2011). These changes would help women to learn English in their hometowns rather than going abroad or to far-off places.

Since these social and cultural factors affect the learning of English in Pakistan, they help understand the background to the language learning situation, which is to be discussed in 3.3.

3.3. Language learning situation

3.3.1. Motivation in learning English

The factor of “motivation in learning English” is very important (Akram & Ghani, 2012:7). The same educational policies (for details of language policies in Pakistan, see 3.1.2) with the same goals are practised in all Pakistani colleges for learning English as a second language. Akram and Ghani use the adjective “foreign” instead of second (ibid.). English in Pakistan is used in the outer circle rather than the expanding circle (for details, in 2.2.1), so it is used variously as a second or additional language in Pakistan. However, the problem is that the students do not show a homogenous level of achievement. It is important to examine various attitudinal as well as motivational aspects related to second language learning in Pakistan (see Mansoor, 2003a). Motivation is the key factor which is responsible for the “performance of all learned responses” showing levels of English proficiency (Akram & Ghani, 2012: 7). Akram and Ghani investigate “the relationship between students’ level of attitude, [...] motivation and their proficiency in English” (ibid.). Their attitudes can be assessed more reliably than their ability. The learning environment affects the

attitudinal patterns towards language learning. The results of Akram and Ghani's (2012) study show a significant relationship between English proficiency and types of motivation, which is the theme of the following paragraphs.

Types of motivation

Motivation is discussed at two levels: instrumental and integrative. Instrumental motivation is related to the practicality and effectiveness of the learning environment (Akram, 2007; Malik, 2010; Shamim, 2011), whereas integrative motivation (e.g. Sung, 2013) is sometimes considered a consequence of media culture (Chen, Warden & Chang, 2005: 610-611). Noels, Pelletier, Clement & Vallerand (2000) "specify that this may be the case only in specific sociocultural contexts" (cf. Chen, Warden & Chang, 2005: 612). The authors argue that the obvious motivation for this is the preception that English is of great use in the practical world both at local and international levels (Akram & Ghani, 2012: 12).

It is clear that students' ambitions to find better jobs and get higher education are typical instrumental motivations to learning English as a foreign or second language in the institutions.

Pakistan is a multiethnic and multilingual country, which is facing several issues regarding "language planning in higher education" (Mansoor, 2003a: 17). We see that the standard of education is declining day by day (Lodhi & Faizi, 2010: 3). We also see the problems that students face related to English comprehension as well as to the insufficient material available in Urdu. I observe that the people of Pakistan consider English to be pertinent for the progress of the whole nation. Students in Pakistan think that English plays a pivotal role in the development of the nation and the state. They are interested in studying English due to extrinsic motivational factors associated with their instrumental reasoning about development and progress (see, for example, Akram, 2007; Malik, 2010; Shamim, 2011). By contrast, Urdu has been given importance for "integrative reasons such as national unity and identity, as well as [having value as] a link language" (Mansoor, 2003a: 38). As Rahman (2002) points out, the English language resists Islamic extremism and permits a "Western, liberal-humanist and cosmopolitan world- view" in Pakistani society (cited from Mansoor, 2003a: 38). Students in Pakistan think that learning English will help them to access the spheres of power and control. In addition to this, parents also show positive

attitudes. They facilitate their children's acquisition of English, like parents in Japanese, Chinese and Iranian contexts (see Taguchi, Magid & Papi, 2009). They want their children to be proficient in English so that they can get higher education as well as good careers.

Language learning and cultural identity

Of course, the aspect of cultural identity is important in the foreign language and learning processes (see, for example, Tong & Cheung, 2011; Kumaravadivelu, 2008; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007). Language is always regulated by particular "cultural practices and beliefs" (Akram & Ghani, 2012: 13); but the results of Akram and Ghani's study show that the learners whom they investigated do not think that learning English affects their cultural identity, contrary to previous researches. They do not see it as an obstacle to practising their traditional culture. On the other hand, from my study, I learn that some participants strongly oppose learning the English language because they consider it as an obstacle to practising their traditional culture (see Chapter 6, 6.1.4, 6.1.5, 6.2.4 & 6.2.5).

English as a business lingua franca

Most students think that English-medium education helps to improve social standing. Mansoor (2003a: 38) maintains:

Pakistanis also see English as a business lingua franca and the only international language available to them that can facilitate international communication and boost trade with countries across the globe.

Euromonitor International (2010) also reports the role of English in the business community of Pakistan. Pakistanis think that English is the only medium which will help to enhance their trade links with the world. A similar view of Pakistani opinions has been shown by the qualitative interviews in Mansoor's (2003a) study. These findings of Mansoor (2003a) support her previous studies (Mansoor 1993).

Change in attitudes due to instrumental motivation

The hostile attitudes towards English at the beginning of independence have been changed to passionate acceptance and the adoption of the language. The students and

parents see English from different perspectives. Unlike their parents, none of the students think that English is associated with colonialism. They see English as a resource for growth and economic development. Mansoor (2003a) points out that the students in the private as well as the public sector institutions acquire English language skills due to its functional and practical value. In addition, the English language plays an important role in transforming society from fundamentalism to moderation. The official language policies (for details, in 3.1.2) aimed to eliminate English from education and “replace it with Urdu” (Mansoor, 2003a: 39). But this could not be implemented “because of the continued role of English in the official sphere as well as education and the institutional supports, especially from the media” (ibid.).

However, such studies and reports tend to overlook the fact that the English proficiency level of students does not meet the required level of higher studies and prospective professions. There is a need to improve English language teaching strategies as well as programmes. This can be done by revising courses or curricula, and restructuring local contexts (for details of local cultural contexts in English, see 3.2.5) and the material resources of teaching. Teacher training should be given a special focus, which will be discussed in the recommendations part of the last chapter (details in 7.5). Besides, it is necessary to explore gender differences in order to understand the motivational levels of males and females in Pakistan, which are considered in the following.

Gender differences in motivation

The link between “gender and language learning motivation” has been studied (Akram and Ghani, 2013:536). Of course, motivation plays an important role in foreign language acquisition. Gender also plays a significant role. Akram and Ghani’s (2013: 539) findings related to “gender differences in their motivation to learn English” do not reveal notable differences “between [urban and rural] males and females in their attitudes and motivation to learn English language.” This concept has been challenged by various studies (for example, Erten, 2009; Gaer, Pustjens, Damme & Munter, 2007). Erten (2009) reports the intrinsic incentive of females and extrinsic drive of males towards English as a foreign language. Akram and Ghani’s (2013) findings also do not confirm Baker and MacIntyre’s (2003) and Hashwani’s (2008)

conclusion related to the role of “gender as a variable in second language motivation” (Akram & Ghani, 2013: 539). They assert that males are more inclined towards learning English. This is due to their interest in jobs, studies and foreign travel for the sake of higher studies and other purposes. The social norms and values of Pakistani society now allow a few selected professions for women, like teaching. In the past, women were limited to the four walls of the house and they were not motivated to pursue goals related to career building. According to Akram and Ghani, now women are less sidelined or marginalized in the family or social networks. Their changed awareness came with education. People are now aware of education’s importance, for both male and female members of society. The number of males at all educational levels was higher than that of females in past. The men used to manage the matters related to women and their career goals. Gradually, more women became aware of their own rights to education and English language learning. They sometimes show “equal proficiency in learning English as compared to men” (Akram & Ghani, 2013: 539). The generalizability of much published research on this issue is problematic. I still see gender differences in English language learning. Their study cannot be generalized to the other parts of Pakistan.

While these motivational factors are, I say, a matter of the language learning situation, they help understand attitudes towards Standard English and Pakistani English, which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.3.2. Standard English versus Pakistani English, and attitudes towards non-native variety

Standard English versus Pakistani English

While exploring second language learners’ understanding of the two varieties of English: Standard and Pakistani English; it is pertinent to discuss the significance of “Pakistani English as a non-native variety of English” (Parveen & Mehmood, 2013:652). The use of English in Pakistan has developed different linguistic and cultural markers (for details, in 3.2.1) (Rassool, 2004: 199). Therefore, we can see a non- native variety of English, that is, Pakistani English (see, for example, Jabeen, Mahmood & Rasheed, 2011:117; Parveen & Mehmood, 2013). Second language learners accept the concept of Pakistani English. However, they work to learn

Standard English, because Standard English is a sign of success in the linguistic market as well as in other social networks, and it plays a significant role in developing foreign connections (Parveen & Mehmood, 2013). Second-language learners may never come across foreigners, but to be on the safe side they learn and practise Standard English. They also do not know the position of Pakistani English at the international level.

In spite of its lack of prestige, Parveen and Mehmood (2013) and Jabeen et al. (2011) plead that there is a need to study the distinctive forms and features of Pakistani English (for details, read 3.2.1). Doing so would lead to defining a linguistic stratum for Pakistanis which they can use without hesitation. I think that the authors lay stress on two things at the same time. There is a need to define Pakistani English, but ESL learners are inclined towards Standard English. Here I see an ambiguity in the goals and objectives of Parveen and Mehmood's research. In addition to this, there is a need to promote Pakistani English amongst second language learners. For that purpose, teachers and members of society should respect the non-native variety that is Pakistani English. The multilingual environment of Pakistan draws our attention to exploring different attitudes towards the English language.

Attitudes towards Pakistani English

Regarding the attitudes of second language learners towards the position of English in Pakistan, Jabeen, Mahmood and Rasheed (2011) have drawn attention to the important issue of attitudes towards Pakistani English. They use the method of a questionnaire survey that is distributed to a hundred participants. The questionnaire items focus on "attitude[s] towards English as a lingua franca and the empowerment of non-native speakers" (Jabeen et al., 2011: 109).

The findings reveal that the Pakistanis show "both positive and negative attitudes about the usage of English in Pakistan" (ibid.). In Pakistan, English has progressed as a second language rather than a foreign language. It is also evident from the findings that Pakistanis accept English as an international language. The participants think that English can be used as a resource to gain power, which is confirmed by Rahman (2002). Knowing it is also considered as a sign of prestige and good social standing. Most of the participants are of the view that "English is mandatory to secure desirable jobs" (Jabeen et al., 116). They show in their attitudes different degrees of acceptance.

English ranges “from [a] tolerated to [a] highly promoted language” (ibid.) (for details of change in attitudes, see 3.3.1). In this connection, most studies reveal the importance of identifying such attitudes (see, for example, Purohit, 2011; Rahman, 2005b; Zaman, 2004). Of course, they have instructional implications, knowledge of which will assist policy makers. Identifying the features of Pakistani English will assist instructors or teachers as well as second language learners to agree on “locally used forms of English” (Jabeen et al., 2011: 116). Curriculum planning, syllabus design and evaluative criteria are also implied. These implications will help to suggest strategies as well as plan suitable teaching methodologies related to language, which will also help to improve the pedagogical techniques of English language learning. Jabeen et al. discuss attitudes to English learning from a broader perspective, while I have narrowed it to women’s English language learning. They rightly point out that some participants are merely tolerant about English in Pakistan, while some of them show highly favourable attitudes towards the language. In my study, I also find tolerant and favourable attitudes, but I have added two other options in the questionnaire, “disagree” and “strongly disagree.” Previous studies fail to consider social attitudes towards English in Pakistan. Jabeen et al., (2011) use one instrument, which is a questionnaire, in order to collect data. Their conclusions might have been much more convincing if the authors had considered the tools of interviews and participant observation.

Despite accepting the importance of English, the students do not meet the level required for higher studies; a failure that has not been discussed by Jabeen et al. This failure is due to first language interference, which is presented in 3.3.3.

3.3.3. Problems of English language learning

First language interference in learning English

The effect of first language interference is prominent “within the overall Pakistani perception of English” (Hassan, 2004:16) and other parts of Asia (Maniam, 2010). The interference is “phonic” as well as “graphic” (Hassan, 2004:16). This “result[s] in considerable alterations in sound production, meaning, spelling and grammar” (ibid.). There is a need to take learners out of the Urdu-speaking environment. Most learners are anxious to improve their English, but they do not know the cause of their

difficulty. It is actually due to the interference of Urdu. There is a need to implement strong attitudes regarding the teaching and learning of English. Hassan maintains:

A firm stand that all thinking and writing should henceforth be in English might cause some difficulty and resentment in the beginning. However, if the teacher continues to insist that flexible expression in English is one of the requirements of evaluation, and if he refuses to accept sloppy expression or phrases learnt by heart from other sources, a strong upward suction can be generated (Hassan, 2009: 92).

Faults can be remedied in a better way than this when students are shown the different features of Urdu and English. Urdu should not be used for explanatory purposes. It should only be used for comparison, and to a minimum level. The teachers need to show a high level of devotion to tackle “disbelief, nationalistic resentment, or simply student pragmatism” (Hassan, 2009: 93). This becomes difficult when examinations are near and the aim is to get passing marks. Previous studies also address gender attitudes towards first language interference, which cause anxiety. Some important differences are presented as follows.

Foreign language anxiety among male and female students

Various methodologies are employed for the purpose of foreign language learning in order to avoid distress among learners. In countries where learners learn English as a second language, they experience various levels of anxiety. Therefore they “develop a specific attitude towards English” (Hussain, Shahid & Zaman, 2011: 583). Hussain et al. (2011) investigate the anxiety level of the students in the Matric (10th grade) class of government schools (also see Brown, 2008:75). They also observe “their attitude towards foreign language learning” (Hussain et al., 2011: 583).

The findings reveal important differences between male and female foreign language anxiety. Compared to boys, the girls do not show a high level of anxiety while learning English. They show a more positive approach towards English. Although these results differ from recent published studies (for example, Al-Saraj, 2013; Hashwani, 2008), they are consistent with those of Horwitz (2001) and Yan and Horwitz (2008). The findings of Horwitz (2001) and Yan and Horwitz (2008) suggest that foreign language anxiety varies across regions. By contrast, Al-Saraj’s study

shows high levels of anxiety among female Arabs learning English, and Hashwani (2008) finds a high level of confidence among boys while examining classroom anxiety in Karachi. However, many students (male and female) in remote areas of Pakistan show high anxiety levels while learning English, and do not show a positive approach towards this learning. The situation can be rectified by improving the pedagogical contexts of foreign language learning. The results of previous research show that students feel hesitant while communicating in the class. They also do not appear confident in foreign language learning contexts (Hussain et al., 2011; Al-Saraj, 2013). The students feel that they might not be able to achieve good scores in English tests; hence their anxiety level increases. Thus it appears that a link exists between the cultural background (Dewaele & MacIntyre, 2014:237), various attitudinal patterns and foreign language learning processes. Twenge (2000) maintains that the environment of the classroom also plays a role in increasing language anxiety. A positive and friendly environment created by the teacher in a class will help to reduce anxiety. The situation can be rectified by improving the teaching material in the government schools. I think that some books should include chapters on students' lives. This would create real life situations rather than trying to arouse their interest in something they do not understand. The present study focuses on attitudes towards the learning of English by women. I discuss the formation of attitudes, which can be changed positively by rectifying the current situation (for details, see 7.5 in Chapter 7).

The multimethod design of Al-Saraj's (2013) study makes her findings extremely trustworthy. Like Al-Saraj, I have also collected data through a multimethod design (questionnaire, interviews and participatory observation) in order to secure readers' confidence in the findings of my research.

Foreign language anxiety may be reduced by acquiring competence in the four skills of language acquisition; they are listening, reading, writing and speaking, listening skill is presented as follows.

Importance of listening skill in language acquisition

The listening skill plays a major role in the learning of any language in any country. Focussing on the students' listening skills in English, Eng, Mohamed and Javed (2013:331) choose a sample from male and female students in matric classes (grade

ten) in urban and rural private and public schools in the district of Bahawalnagar, Pakistan. The results show that the students perform very well in listening to stories and paragraphs, compared to filling in blanks and suggesting appropriate titles, in which they show fair and satisfactory progress respectively. The authors do not find any notable difference in “the performance of male and female students” (Eng, Mohamed and Javed 2013:331). The results show only minor differences between “the performance of urban and rural students” (ibid.). However, the findings of this study (Eng et al., 2013) do not support those of previous research (Ahmad, 2012). Ahmad’s (2012) study reveals the inadequate listening skill of law students at higher level, which is alarming. So, there is a need to design listening skill activities with visual support. Ahmad’s review is relevant in terms of the context for acquisition. A focus on improving listening skills resolves many problems, for example, the understanding of how cultural backgrounds (Soureshjani, 2011), affect foreign language learning. In my opinion, listening skills contribute much to language acquisition. In Pakistan, these skills have often been ignored because sufficient resource material is not available, and written exams alone are used to test the understanding of appropriate language use (*National Curriculum for English*, 2006). There is a need to pay attention to listening skills, which provide a basis for the comprehension of various oral texts.

Thus many problems affecting the acquisition of English language in Pakistan are due to deficiencies in English language teaching, which are further discussed below.

3.3.4. Problems of English language teaching

Most of the colleges and universities teach the English language through English literature-based text books; this is not appropriate (details in Chapter 7, 7.5). Most schools and colleges use the traditional grammar translation method for teaching purposes, says Warsi (2004). There is a need to train English language teachers (Akram & Mahmood, 2007: 2; Teevno, 2011). For the sake of training, workshops should be conducted at a high level. The teachers do not practise modern techniques in the classroom because they are not well trained in language teaching. Akram & Mahmood (2007) suggest that the outdated books need to be replaced by recent ones. Locally produced books which have spelling and grammatical errors are used in the classrooms. Another recurrent problem is that students learn English by cramming

rather than using creative ideas (see, for example, Batool, 2014; Shahid, 2012; Nawab, 2012: 696). The pattern of the examination system does not check for real proficiency in English. It rather promotes cramming and tests rote learning, argues Nawab (2012). The public schools and colleges do not use audio-visual aids in language teaching practice. “[T]he number of students exceeds [...] one hundred and twenty” in classes in public-sector schools and colleges. (Akram and Mahmood 2007:5). In such a situation, effective language learning is probably not possible. Akram and Mahmood have drawn our attention to the problems of the language learning environment in Pakistan. The students do not feel motivated to learn the target language in such an environment; hence they do not develop a very positive attitude towards foreign language learning.

One of the limitations with Akram and Mahmood’s (2007) analysis is that it does not explain why the state does not consider the role of women in resolving the problems of learning the English language. If women are proficient in English, then rote learning, cramming and memorization will be lessened due to frequent child contact with the mother in the medium of English, and the effect of learning English to the social role of women is objective (b) of my research in 1.2.4 in the chapter 1.

Next, the problems of English language teaching methods are further elaborated by elucidating the implementation of teaching methods, with reference to the issue of the direct versus the traditional method. These methods are presented in the following.

Direct instruction model versus traditional method

It has been shown that there is an effect of the direct method on the achievement level as well as on attitudes towards learning English. Kousar and Shah (2010:99) elaborate on “the effect of [the] direct instruction model on intermediate class achievement and attitudes towards English grammar.” The authors conducted an experimental study. The goal was to examine “the relative effectiveness of instructional methodology (independent variable) on students’ achievement and attitude (dependent variables)” (ibid.). Based on Slavin’s (1987) account of the elements of direct instruction, Kousar and Shah’s study defines direct instruction as “academically focused, teacher-directed classroom instruction using sequenced and structured materials” (ibid.). In the direct instruction model, objectives are clear, time is sufficient for the teacher’s instruction and students are given feedback immediately (Hussain, 2005). Contrary to that,

traditional lessons are not academically oriented. “[I]n a traditional lesson, the instructor verbalizes information to passive note-taking by students” (Kousar & Shah, 2010: 99). The teachers think that they have to fill the empty minds of the students by dictating the information. Kousar and Shah “compare the attitude of the experimental and control groups toward English grammar after providing treatment of direct instruction, and to compare the effect of direct instruction on the retention of students in English grammar” (ibid.). The authors conducted their study in Cantt College for Women, Wah Cantt, Pakistan. The findings show that the direct instruction model achieves better results than the traditional method, indicating a “significant impact on learning English grammar” (Kousar & Shah, 2010: 102). This model is not very common in Pakistan. The authors assert that it is effective in teaching English language grammar because it allows students’ participation along with teachers’ involvement in the course. The traditional approaches only translate from second language to first language, which is not effective for the language learning process.

However, approaches using the grammar translation method carry with them various well-known limitations. Direct method is not used anywhere in public institutions in Pakistan. A few private institutions may be using it. What I have seen in practice is mostly the grammar translation method. I believe that the public institutions still rely too much on Urdu when they introduce English to their students. Pakistani English is heavily Urdu-ized. If the language is to be learnt properly, it is probably good to use it for instruction right from the beginning. Imran Khan, a member of the Pakistan National Assembly, is trying to do so in Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. The experiment needs some time.

The direct instruction model is closer to the communicative approach, but sadly there seems to be a serious absence of both in the classroom, as is shown below.

Application of communicative approach to teaching English

There is a need to teach English through the communicative approach in Pakistan. When discussing communicative approach in foreign language classrooms in Pakistan, we need to look at its implementation in institutions. Differences have been suggested between public and private institutions regarding the implementation of communicative language teaching (Ahmad and Rao, 2012:95). Ahmad and Rao use the three tools of questionnaire, observation and interviews to investigate this issue.

The findings show that there is no consistency between what teachers say and what they actually do in the classroom as their teaching methodology. The private institutions adopt a formal strategy which is closer to the canons of communicative language teaching. Teachers in public sector institutions are more inclined towards the grammar translation method, but sometimes implement other methods, like the direct method, because some of them understand the needs of foreign language learners (Ahmad & Rao, 2012, 2013; Akram & Mahmood, 2011; Warsi, 2004). These differences divide the society into two classes, rural and urban, and do not facilitate equal opportunities for learning (for details of the class division, see 3.1.3; also see Akram & Mahmood, 2011).

Observations show that teachers in public sector institutions report what they really do in the class, but Ahmad and Rao find some inconsistency between what teachers in private institutions say and what they really do. They claim that their teaching methodology is closer to the communicative approach, but this does not mean that they actually operate it. The teachers in public sector institutions recognize various difficulties in applying the communicative approach in the classroom. They are “examination pressure, over-crowded class rooms [sic], text based teaching and the nonavailability of teaching materials (Ahmad & Rao, 2012: 101). The teachers in private institutions try their best to adopt advanced second language teaching methodologies. But there are two main obstacles. They are the “lack of teacher training programs and examination pressure” (Ahmad & Rao, 2012: 101). These lead to the adoption of traditional methods to teach English as a foreign language. Like Ahmad & Rao (2012, 2013), Warsi (2004) also pinpoints that there is a need to improve the examination system, classroom space, teaching materials and teacher training workshops. Recommendations will be offered for this purpose in Chapter 7, 7.5.

Studying the teaching approaches reveals that most problems occur due to deficiencies in ELT reforms, are to be presented in 3.3.5.

3.3.5. Deficiencies in ELT reforms

English is considered as the language of progress in Pakistan, says Shamim (2011), at micro as well as macro levels. The micro levels are at the individual level, while the macro level is the national level. She maintains that “each new government[,] soon

after it assumes power[,] announces its policy of teaching English to the masses as a way of achieving its democratic ideals of equality of opportunity” (Shamim, 2011: 4). The idea is democratically motivated, but implementations cannot be found in the public at large. The current reforms in English language teaching are pertinent to the present situation. The Higher Education Commission (HEC) Pakistan started a new project in 2004. HEC allotted enough budgets for a faculty development programme. HEC is an important agency, which was previously known as the University Grants Commission, launched various projects under the main heading of Faculty Development. The *English Language Teaching Reforms (ELTR) project Phase I and II* is one of those projects which were initiated under the Faculty Development Program.¹⁵ Shamim (2011) mentions its two main objectives:

- a) to review and evaluate the English language teaching capacity of a national sample of general and professional universities in Pakistan; and
- b) to make recommendations for the reorganisation of English language teaching departments in public sector institutions of higher education (Shamim, 2011: 7).

The findings of the project show that the socioeconomic profiles of Pakistani English teachers and learners are almost the same. Most of the teachers are not qualified specifically in English language teaching. The teachers who participate in conferences, workshops and professional development programmes are very few in number. English language teaching programmes in universities are offered at undergraduate as well as postgraduate levels. The English department is responsible for managing these programmes at different levels in the universities. The teachers and learners rated currently available English language courses highly in terms of their future needs and challenges. This shows their lack of familiarity with current pedagogical skills. Shamim (2011) concludes that there is a need to “develop bilingual programmes for achieving proficiency in both English and Urdu” in order to address the language apartheid system in the country. The language apartheid system of English-medium and Urdu-medium schools (for details, in 3.1.3) which is promoted

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<http://www.hec.gov.pk/InsideHEC/Divisions/LearningInnovation/ELTR/Pages/IntroductionObejectives.aspx>

in the country is a definite hindrance on the way to a uniform education system, as is pointed out in the seminar on “Call for reforms in a deficient education system” in Peshawar (2012). Shamim further recommends that some balance is required between the need for English on one side and the facilities the country can provide. Also, an ongoing dialogue between all stakeholders should be encouraged and maintained so that a workable language policy can be formulated (Shamim, 2011: 15).

Shamim did not address the plight of female English literacy at micro as well as macro levels in Pakistan; this plight is the first concern of this thesis (see Chapter 1, 1.2.4). There is a need to uncover the gendered language disparity in the educational sector, as proposed by Coleman and Capstick (2012).

Deficiencies in ELT reforms, and their practical implications in this domain, draw our attention to the need to bring change in the English language teaching environment of the country; this need is discussed in the next section.

Need to improve English language programmes at higher levels

It is vital for non-English speaking communities to improve the English language skills of their people by implementing effective policies everywhere in the country (Karim and Shaikh, 2012; Shamim, 2008). The policies should be implemented in such a way that the citizens are prepared for practical purposes in the market. Increased proficiency in English language skills is necessary for success at various levels: personal, social, academic and professional. Karim and Shaikh (2012) and Shamim (2008) state that it is the responsibility of higher education institutions to address policy issues regarding learning English as a foreign language. It is not the responsibility only of higher education institutions, but of schools and colleges to construct policy for English as a foreign language. The higher education commission planned various schemes and conducted workshops to promote English in the universities, as illustrated by Shamim (2011). Still, there is a need to do more in this connection. Current practices are not up to the mark. As Yi Lo (2014) argues that there is a need to introduce content-based instruction (CBI) in higher education institutions. This would help university students to prepare themselves not only for the competitive academic environment but also to polish their English language skills for employment in industry. Crandall and Kaufman (2002:2) maintain:

The student[s] may be orally proficient in English but need focused attention to developing academic reading and writing skills, or they may have substantial background and content expertise and be quite proficient in reading English but need opportunities to develop their writing or oral presentation skills to present their knowledge to others. Thus, some CBI courses are part of broader English for academic purposes (EAP) program[s], while others contribute principally to the development of special purpose language skills, as in an English for specific purposes (ESP) program[s]. (Crandall and Kaufman, 2002:2) (cited in Karim and Shaikh, 2012: 114).

In this context, the considerations and requirements made here emphasize the need for well-equipped programmes for English as a foreign language in higher education institutions. Such expositions are unsatisfactory because they do not stress the need for female English literacy programmes, which are Objective (a) of my research (see Chapter 1, 1.2.4). Therefore, the EFL planners should design a clear plan for women, which involve the four skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking and their practice in public as well as private spaces.

3.4. Summary

Summing up the social, cultural and learning situation of English in Pakistan, it is pertinent to draw the inference that despite facing sociocultural problems, the country is amending its language policies, though not in favour of the local masses. The positive social roles in the English textbooks are assigned only to males. Equal gender representation of social roles has received little attention. Therefore, the male-dominated culture still exists in the mentally colonized society of Pakistan, where women lag behind in all fields of education, which will be discussed in the following part of this dissertation.

4. Women's education in Pakistan: religious and sociocultural factors

Following the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA) (1990), developing countries are struggling to achieve the target of primary education for all as well as to decrease the illiteracy rate. But doing so has remained difficult, as was pointed out in the World Education Forum held at Dakar in 2000, which aimed to assess the improvement achieved in the previous epoch (the last ten years). The Dakar Framework for Action (2000) showed that the advancement in girls' education (p.3) is necessary for the achievement of EFA aims, and aimed at reaching by 2005 the targets of eradicating the gender inequalities in primary and secondary education and as attaining gender parity in education by 2015. This second target highlights the importance of girls' full practical right of entry into primary education.

With regard to gender equality in education, UNICEF did not present a positive picture of South Asia. In 2005, UNICEF stated that the South Asian countries would not be able to attain gender equality by the end of the year, and in all likelihood they will not be able to reach Universal Primary Education until the end of 2015. Gender disparities in primary education, according to UNICEF, have been dropping in some South Asian countries, but not in Pakistan, where they appear to be escalating. Regional inequities are obvious in Pakistan. The Pakistan Integrated Household Survey (2001-2002) reports:

[G]ross enrollment rate at the primary schools is highest in the urban areas of Punjab Province at 98% and lowest in the rural areas of Balochistan Province at 35%, and the largest gap in enrollment between boys and girls is observed in the rural areas of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) (cited from Arai & Tabata, 2006: 2).

In an effort to improve the low level of education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former NWFP), the provincial government devised in 2002 a plan for primary education, which was made compulsory for all (*Education Sector Reforms: Action Plan 2001-2002 – 2005-2006: 73*). According to this plan, the provision of textbooks and tuition fee was considered the responsibility of the state in order to make education easy of access for all without putting financial pressure on parents. Despite the commitment

on the part of provincial government to make access to education easy, school enrolment and gender inequality at primary, secondary and higher level education could not be improved.

The education system in Pakistan is affected by various factors. These are religion, gender roles, economic growth, socio-cultural values and supply-side factors that include facilities for education.

4.1. Religious factors: misinterpretations, secular versus religious feminists and the curriculum in madrassas

Explicating the religious factors that influence the education system in Pakistan clarifies the motives of clerics and *mullahs*, who are engaged in misinterpreting the religion ‘Islam.’ Denying the fact that Islam preaches equal education for all irrespective of gender, their misinterpretations create conflict between secular and religious feminists, which leads to an intolerant and violent society causing obstacles for girls’ education (Ahmad & Neman, 2013; Bradley & Saigol, 2012; Zia, 2009; Yusuf, 2012).

4.1.1. Misinterpretations of religion

Women, the most disadvantaged sector in Pakhtun society, are excluded from all areas of public life. The conservative segments misinterpret religion, which is made to accord with the Pakhtun code of life (Orakzai, 2011: 36-37). This code of life restricts women to the “four walls.” The traditional and cultural interpretations of religion have ruthlessly smashed women’s education in the region, which is mainly influenced by the inexperienced local clerics and *mullahs*. In October 2012, the Pakistani newspaper *The Express Tribune* reports that the Chief Justice of Pakistan, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, condemns the religious fragmentation which is due to a lack of “understanding [of] the true spirit and philosophy of religions” and causes fundamentalism and violence which disrupt global peace. In his address at the “Peace through Law” International Conference in Lahore, the Chief Justice emphasizes that “Islamic teachings are oriented towards the achievement of peace, brotherhood and human welfare,” rather than human degradation.

The current misconstrued Islamic values and beliefs cannot be reconciled with girls' education in Pakistan. The recent outbreak of terrorist attacks on girls' schools in Swat, and in other cities in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, shows the accuracy of the above interpretation (for details, see 4.1.4). Since independence in 1947, Pakistan is, as Bradley and Saigol (2012: 676) argue, encountering two different schools of thought: "modern secular education [given] to girls through mass schooling, and the eagerness of religious communities to maintain control over women." Religious communities, generally, regard women as important for the transference of religious teachings to the next generations. Considering modern secular education treacherous in nature, many religious leaders reject schooling and higher education for girls, which, they think, pollute their thoughts and inspire them towards Western ways of living. Taking this view, they started to establish more madrasas (religious seminaries) particularly for girls, which provide mainstream as well as Islamic education. Bano reports that according to statistical evidence collected in 2007, around 1.4 million students are registered in madrasas that are listed in government records. Out of 1.4 million students, "just under a fifth are girls and young women." Due to cheaper monthly fees, uniforms and textbook expenditures, people became more inclined towards madrasa education in 2008-2009, according to Bradley and Saigol (2012), however this number could not compete with the number (95%) of students enrolled in state controlled schools at primary and secondary level, which are totally free¹⁶ (UNESCO). With regard to the registration of students, madrasas, therefore, represent a small minority in the education sector.

During the regime of President Zia ul Haq (1977-1988), the first female madrasa in Pakistan was established in the late 1970s (Bano, 2012: 132). The increased number of girls registering in madrasas shows that the number of madrasas will increase with the passage of time. These religious seminaries' misconstrued Islamic teachings "influence attitudes to education for women" (Bradley & Saigol, 2012: 676). Such influences are creating two feminist factions in Pakistan. This is discussed in 4.1.2.

4.1.2. Secular feminists versus religious feminists

¹⁶ <http://stats.uis.unesco.org/unesco/TableViewer/document.aspx?ReportId=>

121andIF_Language=engandBR_Country=5860andBR_Region=40535

Documenting pre-colonial religious defences against women's education and modernity and post-colonial secular aspects of women's rights, Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987, 1990) present the feminist movement in Pakistan, which reflects pressures and disputations. Feminists who favour a secular perspective reject a religious basis for the feminist drive for women's education, as they believe that religion does not allow women's liberation. Based on misconstrued teachings of Islam, they define this religion as essentially patriarchal as well as limiting. There are various schools of thought in secular feminism, extending from Marxist and socialist perspectives "to those who believe that women's human rights can be achieved within a liberal state" (Bradley & Saigol, 2012: 677). All such schools proclaim that religious institutions and organisations cannot deliver unbiased education for all, and will ultimately prevent gender equality.

On the contrary, some religious feminists speak for spreading religious teachings. Pointing to the importance of religious education for identifying one's self, these religious feminist writers assert that this enables them to express their opinions, desires and anxieties (ibid.: 678; Crétois, 2013). Drawing our attention to religious institutions in Pakistan, one of the advocates for the *Jamaat-i-Islami* (religious faction) Amina Jamal (2005), an Islamic revivalist feminist, asserts that they make education easy of access for girls and young women, and that women gain independence through their active role in organizing them. She argues that secular feminists should see the two sides of the picture, as religion-based feminists discuss modernity of their own accord, and that though their view is different from what secular feminists negotiate, it brings changes within the Islamic framework of feminism (Zia, 2009).

The religious feminists do not pay heed to changing the curriculum in madrassas that promotes the traditional training of girls and young women, and is presented below.

4.1.3. The curriculum in women's madrassas

The *Daily Times*, a Pakistani newspaper reports in May, 2009 that since the establishment of madrassas in the late 1970's, their role has been enhanced due to the increased registration of girls (236,000) in the recent past. During President Pervez Musharraf's (1999-2008) rule, madrassas gained extra attention in 2007 when restrictions were imposed on the leading institution, the *Jamia Hafsa* in Islamabad,

which was providing higher education for women, because of the madrassas's anti-government stance as well as their traditionalism, argues Bradley and Saigol, (2012: 678). Based on sectarian lines, madrassas have structured themselves in various wafaqs (madrassa boards), which are shown in the following table.

Table 4.1. The Pakistani madrasa boards

Sect	Sub-sect (<i>maslaq</i>)	Madrasas Board (<i>wafaq</i>)	Board established	Wafaq HQ
Sunni	Ahle e Sunnat (Barelvi)	Tanzeem-ul- Madaris Ahl-e Sunnat-wal- Jamaat	1959	Karachi
Sunni	Deobandi	Wafaq-ul- Madaris Al- Arabia	1959	Multan
Sunni	Ahl e Hadith	Wafaq-ul- Madaris	1955	Faizalabad
Islamist	Jamat e Islami	Rabta-ul- Madaris Al Islamia	1983	Mansoorah, Lahore
Shia	Jaffari Twelver Shia	Wafaq-ul- Madaris Al-Shia	1960	Lahore

Taken from Borchgrevink (2011: 2)

Each wafaq (board) design its own curriculum. Bosch, Tahira and Khan (2008) assert that “[t]he Deobandi and Barelvi denominations have the highest number of madrasas, with some 11,700 (65%) and 5,400 (30%) respectively of the total of 18,015 madrasas reported by the wafaqs in 2008” (cited in Borchgrevink, 2011: 2). In a study of the curriculum for female education, the major madrasa *Wafaq-ul-Madaris (Deobandi)* finds that most madrasas are owned by male religious elite and that they design syllabi in a manner that fulfils their purposes (Bradley & Saigol, 2012). These purposes focus on shaping passive, obedient and house-trained women. Following the *Dars-e-Nizami* (the title for madrasa courses) syllabus (Metcalf, 1982), other *wafaqs* (madrassa boards) also do not do justice to girls in relation to providing equal education for boys and girls, and impose girls’ menial domestic roles through the curriculum, which merely prepares “women for homemaking, wifehood, obedience, and subservience to male authority” (Bradley & Saigol, 2012: 678). Inculcating *Aadab* (etiquette) is the basic purpose of male-dominated madrasas in Pakistan. *Aadab* are considered indispensable for good Muslim women to learn and practise. Looking at difference between religious and secular education in other post-colonial states, we see that this type of education is entirely different from the modernised way of secular education that is not restricted to a sectarian-based structure of the

curriculum but follows a universal curriculum and a plan for reform in the future. However, the ideology of the existence of Pakistan is religion-based, often on misconstrued Islam. Given this fact, madrassa education and state education, particularly for girls, cannot be strongly differentiated as is found in secular countries (ibid.). The policies and curriculum of the educational system of Pakistan, argues Saigol (1995, 2003), echo the immense religious consciousness that is immersed in the masculine principles of the society.

Conducting interviews with secular informants in Lahore, Pakistan, Bradley and Saigol (2012) find that their informants contribute largely to the feminist movement; however they do not label themselves as secular modernist educationists. They express their concerns over the issue of the curriculum in madrasas, which, they think, hinders female progress in the country and gives rise to riots. These are discussed in 4.1.4.

4.1.4. Riots, insurgency and obstacles

Women's education in Pakistan is strongly affected by the devastation of schools and by assassinations. A young human rights activist, Malala Yousafzai, was attacked by Taliban and shot in the head and neck on 9 October, 2012 for raising her voice against the demolition of schools and the long closure of girls' schools in Mingora, her town, in the Swat district. According to the BBC Asian News, the Taliban later announced that they attacked Malala for her efforts to spread secularism in the region as well as her campaign for progressive thinking with regard to bringing moderation in girls' education in the region.

In June, 2012, the Pakistani newspaper *The Express Tribune* reported that militants had destroyed 758 schools in the frontier province. Through the interventions of the army and some NGOs, many of these were re-furbished, only to be destroyed again. However, the government still hopes to be able to spread education through the province.

Extending their war against girls' education to general secular education, the Taliban severely opposes female literacy and enlightened moderation in the region, argues Wieseltier (2012). Yusuf (2012) highlights the fact that they frequently bombed girls' schools as an integral part of their policies, resulting in the lowest level of female literacy in Pakistan, especially in the North West part of the country.

While religious factors are, I said, obstacles to gender equality in education, they also help understand phenomena related to gender and economic growth. This is the theme of the next section.

4.2. Gender roles, economic growth and gender inequality affect women's education in Pakistan

According to article 37 of the constitution of Pakistan, women's education in Pakistan is the basic right of everyone in the country.¹⁷ Such rights are, despite the provision in the constitution, not easily available to the citizens, and gender inequities are frequent in the educational sector. Nearly twice as many males as females, according to the 2011 Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme, "receive secondary education, and public expenditures on education amount to only 2.7% of the GDP of the country."¹⁸

To understand female literacy in Pakistan, it is pertinent to explore gender roles there, which are discussed below.

4.2.1. Gender roles

Strong patriarchal values, which affect the social norms, traditions and culture to a large extent, are so deeply embedded in the society that it is impossible to isolate them from it. Performing productive roles as a wife and mother at home is alone considered legitimate. The only physical space that women can enjoy all their lives is home, whereas the man governs outside flora and fauna, and is respected for performing his role as a breadwinner. Therefore, men and women live in two different worlds in Pakistani society. Sons and husbands are considered responsible for household capital because they are the ones who go outside the home to earn for all at home. Education is, argues Malik and Courtney (2011: 34), always preferred for boys rather than girls because of the general perception prevailing in the society that boys must attain education in order to compete for resources in public spaces. On the other hand, girls must be equipped with domestic skills to prove themselves good wives and mothers (Ahmad, Said, Hussain & Khan, 2014: 341-342).

¹⁷ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women's_education_in_Pakistan

¹⁸ Ibid.

The labour force has not been distributed equally in society; it is based on gender division. Only limited choices that could help change this male chauvinism are available for girls. Preventing girls from attaining education, society creates hurdles against women improving their human abilities. Women's education has not been given importance until now, say Chaudhry and Rahman (2009), and this is one of the key elements of gender inequity in Pakistan. This situation is further evidenced by the Human Development report of 2014 on "Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience." The Express Tribune newspaper reports:

Pakistan, which was ranked at 146 out of a total 187 countries on the index, scored 0.537 points on HDI [Human Development Index], showed improvement of mere 0.002 points from last year's score of 0.535. [...] On the gender inequality index, Pakistan slipped four spots to 127 from last year's ranking of 123 as it scored 0.563 on the index as opposed to 0.567.

Pakistan does not show improved performance in enhancing human capabilities as well as in removing gender disparity. The score of 0.563 shows a decline rather than a rise, which is alarming. According to the 2011 Human Development report, the female literacy rate of Pakistan is thirty per cent, which places Pakistan in the countries with low human development (UNDP, Human Development Report, 2011). Women's education is necessary for the progress of any society. Recently, Noreen and Awan (2011) note that women's education not only leads to individual understanding, awareness and information, but also contributes to devising a complete strategy in order to bring change and progress in a region. Education is linked with woman's capability to form societal and communal relations with others, and she requires equality in order to attain integrity and self-respect. Education supports the right for women to take part in all social processes, such as careers and the political and legal systems (Isike & Uzodike, 2011). By this I mean that women can confirm that the opinions and anxieties which they voice are received and discussed in meetings arranged for devising public policies related to education and basic rights. Education is also one of the serious requirements for human resource development, which is crucial for the economic growth of a country. An increased level of output and the efficacy of individuals depend on education, which helps in producing a skilful labour force that is adept in leading the economy to viable progress. The development of a country mainly rests on the educational opportunities available to

the local masses, who can be the most influential resource for bringing change. Producing talented people instilled with information, abilities and experiences helps in achieving a country's national goals. Identification of this fact by the local masses helps them in understanding the necessity of literacy and higher education, argues Mishra (2005), and education for all should not be taken as merely social justice, but as nurturing economic growth as well as social stability. Women's education is, therefore, intricately connected with the other aspects of human development. Prioritizing women's education means bringing change in other aspects of life too. Such aspects, says Goel (2004), include women's status, health, child care, community empowerment and peacefully resolving social and domestic clashes. Influencing economic growth in the country, female literacy helps decrease poverty by producing social capital through a trained and skilful labour force, an issue which is to be presented in 4.2.2.

4.2.2. Effects of women's education on economic growth

Acquiring knowledge develops logical thinking as well as the analytical ability that permits the acquisition of management and administrative skills. This, further, boosts self-esteem and improves women's social and financial position. Supporting education for women, therefore, enhances general social and human development along with gender equity in Pakistan. Increased female education brings improvement in the conditions for survival, comment Klasen and Lamanna (2008), and childhood care, survival, health and education improve human development. By contrast, economic progress can be affected adversely by low levels of female education (Klasen 1999). An increased rate of female education in developing countries decreases Infant mortality and improves child education as well as children's general mental nourishment (Knowles, Paula & Owen, 2002). There is a direct correlation between gender inequity in education and economic growth. Chaudhry's regression analysis (2007) indicates a significant correlation between literacy rates, gender ratios of enrollment, and ratios of literate females to males. He finds that gender inequity in education at primary level does not have a positive impact on economic growth; rather, it decreases economic progress. Chaudhry (2009) states that poverty can be ameliorated if the male burden of supporting a joint family is reduced.

Reducing household dependency, which affects the majority of females, would reduce the poverty rate. Poverty and lack of education are directly linked; education brings further chances of social and professional roles, and female literacy is the greatest need of the hour in Pakistan. Education offers employment prospects and overcomes poverty. Women's social and professional roles contribute to women's social welfare as well as enhance the general efficiency of the labour force because of their competitiveness. Therefore the female workforce should include trained and educated women, who will help to alleviate poverty and increase their impact on economic growth. Thus the feminist economists contend that the allocation of more funds by the government for women's education would improve the socio-economic condition of the society at large.

With regard to literacy in Pakistan, extreme gender differences are found between rural and urban areas. Buzdar and Ali (2011: 17) defines the gender parity index (GPI) as "the ratio of girls' enrollment to boys' enrolment", and further note that according to the Government of Pakistan in 2008, "Gender Parity Index (GPI) for primary school enrollment is 0.72 for Punjab, 0.63 for Sindh, 0.42 for Khyber Pakhtoon-Kha, and 0.38 for Balochistan for the years 2006-07." This index shows Khyber Pakhtunkhwa as the second from the bottom for gender parity.

This situation leads to the social and financial reliance of women on men. Women's oppression and subordination are not the same in various classes and regions, and there is a rural and urban split in Pakistan. The rigidity of principles of male control, observes Khan (2007), is very noticeable in the rural and tribal locales, which are known for tougher local traditions as well as laws for women that are greatly influenced by male power and control. Such attitudes affect the literacy rate in rural areas, which is presented as follows.

Rural and urban literacy rate

In 2006, the Ministry of Education's, Federal Bureau of Statistics, noted a 58.3% literacy rate in urban areas, whereas the rate was 28.3% in rural areas. A rate of only 12% was reported for rural women. Interestingly, at the primary level, a high female enrolment was noted, but it gradually fell at the secondary as well as tertiary stages.

Pakistan Education Statistics 2005-2006 reported that access to higher education was available to less than 3% of the girls and women aged 17 to 23.¹⁹

This condition of gendered educational disparities suggests the likelihood that various factors in socio-cultural values are together responsible for female illiteracy, and these are discussed in 4.3.

4.3. Sociocultural factors: parental attitudes, segregation system and early marriages

In an effort to identify factors which affect the lowest level of primary education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the Provincial Education Bureau surveyed headmistresses and headmasters along with PTA (Parent Teacher Association) agents as a part of the 10th Annual School Census of 2001-02. After analysing the outcomes with the provincial government, the German Association for Technical Cooperation published them under the title: *Improving Primary School Enrolments and Quality of Learning in the NWFP (2000)* (cited in Arai & Tabata, 2006). The report of their survey indicates the dominating influence of parents on girls' education as a cornerstone of deprivation, which is discussed in the following section.

4.3.1. Parents' discriminatory attitude towards girls' education

With regard to the problems of female literacy, head teachers pointed out that schools are deficient in number and that girls always need parents' permission to get admission to schools; most of the time this is not granted to girls as it is to boys. Directing our attention to low attendance in schools, Qureshi (2003) pinpoints financial difficulties as the main reason for boys' low attendance. Based on her survey, she identifies solid reasons for girls' lowest attendance in schools: parents do not allow their daughters to join schools in the provinces of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, as well as in Baluchistan. Surveys, as discussed above, indicate that the gender disparity in education is deeply rooted in the parents' discriminatory attitude towards girls and girls' education.

Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa are unique blends of diverse ethnic groups. Out of these diverse ethnic groups, the most influential are the Pashto speaking groups,

¹⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women's_education_in_Pakistan

who live in the regions of Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan, Nowshera, Shinkari and Baffa. The local traditions and customs vary from region to region, but one dominating and common tradition that prevails everywhere in the province is the confinement of women to the “four walls.” The sidelining of women has been reinforced by the segregation of the sexes as well as the dominance of men. Based on the interpretation of *purdah* as the ‘segregation of sexes’ (for details, see 4.3.2), Haque (2010: 303) stresses that “the interplay of *purdah* shaping women lives and [the] cobweb of patriarchal values” contributes to a large extent to gender discrimination in the social dealings of daily life, which are found to be different and in different sociocultural settings, such as those of Hindkowan (people speaking Hindko in Hazara division) and Pathans (people speaking Pashto in Pashto speaking areas).

Against the backdrop of traditional roles (for details, see 4.2.1) that has also been briefly discussed previously, some evidence is found which presents the changing attitude of parents to girls’ education. Pointing to parents’ increased investment in children’s education, Sathar, Lloyd and Ul Haque (2000) indicated fourteen years ago that there was a general tendency to appreciate the social advantages of girls’ schooling. Subsequently the country, especially the Hazara division or region, had to counter natural disasters like the earthquake in 2005 as well as insurgent violence such as the Taliban’s attacks on Malala in 2012 and the bombing of schools (for details in 4.1.4) which have changed the whole scenario, and the positive change in parents’ attitudes often could not last longer. This change is discussed in the following.

“Boys are more capable than girls”

In January 2014, Naqvi and Malik report Aslam’s findings in the Pakistani newspapers *The Express Tribune* and *Dawn* that boys are in the common perception intellectually more capable than girls. Such an attitude has a negative impact on girls’ involvement in education in rural areas, and also keeps urban girls detached especially from science, mathematics and technology (SMT) subjects in various ways (Stromquist, Lee & Brock-Utne, 2013: 404). Firstly, the parents who are not in favour of girls’ education endorse this attitude, and will definitely select boys to be educated and trained at the expense of girls. Secondly, as girls are thought to be less intelligent,

skilled and talented, they do not receive encouragement, and are rarely challenged in their private and public spaces, which are the home and the school, to struggle to succeed academically (Mukhtar, 2006: 1). Since society expects less of them, they also, as a result, anticipate less of themselves; this does not build enough confidence in them to develop and polish their academic talents. Boys, on the contrary, are always encouraged and “pushed” to be successful, as much is expected of them in Pakistani society (Aslam and Kingdon, 2008: 2588).

There is a common impression that science, mathematics and technology (SMT) are challenging and tough subjects; they are associated with masculinity because of their toughness. Since girls are thought to be responsible for domestic duties (for details, see 4.2.1) and deemed otherwise less capable compared with boys; parents, teachers and peers expect only boys to shine in these subjects. Girls themselves do not expect that they can surpass boys in them. Hence, the direct and indirect demotivation of girls’ involvement in education in general and especially in these subjects at home and school is noted. Parents, teachers and peers also consider that girls show little concentration on academic subjects and are certainly diverted by irrelevant topics such as romance, physical appearance and physique. Success in SMT subjects may lead to isolation from other girls in the community and may invite the scorn of boys, who are often described as discouraging girls from contributing and sharing confidently in academically advanced subjects. This situation leaves girls behind in taking part, especially in SMT subjects.

Since they consider boys more capable than girls, parents discourage their daughters unconsciously; however, attitudes are not the same in rural areas, as is presented below.

Parental attitudes in rural areas

Conducting research on parental attitudes in the tribal area of the Dera Ghazi Khan district in Pakistan, Buzdar and Ali (2011) report that some parents favour religious as well as non-religious education. They migrate to urban areas for the sake of educating their children, while others cannot afford to settle in urban areas due to poverty. A young tribesman informs that girl’s primary school is only available without proper infrastructure, staff, and transportation for students, which are the basic requirements. He shows his commitment to educate his daughters on the condition that the government provides the aforementioned facilities. Sadly, the availability of private

schools does not fulfil the purpose of education because they not only demand high tuition fees but also lack a standard education system. More recently, other studies do not find such parental attitudes in rural areas (Purewal & Hashmi, 2014). Purewal & Hashmi (2014:11) find that 52% of heads of households (men) support boys' rather than girls' primary education whereas 1.7% support girls' schooling as equally important.

Some parents are categorized by Buzdar and Ali (2011) as proponents of merely religious education for girls. Referring to *Madrassa* education, Malik (2008) argues that they consider learning Holy Quran recitation, *Fiqh*, 'Islamic philosophy', and *tajweed*, 'pronunciation', important for girls. However, there are no proper arrangements for girls to get Islamic education; they learn only the basic recitation of the Holy Quran at home, and a higher level of Islamic education is not available in tribal areas. Tribesmen, especially fathers in rural areas, consider reciting the Holy Quran the fulfilment of their traditional culture which binds girls to learn the Holy Quran since they are future wives and mothers (Khan, Azhar and Shah, 2011: 7). Such attitudes, according to Buzdar & Ali (2011: 20), reveal a link between the "cultural and religious thought of some tribal men who, at the moment, are not prepare[d] to adapt modern concepts of education." Provisions for shifting and promoting *madrassa* students into conventional schooling are hardly available in tribal areas. Parents pay no heed to this issue; rather, they are merely concerned about "traditional religious education for their daughters" (ibid.).

In tribal areas, two factors are responsible for girls' lack of education: "ghost" girls' schools with no infrastructure and staff, and parents' adherence to traditional cultures, which consciously and unconsciously victimise girls. Therefore their educational status is not comparable with that of the girls in the other areas of Pakistan.

Suffering in the rural areas either because of parents' loyalty to old traditions or the non-availability of physical amenities, girls' fate is also decided by senior members of the family, as is to be presented next.

Parents' decisions affected by relatives

Living in a combined family system, it is difficult for families to resist relatives' decisions. Close ties are noticed among Pashtun families; marriage does not free married couples to take decisions themselves, rather they have to wait for their parents and senior relatives' opinions. Seeking their advice in every matter, argues Arai and

Tabata (2006), is considered the moral duty of every junior family member. Hindkowan cannot detach themselves from the influences of the life style of the Pashtuns, who are the majority in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. A typical Pashtun family lives in one big home, comprising several bedrooms and common spaces like the patio (*veranda*), living room, kitchen and lawn. Parents live in such houses with their sons; they and their sons' families share all the spaces except bedrooms.

The life of younger family members is much influenced by the decisions of elderly persons. In this connection, generation gaps are frequently found in Pashtun and Hindkowan families. It is found that grandparents show more resistance to girls' schooling than their parents. Besides, they also decide life partners from the day of the birth of a child, and no one dares to resist their say, so they have full control over their grandchildren's personal lives, education and profession. Research has shown this influence, through semi-structured interviews in the North West of Pakistan (Arai & Tabata, 2006). Such influences are observed as due to either parental illiteracy or poverty.

Parental illiteracy and poverty

Focussing on the effect of parental literacy on children's education, Bilal (2013) says that educated parents earn better than parents with low education, so they can afford expense on their children's education. She further elaborates the position of literate parents with regard to girls' education:

Moreover, literate parents provide their daughters [with] an equal opportunity for schooling, since they realize the positive externalities of education. On the other hand, illiterate parents find it difficult to get involved in their children's progress at school²⁰ which can hinder children's learning (Bilal, 2013: 2).

Studies prove that the illiteracy of parents leads to poverty, which keeps girls in a deprived status that badly affects their education and general wellbeing (Ahmad & Neman, 2013; Tuwor and Sossou, 2008; Lewis and Lockheed, 2007). The annual

²⁰ Menheere, Adri & Hooge, Edith H. "Parental involvement in children's education: A review study about the effect of parental involvement on children's school education with a focus on the position of illiterate parents. *Journal of the European Teacher Education Network JETEN* | Volume 6.

Status of Education Report (2013)²¹ reveals levels of mothers' education consistently lower than that of the father in four provinces. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 22% mothers are literate, whereas 54% fathers are literate; therefore the overall parental literacy rate is totally insufficient for raising girls' literacy (cited in Bilal, 2013). The results of Ahmad and Neman's (2013) research reveal that the scarcity of resources (for details, see 4.4) in rural areas is also a major cause which prevents girls' education. In addition to this, illiterate mothers in the rural areas prefer only madrassa education for their daughters as they do not like their daughters to be seen by others in a co-education system or on the streets. They develop such attitudes due to illiteracy, and poverty is the major cause of illiteracy. Nevertheless, there are parents who support education for their daughters; however, poverty makes it difficult for them to educate all their children in formal schools. Lloyd, Mete and Grant (2007: 102) stress these reasons for the disadvantaged condition of girls' education: the traditional restrictions on female education are strongest among the poorest and least educated people, most of whom reside in rural areas.

The evidence shows that the illiteracy of parents contributes strongly to the low literacy rate of female education, which cannot be improved without parents' guidance and involvement in the overall wellbeing of daughters.

Illiteracy and poverty make parents favour the seclusion of girls, and compel them to want no schooling or separate institutions for girls. This wish for separation is the theme of the next section 4.3.2.

4.3.2. *The purdah (segregation) system*

In the North West of Pakistan, without any concrete reason to send their daughters to schools parents remain reluctant to do so. Arai and Tabata (2006: 7) predict and verify distinct reasons: "it is unnecessary for job [sic], school is too far, and education can be done at home." Their survey identifies *purdah* as the major reason for girls not attending school. Due to poverty, people in the rural areas cannot afford transportation facilities to separate schools for their daughters. And girls do not like to attend distant schools, due to "Eve teasing" on the way; this has been confirmed by conducting interviews with the girls who abandon schools at an early age because of boys' taunts and ironic comments (Khan, Azhar & Shah, 2011; Arai & Tabata, 2006). Thus

²¹ www.aserpakistan.org

enforcement of the strict *purdah* system provides some explanation for girls' deprivation of education.

Due to strict Pakhtun and Hindko cultural and religious customs, say Ahmad & Neman (2013), people in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, especially Peshawar, favour *purdah* strongly. Going to school is considered by many to be a sin, which is not acceptable for the family members especially the father and brothers (Khan, Azhar & Shah, 2011: 6). Considering home the safest place for females (for details, see 4.2.1) reduces their chances of using their basic right to get education. These attitudes seem to be deeply rooted in the social and cultural set-up, "in the rural patriarchal mind-set, and in misconstruing religious ideology and practices" (Ahmad & Neman, 2013: 214).

Many studies demonstrate these socio-economic obstacles (for details, in 4.2.2), including cultural norms and poverty as well as religious factors, which have devastating impacts on female literacy (see e.g. Asadullah and Wahhaj, 2012; Chowdury, 1993; Arai & Tabata, 2006; Noureen & Awan, 2011; Bradley & Saigol, 2012). Explaining various facets of *purdah*, Chowdury (1993: 22-23) reflects on the seclusion of women in the rural setting of Islamic society in South Asia,

Purdah practices have made it difficult for women in South Asia to engage in public, political or economic processes, which involve unrelated men, effectively excluding them from village institutions ... In most rural families, education is not considered necessary for females. Often religious education is the only education a female child receives, as knowledge of the scriptures and religious regulations is considered an asset in a girl of marriageable age. (cited from Ahmad & Neman, 2013: 214).

Challenging these cultural dogmas and attitudes along with taking firm action against parents, who are responsible for denying children's basic right to education, would help to achieve gender equality in all matters of life.

The findings of Ahmad & Neman (2013) reveal the balanced attitude of some parents, especially mothers, towards girls' education. They do not consider *purdah* in Islam an obstacle on the way to getting education. Islam preaches equal rights of education for all. The last prophet emphasises that no difference should be maintained in treating boys and girls at home as well as school.

The strict *purdah* system isolates girls from their peer group, and parents engage them in housekeeping to get them ready for marriage rather than providing education at a young age, an issue to be presented in 4.3.3.

4.3.3. Educational attainment and the age of marriage

Early marriage is one of the key cultural factors which are closely connected with girls' education. On this issue the Kids Rights Report (2013: 14) indicates the findings of United Nations Population Fund [on] *Marrying Too Young: End Child Marriage* (UNFPA) (2012) that in the next period of ten years 14.2 million girls aged less than 18 years would be married every year, which means that 39,000 girls would get married daily. If the same practice continues, the number will rise to 15.1 million girls per year who will be early marriage victims.

Arai and Tabata (2006) conducted interviews with educational officers and school heads in the Swat valley of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The findings reveal that early marriage is one of the social factors which stop education for girls or discontinue it at basic levels. In rural areas, discontinuing girls' education for the sake of marriage leads them to total seclusion from the formal educational system (UNWomen, 2013). Ahmad and Neman (2013) find that mothers show two different types of attitudes towards daughters' education. One group favours girls' education; they believe that education brings moral attitudes as well as good conduct and prepares girls for future challenges, while the other group strongly resists this idea and supports marrying daughters off at a young age. In June 2014, the English newspaper *The Guardian* reports that "Sindh has the highest rate of child marriage of any province in Pakistan." The newspaper further states that the Council of Islamic Ideology (CII) stated that a girl could be married as soon as she reached puberty. While its findings are not binding on the government, its influence on religious leaders is considerable.

Given this fact, as the newspaper reports that "a new law that prevents under-18s, irrespective of gender, from getting married was passed unanimously by the provincial assembly in Sindh, raising hopes for the future for girls." People in rural areas of the country are unaware of this act restraining child marriage. Families in rural areas are not aware of the functioning of national identity cards, therefore they cannot easily access local government offices for registering their children's birth dates. Such ignorance creates long-term problems at the time of marriages, since many people do not know their ages as they are not registered in government records.

Without systematising the birth registration system, it is impossible to stop child marriages, and there is a dire need to check ages before allowing marriages.

Early marriages lead to lack of education, which causes infant mortality as well as domestic violence. Such associations are confirmed by Jensen and Thornton (2003:9): many women in developing countries, especially those with low levels of education living in rural areas of South Asia, are still likely to be forced into early marriage and childbearing. They are also especially prone to domestic violence.

The Guardian, tells the story of Mehwish, who got married when she was eight years old. She lives in Punjab, which is the chief economic centre of Pakistan after Karachi. She had to quit her school on the demand of her husband soon after her marriage day. But she showed her strong wish to continue her studies by continuously imploring her husband to allow her to join school again. Finally, he did so. But the school authorities did not allow her to rejoin: “married girls, they said, would ruin the environment for the other students.” So young Mehwish could not find a place to get education in order to become a better citizen. Mehwish’s story is very common. Many girls are children but compelled to enter adulthood through the culture of forced early marriage, which causes the end of girls’ education.

Domestic activities engage young married girls as well as unmarried girls, whose destiny is either their parents’ or their in-laws’ home. This domestic scene is presented in 4.3.4.

4.3.4. Household responsibilities

From research conducted in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Khan, Azhar and Shah (2011) note several reasons which impede girls’ education in Pakistan. Their results show that the main reason is poverty, which increases the rate of girls’ dropout from primary schools in rural areas. The families’ poor financial position compels them “to remove girls from school and engage them in either domestic activities or make them work” (Khan, Azhar & Shah, 2011: 4). During interviews with the teachers, researchers find that boys were not merely given priority in education but are also “given more food in their homes” (Khan, Azhar & Shah, 2011: 6). Usually, girls live in a disadvantaged state “while growing up at home” (ibid.).

The results of Ahmad and Neman's (2013) study reveal that household chores are the sole responsibility of daughters. Their evidence (interviews with mothers) shows that mothers always keep their daughters busy in domestic duties rather than facilitating their education. It is considered natural that only the girls have to perform domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry and serving younger siblings. Parents' attitudes are affected by senior members of the family (for details, in 4.3.1), mothers report that their mothers-in-law firmly forbid them from giving time to daughters for their homework; they (grandmothers) want them to remain engaged only in household chores rather than becoming enlightened through educating themselves. Such attitudes do not facilitate girls' education in general and make girls overburdened in many aspects. They have to finish household chores either before leaving for school in the morning or after coming back in the evening. Such a routine does not allow enough time for their studies and affects their school performance and final results, so that they lag behind, whereas boys, who are full-time students, often succeed with flying colours.

Researching in six rural areas of Mansehra and one urban area of Rawalpindi in Pakistan, Arshad (2008: 18) reports that in rural areas girls are engaged in extra work in addition to household chores, like "collecting firewood and fetching water, growing vegetables, raising and caring for domestic animals, and working in the fields." The time spent in the fields, according to Arshad (ibid.), is 120 hours per month. These additional activities put a double burden on girls. Although they contribute to the family business to a large extent, all the money earned goes into the hands of male family members. Consequently, the money and the profit earned are considered to be the father's, husband's, brother's and son's income for the family instead of that of the daughter, wife and sister.

Household responsibilities and unpaid labour satisfies girls' families and the people in their surrounding, while education, they think, contaminate their minds; this issue is presented in 4.3.5.

4.3.5. Girls' education: corrupting influence

In their qualitative analysis of mothers' attitudes towards girls' education in the village of Mera in Peshawar, Ahmad and Neman (2013: 213) find that mothers are not willing "to send their daughters to school because of the belief that education and school could have a corrupting influence on them." It is thought that such an influence

exposes young girls to Western advanced education and therefore corrupts their innocent minds. The extremists, the Taliban, burned several schools and banned education especially for girls in 2012, as is evident from their attack on Malala (for details, in 4.1.4) A similar situation has been observed in Balochistan. In May 2014, the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* reported that the heads and administrators of all private schools in Panjgur, Balochistan received a letter from the Taliban saying that disobedience against the Islamic virtues of girls' modesty is preached in English-medium private schools, which corrupt the young minds. They warned all coeducation schools as well as separate schools for girls to ban education for girls. Not only this, they spread this message to taxi drivers, as well as van drivers, who were engaged in transport services for girls. They threatened these men with horrible ends if they continued their services. Parents also received threats, and were warned against sending their daughters to English language centres and institutions. Welcoming martyrdom for themselves, *Dawn* reports, they pledged "to stop the spread of vulgar Western education in Balochistan." Shortly after spreading the word of terror in the letter addressed to school heads, parents and drivers, they bombed one school and burned a school van, which was used for girls' transport, in order to spread fear among the local masses.

Such threats are alarming, given the fact that Panjgur has remained a key seat of learning in Balochistan. Those groups that are afraid of women's education have an agenda: if women are not discouraged at this point of time, they will dominate in decision making in Baloch society; this would destroy 'Baloch honour.' Their views are reported in the Pakistani newspaper *The Baloch Hal* in November 2014.

In addition to studying disparaged status in religious, economic, social and cultural spaces, it is important to explore supply side factors for girls' education. This is the theme of the next section.

4.4. Supply side factors: school and education system

The factors related to school and education systems include the shortage of schools and teachers, and poor amenities. These are considered next.

4.4.1. Lack of schools for girls

Whilst there are many debates and some agreement about the need to capitalise girls' schools, the evidence shows that there is no prominent investment in order to increase the number of schools for girls in Pakistan. Due to the non-availability of any recent survey, I rely on the Economic Survey of Pakistan 2000-2001 conducted by the Government of Pakistan, which showed 106,900 primary schools for boys and only 58,800 primary schools for girls in the country (cited in Qureshi, 2003: 57). This ratio shows the debilitating condition of girls' education in Pakistan.

The present condition is far worse than it was in 2000-2001, because the earthquake in 2005 jolted the whole province and damaged many buildings including houses, schools, the university, hospitals and other physical infrastructures of different foreign organizations such as, NGOs, especially in the district of Mansehra. Those which were left were destroyed by militants' attacks mainly in 2008-2009, which left the province Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with devastating after-effects including extreme poverty as well as higher female illiteracy. In February 2012, the Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* reported that girls were suffering in rural Peshawar because fifty government girls' primary schools were closed due to the shortage of female teachers. While talking to *Dawn*, the educationist pointed out that there was a need to appoint 400 female teachers in the rural areas of Peshawar alone. One problem is that female teachers do not like to stay in rural areas, for security reasons as well as their pay, which is fifteen per cent lower than in urban areas.

In March, 2014, the Pakistani newspaper *The Express Tribune* reported that the non-existence of government middle and secondary schools for girls in Judba, in the Torghar district, compelled parents and their daughters to seek admission in co-education private schools. In sermons as well as public meetings the tribal leaders belonging to the faction *Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl* started criticising parents for sending their daughters to co-educational schools. This they called un-Islamic and against the tribes' honour. The parents were pressurized to keep their daughters at home. As a result, around sixty girls were forced to discontinue their education, due to the non-availability of government middle and secondary schools for girls in the area. Besides, the availability of female teaching staff is crucial for promoting girls' education in the conservative society of Pakistan; this issue is discussed in 4.4.2.

4.4.2. Shortage of female teachers

Conservative societies like Pakistan do not appreciate co-education systems in general; for this reason there is a need to train women for teaching purposes. The available girls' schools in rural areas are not working efficiently, due to the shortage of female teachers. Not only this, the socio-cultural norms (for details, see 4.3) also hamper girls' schooling in rural areas. To secure trained teachers, educating girls should be prioritized. Without this, it is difficult to fill the gap in trained women teachers. In this context, the Economic Survey of Pakistan (2000-2001) reported that there were 236,000 male primary teachers for boys' schools, while there were 137,900 female primary teachers for girls' schools. This number shows an almost 50 per cent gender difference in the availability of teachers in schools.

The availability of trained female teachers would be helpful to improving the enrolment rate of girls in schools. Besides, evidence shows that teachers' gender affects the performance of girls and boys in schools (Kuecken & Valfort, 2012; Chudgar & Sankar, 2008, Qureshi, 2003). The Pakistan National Survey results for 1995 show the highest female and male students' composite score for those who are taught by a female teacher, whereas female and male students taught by male teachers show lower scores, as shown in the following table:

Table 4.2. Pakistan Student's Composite Scores according to Teacher's Guide

Teacher's Gender	Girls	Boys	Total
Female	63	71	64
Male	50	59	55

Source: Determinants of Primary Students' Achievements; National Survey Results; MSU; Islamabad; 1995 (cited in Qureshi, 2003).

The quality of government primary schooling in Pakistan does not meet the required criteria for standard primary schooling. Major concerns are the number of teachers allotted to each school, as well as their qualifications. In May 2003 Pakistan's Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNESCO reports on the quality of primary education, showing that on average of 2.35 teachers have been allotted to each school (cited in Qureshi, 2003). Generally, teachers' qualifications are either matric (ten years' education) or F.A (twelve years' education) with a basic teaching certificate. In rural areas, ten years' education is not required for primary school teachers, and even less than matric is acceptable. Rote learning is mainly adopted for teaching, instead of newer and more advanced techniques (for details, in 3.3.4). No process for monitoring and guidance in teacher training and workshops exists. Training sessions and workshops seem more like tea parties rather than educational

training. Teachers, having such educational backgrounds, are unable to teach effectively their assigned classes, with upto a hundred children who range from third to sixth grade in the same area. In addition to this, such difficult tasks cannot be performed in an environment which is not conducive to teaching and instruction purposes. The absence of motivational programmes to build the interest of well qualified female teachers in teaching limits the competencies of teachers, and therefore they are not in a position to provide incentives to the students as well as to maintain their own interest in the learning process.

In addition, teacher absenteeism is another problem, which is especially great in rural areas. Qureshi's (2003) survey, in the outskirts of Islamabad, showed that there were no teachers in four schools during school time, and some students were engaged in reading activities managed by the class representatives. This happens mostly in girls' schools, due to the double burden of household as well as professional activities. Although women may contribute to the family income by working as teachers, household chores (for details, see 4.3.4) are considered their sole responsibility. Teacher absenteeism adversely affects students' achievement and provokes student absenteeism, which leads to weakening the educational system as well as staff professional capabilities.

According to the Annual Status of Education (ASER) report (2010), "[t]eachers are often positioned due to political patronage and not their qualifications or skills." As a result, limited opportunities among the talented younger generation have been available, rather than the advanced chances that could help to change the current pathetic scenario of female education.

Essentially, effective education cannot take place without physical facilities that are necessary for educational institutions. This problem is to be discussed in 4.4.3.

4.4.3. Physical amenities

The Ministry of Education in collaboration with UNESCO reports data related to physical facilities available for government schooling in Pakistan in the article: EFA and Pakistan: Where do we stand (n.d.)? This article gives the following facts:

- Thousands of primary schools have no buildings;
- 79% of schools are without electricity;
- 46% of schools do not have drinking water facilities;

- 64% of schools do not have latrines for students;
- 54% of schools are without a boundary wall.

Besides the above mentioned poor conditions, there is a shortage of furniture and an inadequate number of classrooms (Saeed & Wain, 2011: 105). Generally, the physical infrastructure for primary schools in rural areas is composed of buildings with two walls, where six classes attend their lessons in a yard. Only two teachers are provided to teach them; the teacher-student ratio is 1:40 per class, reports *Dawn* in February, 2014. For using toilets, girls have to go either to their own homes or to the fields. This is the major reason for female teachers' as well as girls' absenteeism from schools.

Research indicates that the physical facilities in high and higher secondary schools are better compared to primary schools in urban areas (Saeed and Wain, 2011). However, big differences are noted between rural and urban areas, as shown in the following table.

Table 4.3. Schools without amenities

	Without Buildings	Without Electricity	Without Drinking Water	Without Toilets for students	Without Boundary Wall
Total	13,466	74,122	46,994	65,351	50,573
Rural Areas	12,426	69,583	39,910	52,717	47,730
Urban Areas	1,041	4,539	3,232	3,589	2,482

Source: AEPN-NEMIS Pakistan Education Statistics (1997-98), 1999, Islamabad (cited in Qureshi, 2003: 59).

Due to the shortage of head teachers for primary schools in rural and urban areas, these problems are not addressed properly. It is not possible to ensure good quality education in such a non-conducive instructional environment. Also, compared to public sector schools, the physical infrastructure of private schools is better; a sufficient number of classrooms is available, and the teacher-student ratio is also adequate. Unlike the toilet shortages in public sector schools, private schools provide separate toilets for girl students as well as for female teachers.

4.5. Summary

In view of the religious, gender, economic, social, cultural and supply-side factors affecting women education in Pakistan, it is important to remember that despite encountering many obstacles, some women and girls are attempting to get education within their limited resources, though they are not acquiring advanced skills. One

problem is that old ideas that might have served the patriarchy in the past have been given a religious colouring, which leads to the disruption of the whole system, preventing the systematic improvement of women's education. To clarify the problem, I shall look at people's attitudes towards female higher education that requires proficiency in English. The methodology that I have adopted for assessing those attitudes is discussed in the following part of this dissertation.

5. Research methodology

This chapter discusses the combination of methodologies employed for this research. Both qualitative field research and a quantitative method have been used (Driscoll, Appiah-Yeboah, Salib & Rupert, 2007). Qualitative field research is practised while collecting data, which encompasses the cross-sectional survey method, institutional ethnography and participatory observation. The cross-sectional survey method includes questionnaires and qualitative interviewing (Kuntjara, 2001; Rubin & Rubin, 1995, 2012; Lofland, Snow, Anderson & Lofland, 2006; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In order to understand the pitfalls, it is necessary to elucidate the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative field research, which is to be discussed in the first (5.1.1) and second parts (5.2.9) of this chapter (Babbie 2001, 2010). It also considers the importance of validity and reliability (Wardhaugh, 2010; Babbie 2010). The second part (5.2) deals with the research design framed for this research. The research design combines the aforementioned approaches. First of all, I discuss the qualitative field research method.

5.1. Methods

5.1.1. *Qualitative field research*

Data collected about a target population at one point constitutes a cross-sectional survey. A cross-sectional survey method can be used to study both individuals and groups. The individual persons act as respondents. They also function as units of analysis. Two instruments, the questionnaire and the interview survey, are important for collecting data. Constructing good questions is the first step towards reliable and valuable survey research.

The questionnaire

Questionnaires usually give the impression of being collections of questions only, but respondents' specific attitudes can also be elicited by short statements with which to agree or disagree. According to Brown, Rensis Likert established the *Likert scale* to formalize this process, using the Likert format (2011:10-11). Compared to field research, the artificiality of a survey plan may limit its validity. Sometimes

researchers use the Likert scale with some particular statements. The respondents' desired responses must be considered with reference to the researcher's objectives (see Chapter 1, 1.2.4) while constructing questions. The concrete definition of the item in question is assumed to determine the validity of the response.

Reliability is determined by presenting all the subjects with a standardized questionnaire. The clear framing of questions should reduce the uncertainty or unreliability of responses. It is desirable for the researcher to keep several research methods at hand for researching a given topic. A broad awareness of the shortcomings of survey research (For details, see 5.1.1 and 5.2.9), along with the use of other methods of research, is helpful.

Qualitative research paradigms, qualitative interviewing, institutional ethnography and participatory observation, are examples of this broad set of methods and are elaborated in the following.

Qualitative interviewing

The aim of qualitative interviewing is for the researcher to get absorbed in the situation rather than "just obtaining surface data" (Kuntjara, 2001: 35). Elucidating the difference between structured and less structured interviews, Rubin and Rubin say that the structured interview uses procedures "[...] prepared in advance and locked in stone", while the less structured interview is similar to qualitative interviewing (1995:43). As compared to the structured interview, "[q]ualitative interviewing design is flexible, iterative, and continuous" (1995:43). Less structured or qualitative interviewing moves constantly along, with suitable changes in the list of questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2012). Qualitative interviewing is more helpful in eliciting attitudes than structured interviewing. In less structured interviewing, the ground is open for interviewees to share their experiences.

Field research encourages qualitative or less structured interviewing, because of the flexible method of questioning. Like the survey interviewer, it is important for the qualitative interviewer to have a clear idea of what is to be asked while interacting with the respondent. Unlike working on a survey, the qualitative interviewer has a clear generic design for the questions, but he or she does not formulate specifically limited questions with a particular lexis in a specific sequence. The broad domain provides freedom for the researcher or interviewer to conduct interviews smoothly.

The interviewer makes changes in the words and word order according to varying situations. The interviewee or respondent speaks more, and the interviewer speech takes not more than five percent of the time. Interviewees may repeat their answers. The researcher can elicit personal experience, often with the help of the subtle use of words.

Qualitative field interviewing forces one to adopt the role of a natural investigator, that was explained by Lofland, Snow, Anderson & Lofland (2006). The “quintessential student role” must be taken by the “naturalistic investigator,” to grasp the primary and evident facets of the specific situation (Lofland et al., 2006: 69). Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) propose seven steps in fully designing the interviewing process. They are: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, verifying and reporting (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009:102). All these steps can be improved with practice, which can be done at any convenient time. In some cases, qualitative interviewing has limits along with benefits (see 5.2.9). As well as qualitative interviewing, institutional ethnography contributes to the current study.

Institutional ethnography

Smith (1978a) originally established the approach of institutional ethnography in order to become familiar with women’s daily experiences by decoding the “power relations” that shape their experiences in different societies. (Reid & Frisby, 2008: 95). Smith and other sociologists are of the view that inquiring about how women lead their lives can help to uncover what traditional researches could not discover about unprivileged groups.

The institutional ethnographer starts with the experiences of the subjects, and continues to gradually unfold “the institutional power relations” that shape and regulate their individual experiences or practices (Babbie, 2001:287). Here (in this thesis) I have an opportunity to show plainly the deficient aspects of previous investigation in the North West part of Pakistan (for details, see Chapter 6). Walby (2005) focuses on institutional ethnography, and considers personal experiences as the doorsteps of entry to institutions, which, he says, “are put together by various people working with texts in different locations, and are therefore connected by work-text-work sequences (2005: 162).” The texts play a prominent role in the institutional organization by transferring the surveillance of agents in different locales. They shift

continuously as texts are modified due to modified personal experiences. Babbie connects personal experiences, as the “microlevel”, with the institutions as the “macrolevel” (2001:287).

The link between these microlevels is discussed by Walby (2005:161) in the following manner. He elucidates “ruling relations” (macrolevel) as conversational, supervisory and trained. They “lift women specifically and people generally out of their embodied/local ways of knowing and lead to a bifurcation of consciousness, thus [to] a radical insight.”

Moving from the doorstep of personal experiences into the social relations of settings helps researchers to explore further the causes of subordinated groups’ harassment. These can be further investigated by participatory observation, which is useful for a native researcher in the field.

Participatory observation

The participatory observer is defined as follows in a major study of research methods:

The ‘complete participant’ is a researcher who takes on an insider role in the group being studied, and maybe who does not even declare that he or she is a researcher [...]. The ‘participant-as-observer’, as its name suggests, is part of the social life of participants and documents and records what is happening for research purposes. The ‘observer-as-participant’, like the participant as observer, is known as a researcher to the group, and maybe has less extensive contact with the group. With the ‘complete observer’ participants do not realize that they are being observed (e.g. using a one-way mirror), hence this is another form of covert research (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007: 404).

Such observation enables the researcher to act as a resource for the subordinated or deprived groups in society, like women’s groups in Pakistan, and has become common in third world research, to discuss the social issues of suppressed groups. This kind of research changes the role of subjects from being mere objects of inquiry. The supporters of participatory observation eliminate the line between the inquirer or researcher and what is inquired or researched. Although the subjects still act as objects that are affected by the research, the elimination of the sharp distinction from the researchers may allow them play a major role in its design. This paradigm implicitly spreads the notion of self-awareness through its impact on the social setting

and stress on local information. Moreover, the supporters of participatory observation support egalitarian practice in the society, which combats gender inequalities (Babbie, 2010). Participatory observation raises the status of respondents from being the objects (what is to be researched) of research, so that the subjects are themselves researchers. The status of researcher helps them to acquire power with the help of knowledge. They gain power by becoming aware of the unequal impact of institutional norms in the society.

While these methods are useful in a mixed method approach, we need to understand the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative field research.

Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative field research

It is important to mention general strengths and weaknesses of qualitative field research in order to understand strengths and drawbacks of mixed method approach used in this study.

Qualitative field research has important strengths. According to Babbie (2001, 2010), it is operative for inspecting social development with the passage of time, along with changing approaches and attitudes. Unlike the survey method, such field research cannot be condemned for its artificial nature or as research with ready-made tools. Compared to other methods, field research can be carried out at any time, with only a notebook and pen. Field research does not require other tools. Other methods sometimes require costly supplementary tools, as well as a team to accomplish the research project. Thus the design of field research is more flexible when compared to other social-scientific research methods. However, sometimes field research may also require a strong budget for a group of expert observers as well as recording equipment. Sometimes it requires visits to places where entry is subjected to heavy payments, like recreational places e.g., zoos etc.

However qualitative field research is not excluded from weaknesses. It is difficult for qualitative field researchers to compose statistical reports based on a large sample. Their observations will not provide reliable approximations for future attitudes to any social process. Qualitative field research is better for studying the formation of social attitudes and mindsets or outlooks. Concerns about the validity and reliability of field research need further consideration.

Validity and reliability

It is important to check validity and reliability, i.e. “[...] whether or not the sociolinguist is really measuring what s/he is claiming to be measuring, [...]” (Wardhaugh, 2010:160). The artificial nature of surveys and experimental measurements makes field research distinct from them in its nature. This distinction is made on the basis of the validity which it provides with the help of observations. Field research uncovers new avenues of both qualitative and quantitative research. Moreover, the exhaustive elaboration of the content of questions can ensure the greater validity of such research (see 5.2.6). Reliability can be measured with the assistance of questionnaires and tests. Researchers must be aware of the validity and reliability of their (genuine) linguistic data. Wardhaugh defines reliability as “[the objectivity and consistency of] measurements of the actual linguistic data [...]” (2010: 160). Furthermore, Babbie (2010: 328) calls field research more “personal,” because consistency cannot be measured by the observer’s experiences or interpretations alone. A “[c]omparative” study can be made to draw the distinction between different extremes while observing different attitudes in the society (Babbie, 2010:328). However, field research is considered to be the dominant method that may share both the strengths and shortcomings of other methods. It is considered important for the study of attitudes towards the learning of English by women.

Discussing only the qualitative method would not be sufficient; in order to design a research method for this study, it is important to consider the quantitative method, though not in detail. This is discussed in 5.1.2.

5.1.2. Quantitative method

Quantitative sociolinguistics is relevant to measuring sociolinguistic variations. It is important to measure different factors and their impact on the participants or respondents in a study (Siniscalco & Auriat, 2005). The relevant social factors are age groups, gender, social hierarchies and classes. Although the data do not obviously appear in a quantitative form, it is possible to collect them in a quantitative manner (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). This can be done through designing the questionnaire with the inclusion of a rating scale. In this way, the non-quantitative data (attitudes, opinions, beliefs) can be converted into a quantitative format and can be analysed

quantitatively as well as qualitatively (Driscoll; Appiah-Yeboah; Salib; & Rupert, 2007; Morse & Niehaus, 2009; Creswell, 2012) .

In this study, I have collected data related to attitudes towards women learning English. These attitudes certainly do not originally appear in a quantitative way. However, a questionnaire can be designed that asks people to choose one option on a rating scale for questions/statements (for example, “Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English”). The options are ‘strongly agree’, ‘agree’, ‘not sure’, ‘disagree’, and ‘strongly disagree.’ The researcher gives numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5) to the answers.

Since these methods are, as I say, useful in a mixed method approach, they are adopted for the research method for this dissertation, which is to be discussed in the next section (5.2).

5.2. Research design

The second part of this chapter deals with the research design of this study of an unprivileged group of women in Pakistani society. The qualitative, quantitative and participatory observation methods were all considered important while designing the research method for this study. Here the major research method employed was qualitative, and the minor method was quantitative. The qualitative research method comprised cross-sectional survey research, which used both questionnaires and interviews. The questionnaires were closed-ended, and clearly structured. The interviews were conducted in a flexible manner, keeping in mind three factors affecting the selection of participants and their attitude towards women learning English. These factors were the numbers of males and females, their age range: between 22-32 and over 32, and the social class of participants. The minor method was the quantitative research method, which employed the *Likert Scale*. This scale is the common quantitative method used by survey researchers (see Figure 5.1). It helps researchers to quantify the responses of participants and elicit their attitudes, with the help of a 5-point scale in the matrix form. I did not use the “forced choice Likert Scale”²² that includes only four or six choices, eliminating the “not sure” or “neutral” choices. Here, the quantitative method included frequency counts for each response

²² http://www.researchproposalsforhealthprofessionals.com/likert_scale.htm

for the participants, grouped according to gender, age range: between 22-32 or over 32, and social class. The graphs are presented and numbers indicated in Chapter 6.

My reasons for employing a quantitative method now follow.

The three functional elements of this study are (1) prevailing gender-related attitudes towards female education and literacy in English, (2) levels of literacy in English, and (3) raw and relative numbers--these are important, because in any society, majority opinions tend to prevail, although qualitative elements like 'dominance' or 'importance within the community' cannot be ignored. Between the possibilities of a statistical analysis, a calculation of percentages and a straightforward enumeration of responses, I have decided to give numbers only, since the interpretation of the quantitative elements of this study rests on the mass or weight of opinion in a given context. I have converted the raw numbers into graphs to make for easier graphic representation. Outlying respondents and exceptions to the main mass of attitudes and opinions hardly matter in such an interpretation, since they represent largely unheard minorities.

Why did I not use statistical procedures like ANOVA etc.? The reason is the need for attitude analysis. People chose options from the Likert scale: "strongly disagree," "disagree," "not sure," "agree" and "strongly agree." They did not choose exact values like 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. Sometimes it is difficult for subjects or participants to differentiate among these options clearly in order to show their opinion. So I think it is better to avoid a statistical standpoint for the analysis section. My study focuses on the Likert scale response data, but not as an interval data²³ because the subjects or respondents sometimes cannot apprehend the difference between the different options, as mentioned earlier. As Bertram (CPSC 681 – Topic Report: 2) comments, using a "statistical standpoint" with such "Likert scale response data" is "dangerous."

The following Figure 5.1 shows a comprehensive map of the design employed for this research.

²³ Interval data measures accurate differences using median, mode and standard deviation. Taken from <http://www.mymarketresearchmethods.com/types-of-data-nominal-ordinal-interval-ratio/>

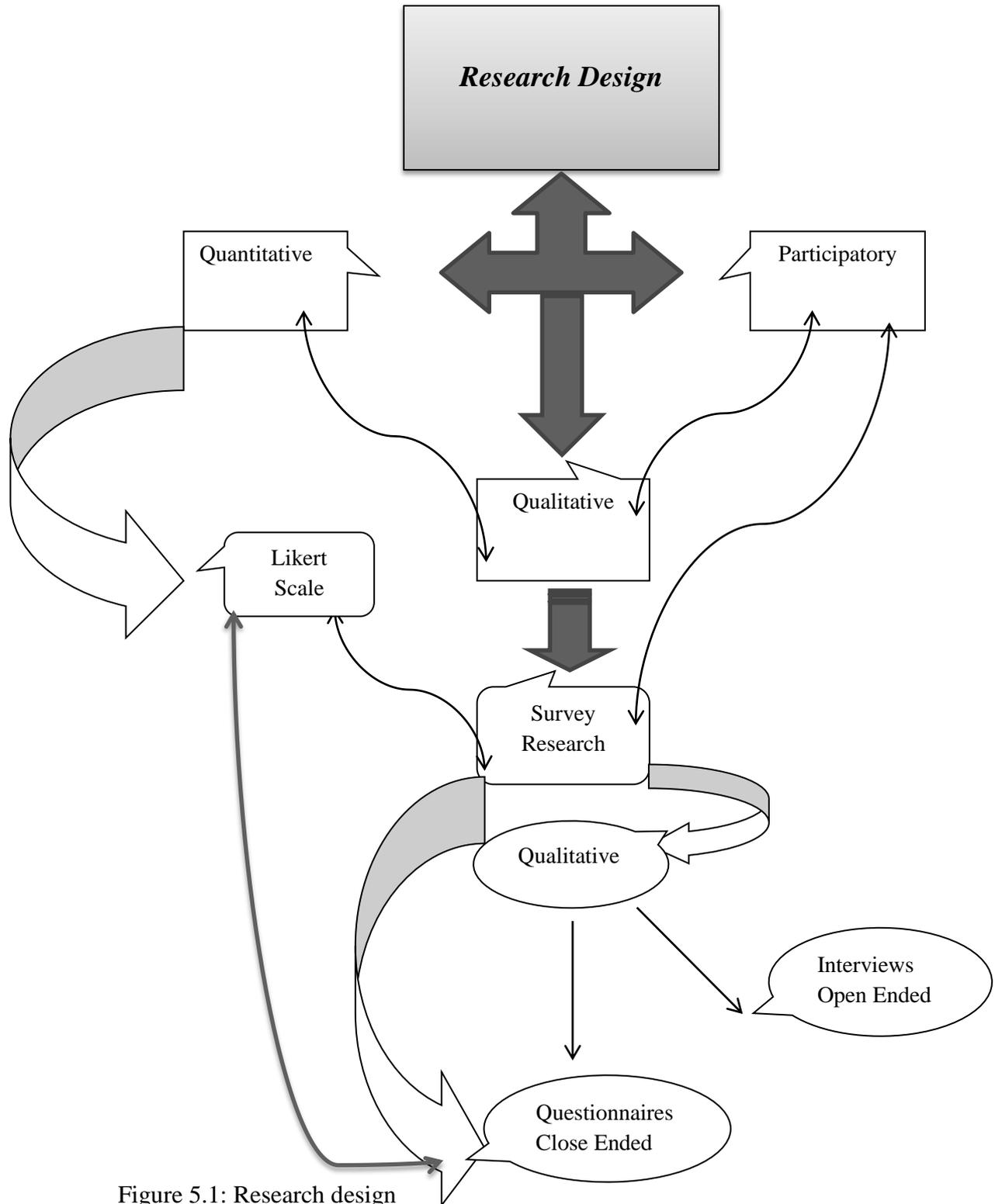


Figure 5.1: Research design

5.2.1. Study subjects and participants

I collected questionnaires, interviews and observations from November, 2011 to March, 2012 in the Mansehra region located in the North West part of Pakistan. I prepared and administered a survey questionnaire for the study participants, related to women learning English. Survey research was an appropriate method for my purpose, and uses large samples to collect first-hand data. Extra care was taken to select samples (from Mansehra) for interviews which would allow generalization to the relevant population of other regions of Pakistan. The accessible population was available in Mansehra city, in the Hazara region of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. With purposive sampling in mind, I obtained a list of the members of the accessible population before selecting the sample. The listing of the accessible population from which I selected my sample formed the sampling frame. The sampling frame comprised a total of 122 questionnaires, in both English and Urdu. I had to translate them to get the responses of the people who have only a surface knowledge of English. I received a total of a hundred responses.

I visited villages in the region of Mansehra to find subjects from the rural class for the questionnaire as well as for interviews. For urban class subjects, I visited Mansehra city and Hazara University, Mansehra. I started with a short interview before giving each respondent a questionnaire or conducting a detailed interview. I chose them on the basis of their occupation and geographical location. For the rural class, I had to go to several shops and farmsteads in villages to distribute questionnaires as well as conduct interviews. I invited some respondents to my home in order to conduct interviews. For the questionnaires, I chose respondents from Hazara University due to the age limit i.e. between 22 and 32 years. Most of them were students, studying in various departments. Another reason for choosing students was that they would need to change their old-fashioned attitudes to traditional culture for the sake of their future lives, but it was also important to know the attitudes of villagers. I chose the villagers on the basis of their occupation and location.

For the questionnaire, I received responses from sixty-two male and thirty-eight female participants. I divided my sample into two classes: 1) urban and 2) rural; and two age groups: 1) between 22-32 years and 2) over 32 years (see Chapter 6). The rural and urban proportions of males and females were random. Generally, the number of rural female respondents was greater than that of urban females, whereas

the distribution of male members in the rural and urban classes was equal (thirty-one each). The number of female participants in the rural class was twenty-five, and that of female participants in the urban class was thirteen. Seventy-nine respondents were aged 22-32 years. Most of the urban class participants between 22-32 years were university students. Nineteen respondents were over 32 years. Two respondents did not mention their age group. One was from the male rural class and the other from the female urban class. Those participants who did not mention their age groups are denoted as -99 in the graphs (see Chapter 6).

The urban class was further divided into two classes, the upper class and the middle class on the basis of their mental approach towards female liberty, but they are combined in the analysis of questionnaire responses. There is no significant difference in the living style of the upper and middle classes. The upper class is more advanced than the middle class in terms of their mental approach towards female liberty.

I conducted fourteen semi-structured interviews; five interviewees were male, aged between 50 and 60 years, and belonged to the rural class, two males from the urban class, one aged between 50 and 60 years and one aged between 20 and 30 years, five females aged between 50 and 60 years from the rural class and two females from the urban class, one aged between 50 and 60 years and one aged between 20 and 30 years. The rural class is limited to the Urdu or Hindko languages, whereas most of the urban class participants communicate in English or Urdu. Two of the urban participants lived in peripheral areas, and they had access to the internet, newspapers and television, whereas those in the rural class lived in villages and they did not have easy access to these media. It is important to mention the research ethics applied as part of the research process; these are to be presented in 5.2.2.

5.2.2. *Ethical considerations*

Following the rules of research ethics, I asked all the participants whether they agreed that I might include the factors of their age, gender and class. All the participants allowed me to include these factors. This personal information is always anonymous.

While these steps are, as I said, essential in the research process, they lead us to further consideration of validity, reliability and consistency. This is discussed in 5.2.3.

5.2.3. *Validity, reliability and consistency of the questionnaire*

Validity of the questionnaire

I had the English version translated into Urdu and checked by the department of Urdu, Hazara University, Mansehra. The Urdu version was re-translated into English to check the authenticity of the translation. The questionnaire was validated by seeking the opinion of experts. After preparing it, I consulted the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Air University, Islamabad, Pakistan and a faculty member of the department of Urdu, Hazara University, Mansehra. They were asked to evaluate whether the items were sufficient, suitable and inclusive. Following experts' opinion and suggestions regarding the questionnaire, I improved some questions by the addition of relevant points and the omission of ambiguous and confusing statements. The translation and re-translation of the questionnaire confirmed the validity of both versions.

Reliability and consistency of the questionnaire - Cronbach's Alpha

I collected random data for 100 subjects. Cronbach's Alpha procedure was conducted to check the reliability and consistency of the questionnaire. Santos (1999) defines Cronbach's Alpha: "Cronbach's alpha determines the internal consistency or average correlation of items in a survey instrument to gauge its reliability." Following the hierarchical order, first the Cronbach's Alpha was calculated for all twenty-four questions, scoring 0.738 (See Appendix 13). This showed the internal *consistency* of items, thus representing the reliability of the questionnaire. It also revealed that the items of the questionnaire were suitable for the objectives of the research. A total of 100 cases was chosen. Four cases were excluded automatically while calculating Cronbach's Alpha because they did not answer all the questions. Case number 77 did not answer Q(7), Q(8), Q(16), Q(18) and Q(20). Case number 58 did not answer Q(16). Case number 21 did not answer Q(18). Case number 39 did not answer Q(18). There are some missing values, which are shown as -99 in the graphs (see Chapter 6) on the advice of the statistician in the department of statistics, Freie Universitaet Berlin. The overall Cronbach's Alpha score showed that the questionnaire was valid and the relationship between questions or items was consistent. The internal

consistency was determined by measuring the Alpha for all, and it showed that the items were relevant to the basic concerns of the thesis.

5.2.4. Likert scale

A difference between “disagree” and “strongly disagree” could be shown in order to know the intensity of opinions. The five point Likert scale is traditionally used to show the strength of responses. After all, we might feel generally in agreement with something (“agree”) or do so vehemently (“strongly agree”). With social issues such as female education (which are sensitive in some parts of the country) I would expect degrees of reactions, some average, some strong.

On the advice of statistician in FU Statistics department, while transferring data to SPSS work sheet I numbered each Likert scale options according to the negative and positive nature of questions, and then formulated graphs. It was important to number Likert scale options for each question. I think this has changed the order.

5.2.5. Pilot study

The pilot study for this research was conducted on twenty subjects with whom I pre-tested the questionnaire. “A good piloting involves selecting a sample, negotiating access, delivering the instrument, calculating response rates and analyzing the results in the same way as aimed for the final study” (Gorard, 2003, cited from Hashwani, 2008: 125). To ensure that the questionnaire worked effectively, 20 participants were randomly selected from the university. Their responses were different from what rural class males and females responded. The students were introduced to the research purpose and then asked to complete the questionnaire. They were also asked to give comments to improve it. At every stage, the students were asked to request the clarification of anything which they did not understand. The participants asked the meanings of difficult words: “fluent”, “domains”, “conventional”, “essential”. They suggested simplifying these by using “good”, “professions”, “traditional”, “important.” The participants’ feedback was beneficial in recognizing the relevant vocabulary of this particular age group. This revision “further added to the face validity of the item constructs” (Hashwani, 2008: 125).

Simplifying difficult words after the pilot study led to the final design of the questionnaire, which presents themes which are to be discussed in 5.2.7.

5.2.6. *Design of the questionnaire survey and presentation of themes in the questionnaire*

Design of the questionnaire survey

The standardized questionnaire provides data in the same fashion from all subjects. The first part collects personal information about the participants. The second part consists of statements related to different aspects of attitudes towards women learning English. I used the five-point Likert scale (for details of the Likert scale, see 5.1.1). To get responses, I preferred statements to questions. Both can be made interesting and flexible while preparing the items. I also chose closed-ended questions from the two options of closed-ended and open-ended questions. Closed-ended questions were more suitable for my research because “they permit[ted] the inclusion of more variables [factors] in a research study” (Siniscalco & Auriat, 2005: 23). I included the factors of age group, gender and class. “[T]he format [...] facilitates the respondent to answer [...] [more] questions in [...] [a] limited time [...]” (ibid.). Unlike responses to open-ended questions, closed-ended responses cannot be irrelevant to the core of the research and can be easily transferred to a computer. The questionnaire for this study was constructed using the format of the Likert scale as given below:

Likert Scale Format:

A	B	C	D	E
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree

The mode of short statements was selected, to make them clear so that the respondents could answer quickly. Subjects usually avoid making long and intricate statements. (Babbie, 2010: 260). I avoided these types of statements or questions, to make it possible for all the respondents to respond 100%. The Likert scale’s five response categories were used in the same way for all questions. A matrix (as above) was constructed to make completion quicker for the respondents. This format occupies more space than the other types of questionnaires, but helps to compare different responses to questions. It is easier for “the respondent as well as for the researcher” (Babbie, 2010: 264). I gave each answer a number on the basis of the nature of the question or statement, and constructed graphs in order to show the response levels. If ‘strongly agree’ indicated positivity towards the statement, then I numbered it 5,

whereas if it indicated negativity then I numbered it 1. The five options on the Likert scale range from 1 to 5. I thus acquired quantitative data on people's attitudes to women's English literacy in the Mansehra region.

There are some weaknesses in the use of matrix questions. Sometimes respondents may agree with all the positive statements, especially when they start with a particular motivation, "e.g. a liberal political perspective" (Babbie, 2010: 265). Respondents might respond to the statements after only a quick reading, "thereby giving the wrong answers" (ibid.). The problem can be solved by using statements expressing different aspects or themes in order to present a clear picture.

Presentation of themes in questionnaire

All the questions in the questionnaire indicate different themes that are pinpointed in the following tables. I have divided the questionnaire into six groups on the basis of the indicators or markers shown below in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Themes

Group no.	Question no.	Themes
1	1	self-assessment of competency
2	2-5	reported use of English
3	6	acquisition context
4	7-8	impact of English on values
5	9-20	general: impact on attitudes about women's social role
	12-14	specific: learning English for women and its impact
6	21-24	attitudes about change in the region and the impact of English

Next I elaborate on my expectations as a researcher while constructing a closed-ended questionnaire which uses a Likert scale. The questions, along with the indicators or themes, are divided into six groups, as shown in the separate tables below.

The first group includes only one question or statement, i.e. Question (1). It indicates the self-assessment of competency. The following Table 5.2 shows clearly the description of the first group.

Table 5.2: Group one: self-assessment of competency

Group	Q	Question/Statement	Theme
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1	1	You are good at English.	self-assessment of competency
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Q (1): You are good at English.

I expected the subjects of the current research to evaluate their competence level in terms of their knowledge of English. According to the estimate for 2011, the total population of Pakistan is 187,343,000, and 17,000,000 or 20% know English.²⁴ But that does not mean that they know English well, or at any defined level. I wanted respondents to assess their own knowledge and proficiency in English. There are problems of self-assessment of competency in English at the personal as well as general level. The problems at the personal level are limited to the participant's self, while problems at the general level refer to the participant and all his or her fellows. The participants are not aware of general standards of English. At the general level, many variations in speech occur, which are always ignored. Most participants can use Romanized versions of English words in text messaging and therefore think that they know English. The acquaintance with a few words like "message", "phone", "text" etc also may give users a general impression that they know English. Such an impression creeps into making them believe that they know English to a significant level. It is common to think that one is more competent than one actually is.

The second group comprises four questions, i.e. Question (2) – Question (5). Each question elicits the use of English in different circumstances. The following Table 5.3 shows the composition of this second group:

Table 5.3: Group two: reported use of English

Group	Q	Question	Theme
2	2	You use a lot of English at home every day.	reported use of English
	3	You use a lot of English at work.	
	4	You read English newspapers rather than Urdu ones.	
	5	You watch English movies.	

Q (2): You use a lot of English at home every day.

This shows their use of English in daily life. The use of English at the domestic level can also be informal. People mix English, Urdu and Hindko in their daily

²⁴ <http://www.nationmaster.com/country/pk-pakistan/lan-language>

communication. As a participant observer, I noticed that the people in the sample were not very well versed in English.

Q (3): You use a lot of English at work.

I anticipated the use of English at professional level that is official and formal. Question (3) anticipated the practical use of English in offices and other places of work.

Q (4): You read English newspapers rather than Urdu ones.

I wished to assess the interest of subjects in reading English newspapers. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, and Urdu newspapers are preferred in the region to English ones. This question anticipated subjects' slight level of interest in English newspapers.

Q (5): You watch English movies.

I was interested in their curiosity about English culture. Their answers on the Likert scale would show their level of inclination towards the English language, customs, manners and traditions which are eloquently delineated in movies. All four questions in the second group call for reports on the practical use of English in daily life at domestic as well as professional level.

The third group includes just one question, i.e. Question (6). The following Table 5.4 shows the details of the group, along with its theme:

Table 5.4: Group three: acquisition context

Group	Q	Question	Theme
3	6	You found studying English at school and college easy.	acquisition context

Q (6): You found studying English at school and college easy.

Question (6) enquires about the sources of the acquisition of English language. The students acquire it through the grammar translation method in Urdu-medium schools. They face difficulties, as they are not facilitated by the advanced ways by which English can be possibly learnt more easily, and which allow the easier acquisition of English at Matric and Bachelor level. The private schools adopt an eclectic approach, using the direct method and in some cases grammar translation method too.

The fourth group encompasses Question (7) and Question (8). It elicits the general and specific impact of English on the values of the region, as given in the following Table 5.5:

Table 5.5: Group four: impact of English on values

Group	Q	Question	Theme
4	7	Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes in general.	impact of English on values
	8	Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes towards traditional culture.	

Q (7): Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes in general.

I expected subjects to identify any changes in their behaviour which were the result of contact with English culture. The question sought to elicit their attitude towards the pros and cons of their society in a broader perspective.

Q (8): Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes towards traditional culture.

The general attitude is next delimited, to the specific area of the traditional culture which transmits the centuries-old established values of the region. Thus the fourth group was expected to elicit different levels of the impact of English on values in general as well as in particular.

The fifth group comprises twelve questions, Question (9) – Question (20). This is the biggest of all the groups. According to the nature of the construction of the questions in this group, I divided it into two parts. It starts from the outer circle (general) of education for women, and gradually moves towards the inner circle (specific) (Question (12) – Question (14)) of English education for women and its impact. In this way, all the questions act as a part of an expanding circle. The following Table 5.6 classifies them into general and specific:

Table 5.6: Group five: impact on attitudes about women's social role

Group	Q	Question	Themes
	9	Women do not need to go to school.	
	10	Women need training, but only in household skills.	

5	11	Religious education is the only kind of education needed for women.	specific: learning English for women and its impact	general: impact on attitudes to women's social role
	12	It is enough for women to receive only basic formal education in Urdu (or the mother tongue) without any exposure to English.		
	13	Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English.		
	14	Traditional family values have been affected by exposure to English.		
	15	Highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers.		
	16	It is good for women to work.		
	17	Women should be allowed to work, but in only a few professions		
	18	Women should not be allowed to work with men.		
	19	A woman should not go out to work once she is married.		
	20	Women should remain within the four walls of the house.		

Q (9): Women do not need to go to school.

I anticipated subjects' attitude towards the statement as positive, negative or neutral, as expressed on a five-point Likert scale. I constructed Question (9) as "Women do not need to go to school" instead of "Women need to go to school." I used the pattern of a non-enclitic clause of negation rather than an affirmative clause. This was adopted deliberately, to find the spontaneous conscious approach of respondents towards women's English education.

Q (10): Women need training, but only in household skills.

I expected the subjects to think about training for women, not only in household skills but in other fields of life, including English education, which are equally important for them as they are for male members of society.

Q (11): Religious education is the only kind of education needed for women.

Women in certain areas of Pakistan are confined to certain kinds of schooling, i.e. the '*madrasah*' (religious seminary) type. Many of them get only three or four years of such schooling, which keeps them behind the scenes of public life. I expected

respondents to have a range of a more moderate views rather than focusing on a single extreme way of life.

Q (12): It is enough for women to receive only basic formal education in Urdu (or the mother tongue) without any exposure to English.

As I have mentioned in discussing the previous question, some women are limited to only '*madrassah*' education which, if it teaches English at all, does so through Urdu, leading to heavy rhoticization.²⁵ In Pakistan, the practice of rhoticization (concept) is the reverse of what it is in America. And since many of them get only three or four years of schooling, they are condemned to the lowest rung of the basilect, thus excluding them from jobs that require a certain level of fairly good English. This puts them at a disadvantage in the job market. I wanted to draw the attention of subjects towards this situation of women.

Q (13): Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English.

The great need to acquire higher education together with considerable exposure to English was assumed here. I anticipated that respondents would understand the role of higher education and English language learning in the lives of women of the Mansehra region. I also expected them to wish to end discrimination between sons and daughters by providing equal opportunities of learning English to both genders.

Q (14): Traditional family values have been affected by exposure to English.

I hoped for the realization of modern trends, and therefore inquired in manner which affirmed traditional values to elicit the unconscious immediate response of both groups. The old-fashioned values of family life are engraved in the region. Positive answers would lead the current research activity to investigate and further discuss the need for exposure to English.

Q (15): Highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers.

I expected positive answers, in view of the general mindset of society towards this assumption. Most people favour the statement in general, because of the liabilities

²⁵ 'Rho' is the Greek letter for 'r.' In Standard British (which is not rhotic) the 'r' sound is not heard if it comes before a consonant or at the end of a word, unless that word is followed by another word starting with a vowel. In 'rhotic' dialects (such as those of America) the 'r' is sounded. It is a characteristic of many American dialects of English. In Britain the sounding of the 'r' is associated with regional or substandard dialects. In America it is the opposite. The dialects of English spoken in Pakistan also tend to be heavily rhoticised, meaning that the 'r' sound is heard where it is not heard in Standard British. Example: the word 'water' in Standard British does not sound the 'r' at the end, while in Pakistani English (apart from the other problems that we introduce by writing the word in Urdu) it is sounded.

imposed upon a woman. This statement has two emphases: one is on being ‘highly educated’ and the second is ‘good wives or mothers,’ both occurring almost simultaneously. I placed them in a single statement to show the double possibilities of women, and hoped that respondents would realize woman’s multiple roles in a male chauvinistic society.

Q (16): It is good for women to work.

Here I anticipated a professional life for women in a positive way. I want them to understand that training in English is equally crucial for the women in society. My previous questions provide a constant circular movement towards this central issue.

Q (17): Women should be allowed to work, but in only a few professions.

I expected to detect a growing awareness and enlightenment among respondents in responses to this statement. The women of the Mansehra region are limited to a few professions, like medicine and teaching, which are considered respectable for females. They do not opt for engineering, information technology, the judiciary, business and administrative posts. I also anticipated positive responses to the statement, due to the concept of women as ‘bound to the four walls’ which occasionally allows stepping out, but only in the chosen walks of life, and bars women from the chances of learning English language in other spheres of life.

Q (18): Women should not be allowed to work with men.

I expected rigid responses to this question, since women are allowed to adopt selected fields but working alongside men is still discouraged. Co-education has been introduced, but it is not appreciated at interactional level. The limited work options restrict women from practising the English language in their daily life routine.

Q (19): A woman should not go out to work once she is married.

I anticipated varied answers to this question, depending upon the professions or class (rural or urban) of subjects. The stated notion still prevails in the immediate environs of Mansehra, within a radius of 50 kilometers. I expected respondents to completely agree with the above statement because they consider traditional attitudes to be better than the modernizing demeanor of the advanced world. I hoped to clarify men’s possessive attitude towards their wives.

Q (20): Women should remain within the four walls of the house.

I expected strong agreement on this statement from subjects in the remote areas of Mansehra. The notion of ‘four walls’ persists among them strongly. I also wanted to

investigate the modified attitude of the subjects who live in Mansehra city, resulting from changes in the region which are mainly introduced through higher education.

The entire fifth group is the biggest group of questions. It indicates mainly the effect of attitudes to women's social role. Question (12) – Question (14) deal with women's learning of the English language and the impact of this on traditional family values. The subdivision of questions in the group also reinforces the idea of the main group.

The sixth group is the last group in the closed ended questionnaire. It encompasses four questions. It indicates attitudes about change in the region along with the impact of English. Question (21) – Question (22) relate to the prevalence and modification of traditional ideas, while Question (23) – Question (24) discuss the role of English in the development and modernizing attitudes of the Mansehra region, as given in Table 5.7.

Table 5.7: Group six: attitudes about change in the region and the impact of English

Group	Q	Question	Theme
6	21	Traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are permanent and must not be tampered with.	attitudes about change in the region and the impact of English
	22	Some traditional ideas in the Mansehra region need to be changed.	
	23	English is important for the development of the Mansehra region.	
	24	English is important for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region.	

Q (21): Traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are permanent and must not be tampered with.

I expected votes for the prevalence of traditional ideas in Mansehra and its environs. My anticipations were based upon the general attitude towards long-established norms. The adherence to them is strict and permanent, especially in the rural areas. The traditional ideas do not allow literacy in English to women.

Q (22): Some traditional ideas in the Mansehra region need to be changed.

Here I hoped to identify for the non-egalitarian responses of participants towards the question. Keeping in view the background, educational level and professional categories of the respondents, positive responses were not anticipated to any great extent from the accessible population which was the sampling frame of this research.

Q (23): English is important for the development of the Mansehra region.

The second half of the sixth group anticipates the inevitable role of English in the development of the Mansehra region and its immediate environs. According to Baumgardner's estimate, only 1 – 3 per cent of the total population of Pakistan is English-oriented, which means that less than 0.5 to 1.5 per cent of the female population can be called literate in English. The figure is far below the number for the females of the Mansehra region.

Q (24): English is important for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region.

In the last question of the second half of the sixth group, I expected respondents to seek proficiency in English in order to enlighten society with the new trends. Such questions or statements inquire into the psyches of respondents illuminated by their different options chosen on the Likert scale. I hoped for a partial awareness of the true significance of modernizing attitudes through women's English literacy.

Discussing the design and themes of the questionnaire might not be sufficient; it is necessary to explore the role of interviewee, interviewer, and the scheme of interview questions as well as themes reproduced from interviews, these issues are discussed in 5.2.7.

5.2.7. Roles of interviewee and interviewer, design of interview questions and presentation of themes in interviews

Roles of interviewee and interviewer

The interview surveys were conducted especially with the rural class of Mansehra society. Informed consent was sought from all the interviewees. Some of them could read neither English nor Urdu. Few of them were from the urban class. I asked questions orally in Hindko, Urdu and English and recorded respondents' answers. Face-to-face encounters decrease the possibility of "not sure" responses, which are the third option of the standardized matrix used questionnaire of this study. Unlike questionnaires, interviews help to remove ambiguities from the interviewee's mind on the spot. I explained the purpose of conducting interviews to each interviewee separately. The respondents expressed themselves concerning the learning of English for women in a very natural way. I acted as a neutral medium to get their honest responses for the area in question. I also changed my appearance and behavior

according to the situation. Being a native and local citizen of the area, I was dressed in the same fashion as the interviewees. Access to English also depends on primary literacy teaching. As interviews were conducted with people ranging from a driver to a Judge of the High Court, I had to change my apparel according to the socio-economic status of the interviewee. Humble clothing might hinder the response of a judge of High Court. In conduct or demeanor, I tried to be pleasant, relaxed and friendly. It is important to show a genuine interest in order to investigate the respondent's personal life and attitudes. The recordings provide the evidence of interviewees' cooperation and their agreement to express their personal views about women learning English in Mansehra. The interviewees' openness and the friendly environment made the experience enjoyable. Besides the role of interviewee and interviewer, the design of qualitative interviewing is also significant.

Design of interview questions

I, as the interviewer, only defined the direction for the ongoing conversation (i.e. women learning English for the purposes of higher education) and followed the points made by the respondents in order to investigate more deeply the personal stories of local inhabitants. While interviewing I had a clear design for the questions in my mind, with a clear idea. I had to redirect and reformulate this according to the answers of respondents, and noted my observations side by side with them. This enabled me to act as a listener, thinker and speaker simultaneously. Here I acted as a listener and gave them the chance to be interesting individuals. My "WH" (What, Why, When and How) questions led to their examples or instances to elaborate, which could help me to develop the relevant themes. Furthermore, I was acting as an interviewer with a purpose. Sometimes I had to continue with general or specific questions, or establish the procedure for a dialogue in an interview. I reviewed my notes after each session to get the feel of what demands more attention while observing. Observational notes and subsequent notes on interviews are both important. Reviewing notes helped me to ask effective questions and pinpoint whatever I should have asked.

Interview framework

The subjects were mostly illiterate, and I adopted the method of qualitative interviewing, using English, Urdu and Hindko depending upon the requirement of the study participants.

1. How does learning English make a difference?
2. Does English play an important role in the Mansehra region's development?
3. Do you think English is important for women in Mansehra?
4. Does learning English by women affect the traditional values?
5. How does learning English language affect the role of the mother?
6. Is it important to learn English in this region?
7. It is said that women need higher education with considerable exposure to English, what is your opinion?
8. Does English literacy affect women's marriage options?
9. How will it (English learning) affect the overall attitude of a person?
10. Would we be able to do justice to both English and our native language?

While these steps are, as I said, a guide to the process of qualitative interviewing, they help understand major themes, which are discussed in the following section.

Presentation of themes in interviews

I worked through the data and found some recurring themes. I wrote summary notes in the form of points while interviewing, but I rewrote them in detail just after conducting interviews. The tape recordings helped me to remember and check participants' accounts. After, the notes were taken from fourteen participants; comparisons were drawn on the main issues. I had to re-read the transcripts many times before reaching any conclusion. Several themes appeared from the interviewees' responses. There were nineteen concerns that emerged in general from the interviewees' accounts (See Appendix, 12). Out of these, five themes seemed to be common, with the greatest number of examples appearing among all the responses of interviewees.

The main recurring themes that occurred across the participants' interviews were:

- Self-assessment of competency in English
- The role of English in the Mansehra region's development
- Problems affecting English literacy in the Mansehra region
- Social factors affecting female English literacy

- Problems affecting female English literacy

The themes listed above are derived from the interview transcripts guided and expressed or summarized my objectives and research questions on factors (see Chapter 6) that obstruct women's English learning in the Mansehra region for the purposes of higher education.

While these cross-sectional surveys, including questionnaires and interviews, are, as I said, a matter of qualitative field research, they were further supplemented by institutional ethnography and participatory observation. These are presented in the next section (5.2.8).

5.2.8. Institutional ethnography and participatory observation

Institutional ethnography and participatory observation were also helpful to this study (for details, in 5.1.1). These helped me to explore the daily experiences of the female segment of society, along with their societal roles, which are illuminated by investigating the relationship between power and society. They helped to clarify the harassment caused by institutional practices in real-life situations, especially in the case of women learning English in the Mansehra region. The subordinate group's harassment could be best explored by participatory observation. I observed fourteen participants, whom I interviewed, and some respondents who had completed the questionnaire survey. I went to various classes in Hazara University like an ordinary student, participating in its social life. I also went to Mansehra city and villages and spent time with participants. They benefitted from my investigations, which are enabling them to make efforts to secure their rights to get education and exposure to English culture. While participating in interviews the subjects defined their problems and suggested possibilities of how to overcome them. These participants became prominent in the inquiry, which helped them to identify goals related to the English language. I had lived in Mansehra for more than thirty years. This helped me to act as a participant observer for this research.

I stayed with the participants from November, 2011 to January, 2012 in order to decrease or lessen "the effects of the researcher on the researched" (Cohen et al., 2007: 404). I took a researcher's role in each situation by recording and taking notes of the "conversations, observations, comments, behaviour, events and activities and the views of [...] participants in a situation" (Cohen et al., 2007: 404-405).

Being a native of that place, I was a part of that community. Due to insider role, there was a danger of my ignorance of important factors which I included in the questionnaire and interviews. The factors are age, class and gender. The participants were not informed that I was acting as a researcher. The reason was that they might become careful and would not discuss and explain openly and frankly. I also went to their homes and discussed the issues with people in their private spaces. I had to keep a notepad with me to note their ideas as soon as possible. In public spaces, I recorded the discussions and become a part of their group discussions. Some of them invited me to have lunch with them, and then in such informal settings I got a chance to learn more about their attitudes towards learning English for women.

The gender obstacle was also noted in the fieldwork. Such obstacles show significant cultural patterns, which I have discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and 6. It was not possible to go alone to accept invitations or to participate in discussions. My father or brother always accompanied me in the villages. Their presence helped me to make contacts with men. I discovered that the rural-class men are more conservative than the urban-class men. Women communicated more about their domestic duties and religious beliefs, compared to men.

Participants asked me to teach English conversation classes, which were informal. In this way, I met more people and came to know more about the rural and urban communities. It became clear from the beginning that the rural community restricts itself to traditional values and cultures.

I observed various events, like local cultural shows that include religious ceremonies celebrated in the honour of saints (*Urrs*), folk festival (*Lok mela*), and noticed how many people participate. Most of the participants also participated in local cultural shows, and avoided wearing English dress. In my research, the main objective was to make them realize the importance of English culture. Those who did not take English language and culture seriously were prompted to express their opinions in our informal interactions. The informants, who were interested in questions related to female English literacy, were therefore curious and willing to participate in the research. I invited three participants to play the traditional games of the region as well as modern games from the city, like video games. Most of them preferred to play video games, which shows their inclination to modern rather than traditional culture.

I collected data in English, Urdu and Hindko. Some people of Mansehra speak two or three languages, including Hindko, Urdu and English. Urdu is spoken by all except

the oldest men and women in the villages. The urban-class young men and women know some English because they studied it in schools, colleges and universities. Most people knew and speak Hindko since it is their mother tongue. I know and speak all three languages, and conducted interviews in them.

This research relies on questionnaires, interviews and participant observation, as will be elaborated in the sixth chapter (see Chapter 66). Participant observation was triangulated with two methods of data collection; each method supplements the others, by agreeing or disagreeing with what was said. These three forms or methods “elicit the participants’ definitions of the situation and their organizing constructs in accounting for situations and behaviour” (ibid.). The long stay enabled me to observe the progression of events, focussing on the “dynamics of situations, the people, personalities contexts [sic], resources, roles etc.” (ibid.). The triangulation of results from these different methods leads to a holistic perspective of the interlinking of factors of age, gender and class.

Applying a mixed method approach to this study enhances the validity of its results, but it is necessary to look at the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative field research. These are discussed in 5.2.9.

5.2.9. Strengths and weaknesses of qualitative field research

A survey was appropriate for my research objectives i.e. to assess the effect of learning English on the lives of women in the Mansehra region and to recommend a course of educational action for women of this region.

- i. The condensed triangulation of the research design encompasses the questionnaire, the interviews with experts and the interviews with the rural class that led to participatory research. The translated version of the questionnaire facilitated the respondents who were not English literate. The qualitative interviewing process suited the rural class.

The questionnaire ———→ was suitable for both urban and rural classes.

The interviews ———→ design was adaptable for experts and the rural class, and some members of the urban class.

The combination of questionnaires and interviews constitute this study as participatory research, although the subjects acted as objects of research as

well as sharing their views about the oppressed segment of the society. Hence triangulation occurs:



- ii. The interviewer asked questions related to interviewees' levels of English literacy, to make the analysis more exhaustive.
- iii. Standardized questions sometimes cannot measure people's differing levels of religiosity and traditional attitudes.
- iv. While designing questions, the most relevant theme for most of the respondents may be missed. So a questionnaire-based survey alone seems to be too artificial to handle complex topics.
- v. In survey research, the researcher does not develop a lively feeling for the original situation, compared to the participant observer (for details of participatory observation, read 5.1.1 and 5.2.8). In participatory observation, the status and power relationships link researchers to the subjects (disadvantaged or oppressed groups, like women) of their research.
- vi. In areas like Mansehra, it is not possible to do participant observation without an accompanying male family member. So it was necessary to engage another person, due to the conservative culture of the Mansehra region.

Developing the research design (in 5.2) from a mixed-method approach in the context of Pakistan, this study deals with "gender and social class [that] are intrinsically interwoven and best understood in relation to each other" (Moore 2004) (cf. Tamim, 2013).

5.3. Summary

To sum up the qualitative, quantitative and participatory aspects of this research, it is very important that the triangulation of three methods provides an exhaustive research design for this study. Cross-sectional survey research includes questionnaires and interviews, which are the main pillars of this study. The closed-ended questionnaire with the Likert scale has enabled the participants as well as the researcher to

contribute to the research easily. Qualitative interviewing, the less structured interviews and the open-ended questions, especially for the rural class, have proved beneficial. The translations of the questionnaire into Urdu and re-translations into Hindko have also helped the respondents, who became subjects as well as objects of inquiry according to the theory of participatory research. Qualitative interviewing has contributed materials for the five major themes of the study. The division of closed-ended questions into six groups corresponds with the six major themes of the questionnaires. Furthermore, I have used the opportunity to write my expectations of the responses to the 24 questions. The next chapter elaborates on the major themes as well as the three factors (age groups, gender and classes). I analyse and interpret in detail the study findings, based on the hundred completed questionnaires, fourteen interviews, observations of the same fourteen respondents (interviewees), and the respondents to the questionnaire for participant observation that represents a larger group, which is to be discussed in the following part of the dissertation.

6. Analysis and discussion: questionnaires, interviews and participant observation

This chapter deals with the analysis of the responses to the questionnaire, the interviews and my participant observation. The closed-ended questions are categorized into six groups (see Chapter 5, 5.2.6). I analyse 24 questions one by one, indicating their themes which guided their distribution into six groups. I also discuss three significant factors and their role in women's learning of English and its impact. I conducted fourteen interviews. Most of the interviewees were from the rural class. The interviews were conducted in Urdu and Hindko. Most of the interviewees were not literate in English. I will analyse my observations side by side with the findings from the questionnaires and interviews, and will include discussion in my analysis. My analysis fits in sociolinguistic framing.

Sociolinguistics investigates the impact of language on society, probing the role of social factors in language use in order to explore the relationship between language and society. The most significant social factors are age, gender and class. A language is assimilated in the society which uses it. Any society consists of different *social networks*, which are connected by language. These networks are interlaced by specific speech communities belonging to a particular network. The strength and weakness of the network depends upon the level of interaction. Micro-level interaction is at the inter-personal level, while macro-level interaction is on a broader scale, like that of the country side and the city. The strength or tightness and weakness of networks depend on how members of the group or network connect and communicate. The social factor of class is considered as a pertinent linguistic marker in many social surroundings. In Pakistan, the topographical distribution of language variations further divides language use into two groups based on classes. Different social classes have been assigned different social code systems, as, for instance, in Pakistan those of the rural class and the urban class. Usually the rural class speak regional or local languages while the urban class speak Urdu or English. The organization of attitudinal patterns of the urban class is completely different from that of the rural class. The rural class uses the informal code of regional languages, which permits intimate relationships between group members (Bernstein, 1981: 333). They are conscious of gender discrimination as well as age distribution while interacting with each other.

The informal usage of language unites them as a whole. The urban class uses the English language, which opens the door for careers and bright futures for them. The Hindko spoken in the rural interior does not have readily accessible terms for some of the issues involved. They probably misunderstood them or were ignorant about them.

6.1. Dataset 1: Questionnaire — findings

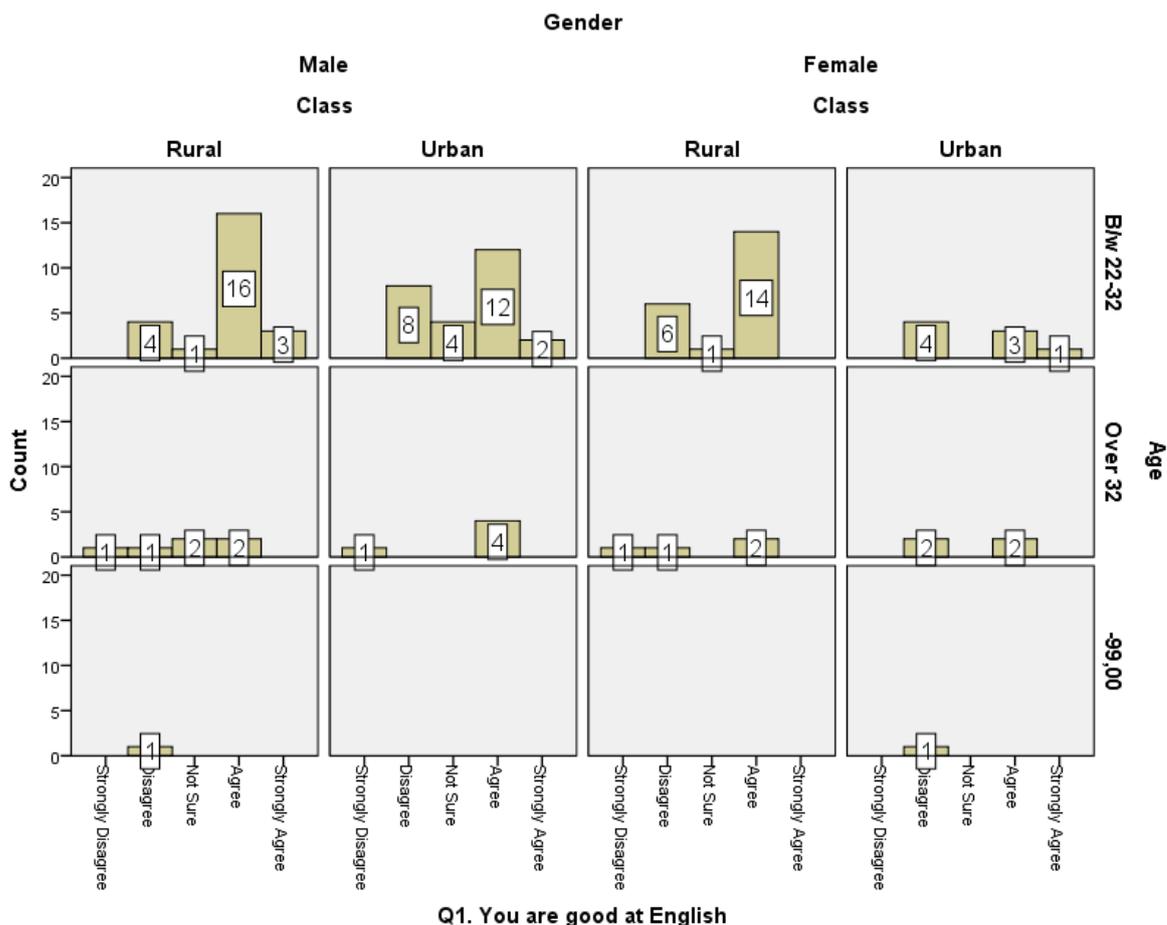
The 24 questions are categorised as given below. Each group is indicated by a theme. First I describe the data, and then analyse the responses to each question. All graphs show that a total of 62 male and 38 female participants respond to this question. The respondents are further divided into two age groups. I add the responses of respondents (between 22-32 years, over 32 years and those who did not mention their age) at each level (agree, strongly agree etc) for all questions. All questions present different patterns in graphs. “Not sure” on likert scale is overall very infrequent.

Table 6.1: Themes

Group	Question	Themes
1	1	self-assessment of competency
2	2-5	reported use of English
3	6	acquisition context
4	7-8	impact of English on values
5	9-20	general: impact on attitudes about women’s social role
	12-14	specific: learning English for women and its impact
6	21-24	attitudes about change in the region and the impact of English

6.1.1. Self-assessment of competency

This category includes the first question only, and responses are given below:



Presentation of the data:

The graph presents an approximate similarity between the responses of the male rural class (18) and the female rural class (16) at the level of agreement. The graph does not illustrate much difference between the disagreement levels of males (6) and females (7) of the rural class. The level of disagreement of the female rural class (7) is almost the same as that of the male rural class (6). There is a big difference between the agreement levels of the male urban class (16) and the female urban class (5). There is an identical disagreement level of the female rural class (7) and the female urban class (7). There is a slight difference between the agreement levels of the male rural class (18) and the male urban class (16).

Discussion:

Among male participants, out of 31 rural class responses, sixteen participants aged between 22 and 32 agree that they are good at English. They are inclined to report more socially preferred attitudes. Four rural class participants disagree, while three

participants strongly agree and one is not sure. The group aged over 32 years shows a total of six responses. Two participants agree, two are not sure, one disagrees and one strongly disagrees.

Some of them claim that they are good at English because knowledge of English is a status symbol (For details, see 3.1.2). Perhaps they want to project themselves as more educated than they really are. The landlords in the rural areas do not allow common men to learn English; they consider that doing so is only for themselves and their children. The urban class between 22-32 years shows the highest figure: twelve agree. This is linked with the “social desirability bias.”²⁶

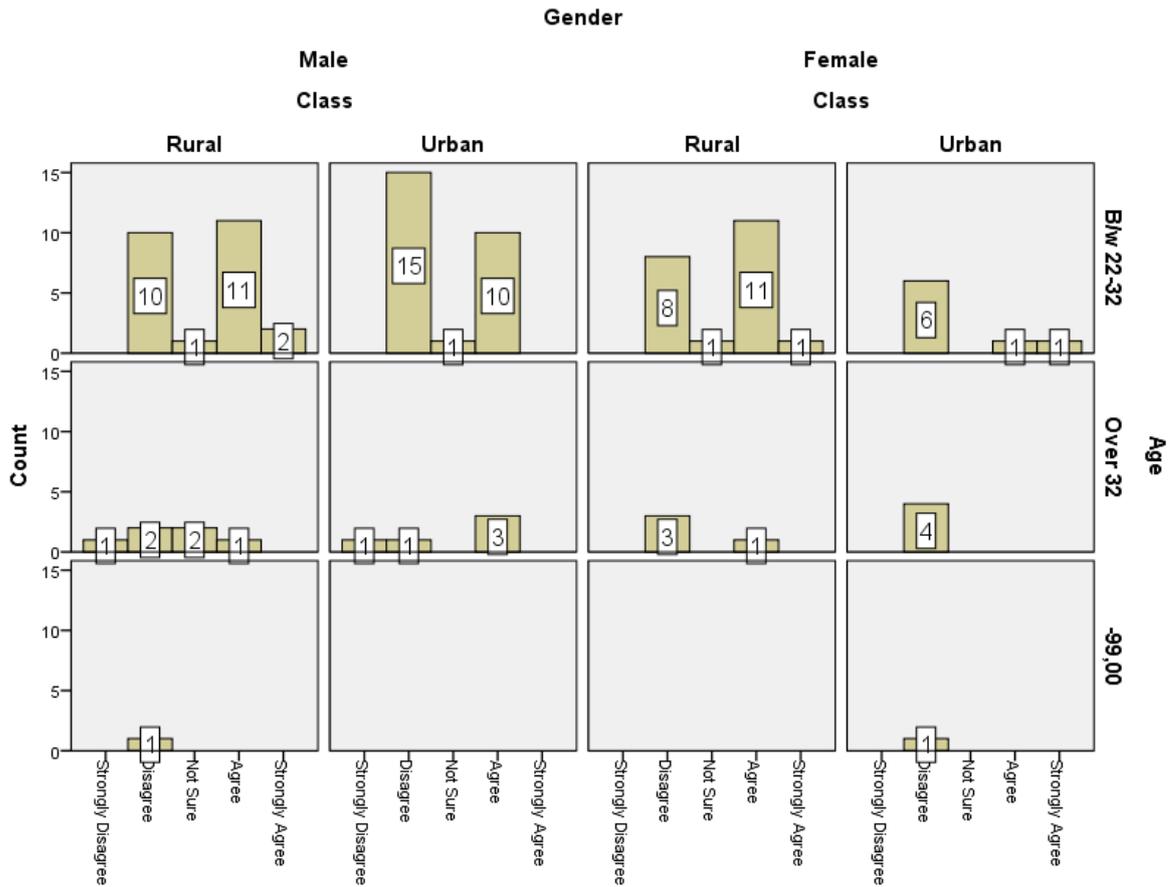
This analysis provides a background to the hypothesis: learning English and higher education for women would have a significant beneficial impact on Pakistani society in general.

6.1.2. Reported use of English

This category includes Question (2) - Question (5)

Q (2) You use a lot of English at home every day.

²⁶ <http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/encyclopedia-of-survey-research-methods/n361.xml>



Q2. You use a lot of English at home everyday

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows the similarity of responses between the agreement levels of the rural male class (12) and rural female class (12) on whether they use lot of English at home every day. A difference is found between the rural male class (13) and the urban male class (16) on the level of disagreement. The agreement level between the rural male class (12) and the urban male class (13) is almost the same. The disagreement level between the rural female class (11) and the urban female class (11) is similar. There is a wide difference between the agreement level of the rural female class (12) and the urban female class (1). There is a great difference between the female urban class (11) and the male urban class (16) at the level of disagreement. The figure -99 is used for those who do not mention their age.

Discussion:

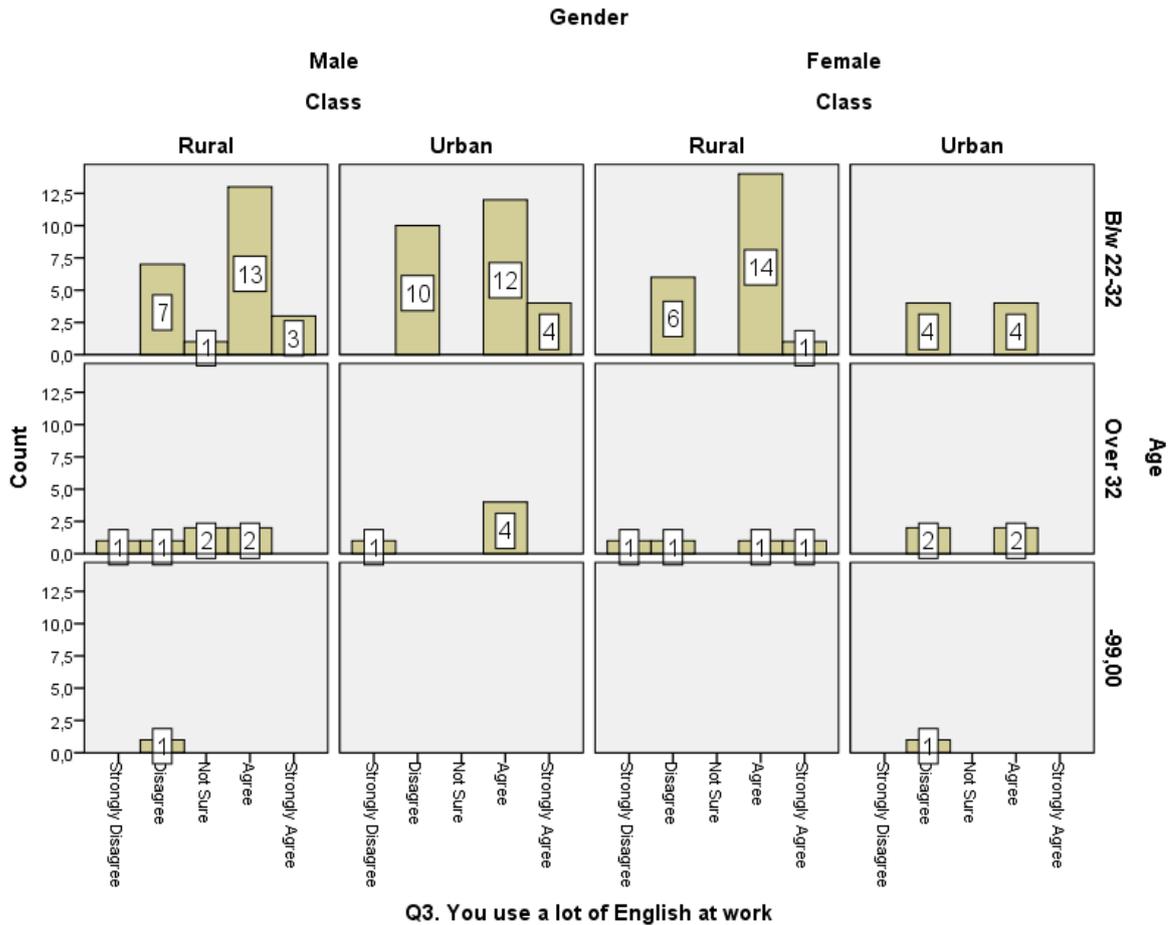
The urban class males try to improve their English language skills by practising it at home. The social life of the urban class is more advanced, and materially better than

that of the rural class. As stated earlier concerning Q (1), English is a status symbol so they try to impress other family friends with it (See Chapter 3, 3.1.2 and 3.1.5). They believe that its use is the way to success; it will help them to a better future. There are some urban class male participants who do not use English at home because they are afraid that they are not proficient and competent in English.

Here the male urban class responds more than the male rural class. They disagree with the statement that they use a lot of English at home every day, while the female rural class agrees with the statement. This reveals that the rural class is unable to do self-assessment properly (see introduction of Chapter 6). It is to be expected that the rural class uses only a few English words, for example, “cooking”, “homework”, “classwork”, “school”, “teacher”, “Mama”, “Papa”, “uncle”, “aunty”, “sister in law”, “brother”, “election” etc. of English which are part of the Urdu and Hindko languages and used in daily life. These words break down the Islamic concept of family. If we replace Urdu and Hindko words by English ones do we endanger in linguistic terms what 'family' means in Pakistan. These words concern central life of family life in Pakistan. Being illiterate, they are not aware of the standards of English. They think that if they can write their names in English they should be considered literate in it. The use of English at home in both groups is not common, as they prefer to speak local languages rather than English. Of course, the required level of competence in English to communicate with each other is lacking. Some people speak local varieties of English which are not considered standard. While speaking, the competence level is always ignored. Only the communication of messages is focused on during a conversation. The responses of participants from rural and urban class also show a resistance towards using English at home, which they consider linguistic colonization and a result of the colonial legacy. They still keep to the old notion that if they learn English, they will be enslaved and depend upon British people. Most of them are multilingual, due to their daily interaction in two or three languages at home and university. Less uncertainty about use of English at home is found in the urban class. The men do not like to use English while communicating with women at home (see impact of women's English language learning practices on traditional culture in Chapter 6, 6.2.4). Men do not consider that doing so is good for women. They fear that they would become liberal and independent. English practice at home could give better opportunities to women learning English for the purposes of higher education.

What one person feels is “a lot” might seem “medium” or “little” to another. However, even if we take the responses at face value, the ratio of 11:12 (disagree: agree) in the female rural class makes for only a small tendency, rather than a positive or significant one.

Q (3) You use a lot of English at work.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a similarity of opinion between the male rural class (15) and the female rural class (15) at the level of agreement for both age groups. A wide difference is found between the male urban class (16) and the female urban class (6) at the level of agreement. The graph shows the similarity of opinion at the level of disagreement between the female rural class (7) and the female urban class (7). There is a wide difference between the agreement levels of female rural class (15) and the female urban class (6). Approximate equality is found in the disagreement levels of the male rural class (9) and the male urban class (10). Approximate equality has also

been found between the responses of the male rural class (9) and the female rural class (7) at the level of disagreement.

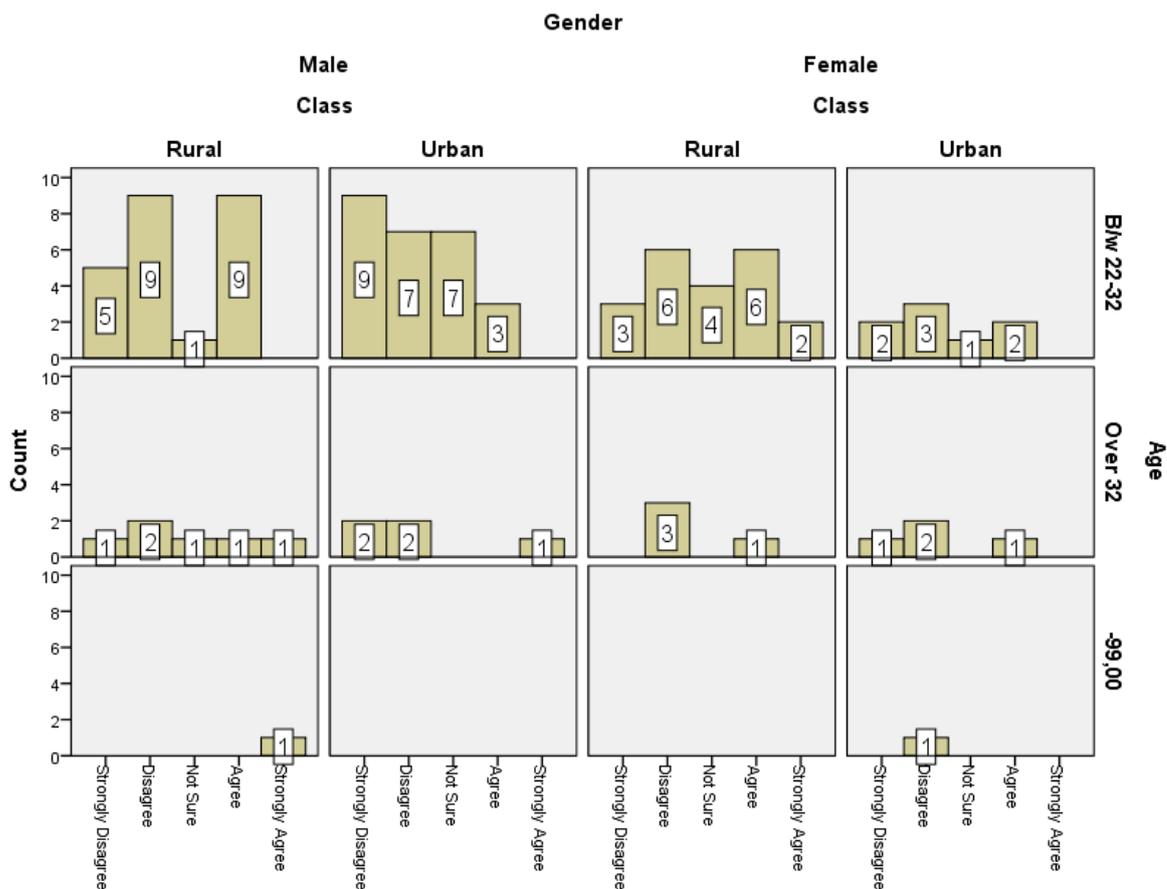
Discussion:

In the urban class there are two levels, upper and middle (see Chapter 5, 5.2.1). The upper class use English frequently as a fashion (12 agree), in private as well as public domains, while most of the middle class people prefer to speak Urdu (10 disagree). The use of English by the urban class depends upon a specific context. In a big organization that deals with international clients, speaking English is a sign of common culture. The senior management people who make decisions try to dominate others by speaking English (4 strongly agree that they use English alot at work). It is the general impression that those who know English are intelligent and capable. Bourdieu (1979, 1984) presents the idea of empowerment in the context of cultural capital in public domains (see Chapter 1, 1.3.1). English is considered as a cultural capital in private (home) and public (work place and market place).

Urban-class females are not employed in many sectors of life. They are associated with either teaching or medicine (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). Professional women in urban areas do not use English at their work places. A low-level use of English is more common among female university students (22-32 years) than in women over 32 years of age. The media plays a prominent role in spreading English usage for the present generation. Participants who are over 32 years of age did not get a chance to use and practise English in their school and daily lives as people do today.

This explanation relates to the first objective (a), which concerns the extent of learning English especially for women, which has also been reflected in the hypothesis in 1.2.3. Although we cannot overlook the influence of the male group simply as males, men's attitudes towards female English literacy are based on their own knowledge of English.

Q (4) You read English newspapers rather than Urdu ones.



Q4. You read English newspapers rather than Urdu ones

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a difference of opinion between the disagreement levels of the male rural class (11) and the male urban class (9). The difference has also been noted between the strongly disagree levels of the male urban class (11) and the male rural class (6). There is a wider difference between the agreement levels of the male rural class (10) and the male urban class (3). There is a similarity at the strongly disagree level between the female rural class (3) and the female urban class (3). There is a difference at the disagree level between the female rural class (9) and the female urban class (6). There is also a difference at the agreement level of the female rural class (7) and the female urban class (3). A similarity is found between the agreement levels of the male urban class (3) and the female urban class (3). A similarity is also found between the male urban class (9) and the female rural class (9) at the level of disagree.

Discussion:

Generally the rural class is not considered capable and skilful by educated people. Some of them do not even know Urdu. Moreover, there is no culture of reading

English newspapers amongst the rural masses. Hence, the environment is not encouraging for such reading of English. Nine men in the rural class aged between 22-32 years consider it waste of money to buy newspapers, because they strongly disagree with reading them (see Chapter 6, 6.3.2). English newspapers are not common, except “Dawn” and “The News,” but local pamphlets and brochures are very commonly published in English. Some people from the rural class use English newspapers, pamphlets and brochures as resources for learning English. They learn English by translating every single word in Urdu or Hindko. These situations show that some of the rural class wish to read English newspapers. They cannot read them to understand the full messages, but in some cases they still try to decipher meanings out of some headlines.

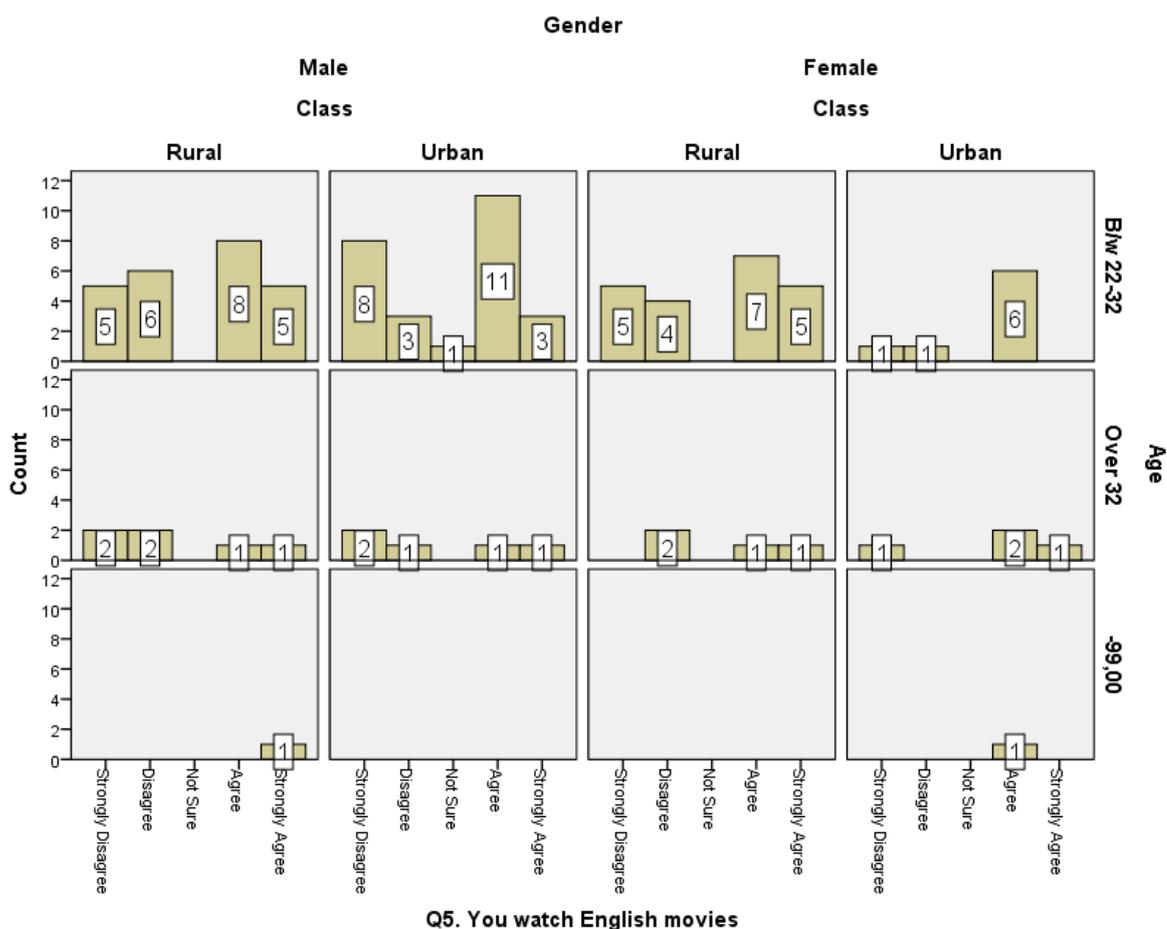
Few of the urban class males read newspapers, for multiple reasons that include their family background and future prospects; and some read them only as a fashion. Furthermore, English newspapers are more expensive than Urdu newspapers. The urban class can easily buy them but they are unaffordable for the rural class. Reading Urdu is more common in offices than reading English. Most of the people read Urdu rather than English newspapers.

Most rural class females do not read English newspapers, because of their incompetence in English. Anyway, most of the news in them is international, and these females have very little interest in remote current affairs. Their proficiency level is not up to the mark to read English newspapers. They do not even read Urdu newspapers, because they are always busy with household and other domestic affairs. Another reason may be illiteracy, which is higher for females than for males in Pakistan. According to a recent UNESCO report (2011), the adult literacy rate in Pakistan is 55 percent, while the female literacy rate is only 42 percent and the male literacy rate is 67 percent. Social and cultural factors (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.3) are major obstacles to literacy in the rural areas. The situation is more alarming in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa where, according to the UNESCO report, “the female literacy rate stands between 3 percent and 8 percent.”

The urban class of educated women and female students in the universities and colleges may read these newspapers, but working women and housewives do not read them. The very few women who work as journalists tend to read English newspapers more than university and college female students.

This analysis relates to Objective (a) in Chapter 1, which refers to the extent of learning English for women. I have also discussed men’s situation in order to present the social obstacles to female English literacy. Men’s attitudes to female English literacy also depend on their own knowledge of English language and culture. However, what I have observed in a limited setting might or might not be generally true.

Q (5) You watch English movies.



Presentation of the data

The graph shows a difference of opinion at the level of agree between the male rural class (9) and the male urban class (12). There is also a difference of opinion at the level of strongly disagree between the male rural class (7) and the male urban class (10). There is an approximate similarity of opinion between the male rural class (7) and the female rural class (5) at the level of strongly disagree. There is an approximate similarity between the agree levels of the female rural class (8) and the female urban class (9). The approximate similarity is also found between the disagree

levels of the male urban class (4) and the female rural class (6). There is a difference between the strongly agree levels of the male rural class (7) and the female rural class (6).

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged 22-32 years shows that the highest figure, eight respondents, chooses “agree.” Six respondents disagree; five strongly disagree while five strongly agree. It is difficult for the rural class to buy English videos. Sometimes they go to their friends’ homes to watch these. The local cinema in rural areas is available for movies in local languages. People may build a local cinema in their village, known as a “talky cinema.” These were established in 1910-11 in rural and urban areas, but are now found only in rural areas. At that time there were only silent movies, with only acting and no dialogues. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows 11 the highest figure. Eleven participants agree and eight strongly disagree. Men in the urban class have easy access to English movies due to their stable financial situation. They think that these will improve their language skills. Traditional thinking still prevails among urban class males. They think that women’s exposure to English culture would challenge their superiority and hurt their ego (see impact of women’s English language learning practices on traditional culture in Chapter 6, 6.2.4 and opposition towards women English education in 6.2.5) .

The graph for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years reveals seven as the highest figure. Seven participants agree, five strongly agree, five strongly disagree and four disagree. Seven rural females aged between 22 and 32 years agree that they watch English movies. Five rural females aged between 22 and 32 years strongly oppose the idea of watching movies because, not being proficient in English, they are unable to understand the accent and the narrative or plot. In addition to this, they cannot spare time due to their domestic responsibilities (see Chapter 4, 4.3.4). Anyway, the plots of English movies do not match their interests. Moreover, rural class females have to face family pressure (mostly male). Sometimes, they are so scared of their male family members that they strongly resist the idea of watching movies. They are not allowed or not encouraged to do so. The males can go to their friends’ homes to watch movies, but females are not allowed to do this (see Chapter 6, 6.3.3). The urban female aged between 22 and 32 years shows six participants who agree. The urban female aged over 32 years shows two participants who agree. The

urban females watch English movies because their understanding of English is better than that of the rural class females. Some families specially save time for such entertainment, and they find such movies interesting and enjoyable, so they make special arrangements for their children. This is the reason that they strongly agree.

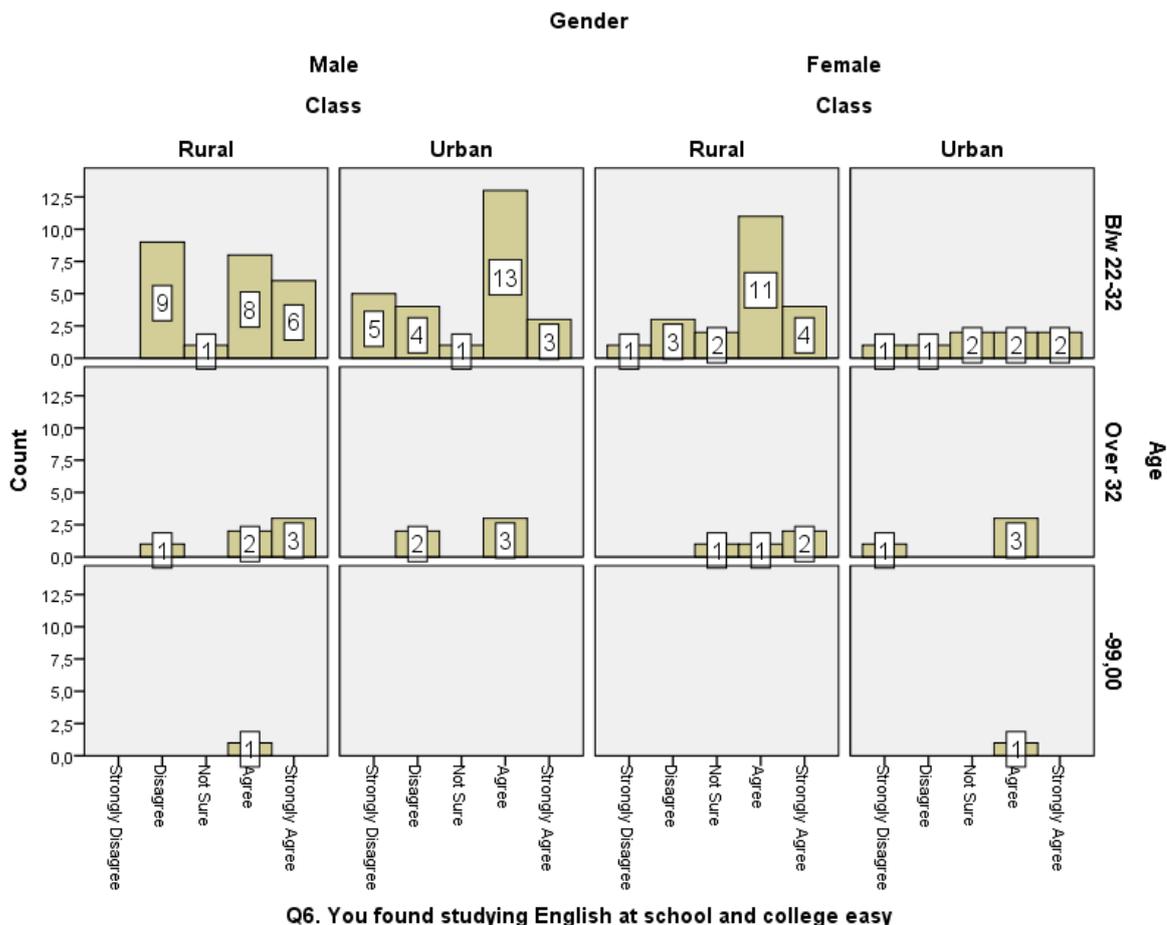
The graph shows the highest figure of eleven for the urban male class aged between 22 and 32 years who agree to the statement that they watch English movies. The rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight “agree” responses. There is not a big difference between the two classes. This is because cable connections are available in homes, and people can watch movies on TV without buying CDs and DVDs from the market. Cable connection does not cost more than 300 to 400 Pakistani rupees, so is affordable for almost everyone.²⁷ However, some groups cannot afford to pay for cable, due to poverty and unemployment. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years also shows eight respondents who strongly disagree, indicating their extreme reluctance to watch English movies. They are educated, but still dominated by traditional trends. These can be defined as limiting women’s approach towards English language learning at primary, secondary as well as higher levels (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). Sometimes women want to watch English movies, but domestic and cultural limits prevent them. On the other hand, some women in the rural areas do not have TVs, and anyway it is not easy for them to learn English. If TV is available, then it is confined to sitting rooms where only men gather and gossip. Women are not allowed to go to these rooms. This observation supports the hypothesis related to traditional norms as hindering female English literacy at all levels. The state of affairs is related to objectives (a) and (c) in Chapter one, which refer to the impact of learning English on the outlook and lives of women as well as the varying effects of traditional culture on the male, female, urban and rural classes.

6.1.3. Acquisition context

This category includes Question (6).

Q (6) You found studying English at school and college easy.

²⁷ <http://propakistani.pk/2010/03/03/digital-cable-tv-system-hits-pakistan/>



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows the differences between the agreement levels of the male rural class (11) and the male urban class (16). There is a big difference between the agree levels of the female rural class (12) and the female urban class (6). There is also a difference between the male rural class (10) and the male urban class (6) at the level of disagree. There is a difference between the strongly agree levels of the male rural class (9) and the female rural class (6).

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows that nine respondents disagree. In the rural class, males usually find studying English at school difficult, due to the lack of teachers, proper training facilities and supportive services. In rural areas, English is not taught at primary level in government schools. They start teaching it at secondary level. Suitable language teaching techniques are not adopted, which makes learning more difficult and complex (see Chapter 3, 3.3.4) (Shamim,

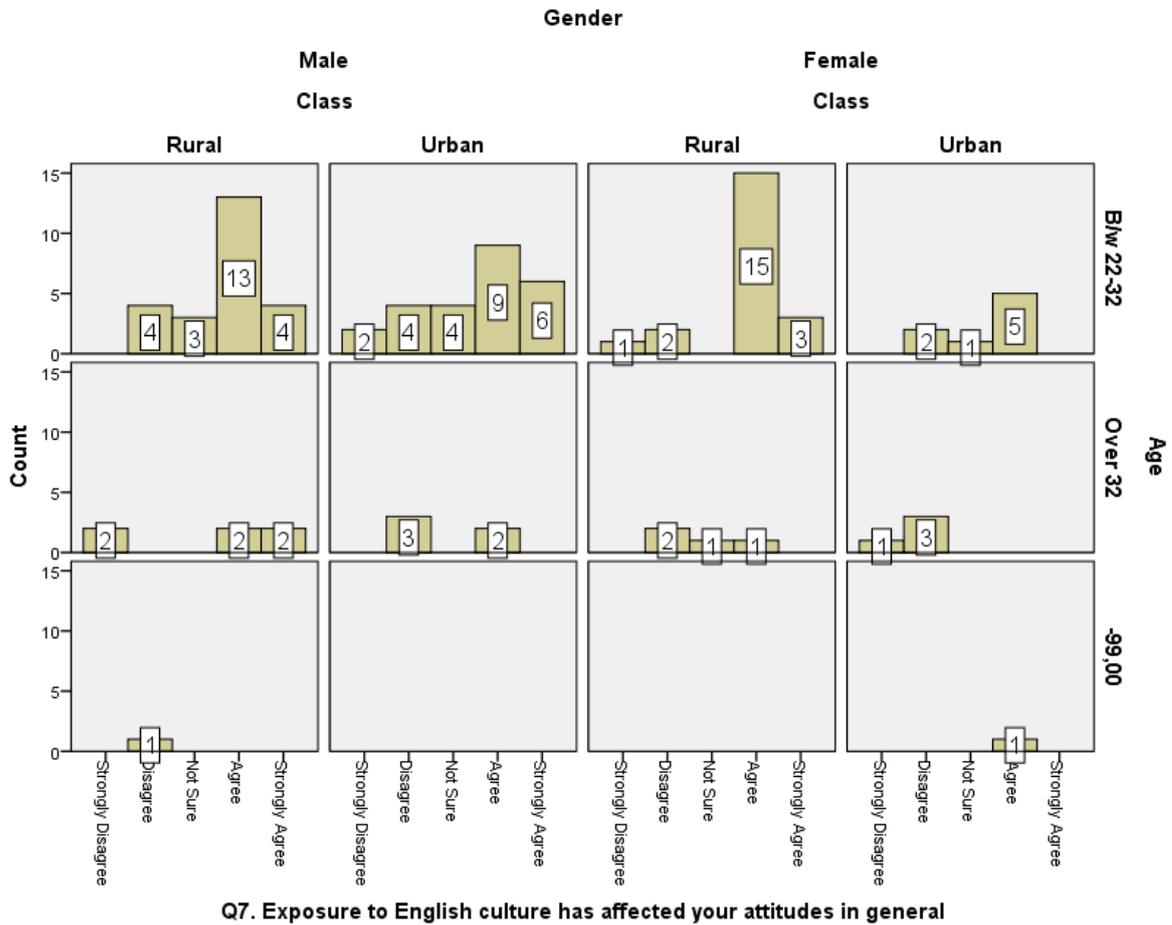
2008; Karim & Shaikh, 2012). The parents' support is also not available. Rural men do not learn English, nor do they allow their women to do so (see impact of women's English language learning practices on traditional culture in Chapter 6, 6.2.4). They consider it a sign of liberty and modernization (see Chapter 7, 7.2.4). The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows the highest figure of thirteen. Thirteen participants agree. In urban areas, males are more highly educated than in the rural areas. The local newspaper (The Nation) reported in 2013 that the literacy rate in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is 49 percent (68 percent male and 33 percent female). It is easier for urban males to learn English, due to their social life as well as the facilities available to them. The overall rate of males receiving education is greater than the female rate. Pakistani society focuses on male education rather than female. The issue of parental support is pertinent (see Chapter 4, 4.3.1) (Arai & Tabata, 2006). There are many schools and teachers available in urban areas. However, Shamim (2011) maintains that the educational system of Pakistan is not very good in both rural and urban areas (for details, see 3.3.3, 3.3.4 and 4.4), while army schools are better than the general (government or public) educational institutions. The children of those parents who work in the Army study in English-medium schools.

The graph for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eleven as the highest figure. Eleven participants agree, four strongly agree and three disagree. There is a mistaken notion that learning a language is easy; this mistake is common, and not only among rural women. One can learn a few basics quite quickly, for example, greetings, but really developing the skills and mastering all the levels and registers of a language takes years, with much hard work. A smaller number of women report that they do not find it easy to learn English. Of course, their male family members do not allow them to join English-medium schools and universities (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). Therefore, they do not learn English at primary level. There is no-one to guide them, so learning English becomes difficult for them. The female urban class aged between 22-32 years reveals two participants who strongly agree and two agree. In urban areas, English language learning starts at school level. Children do not have to face such difficulties as the rural class must. The families in urban areas are aware that learning English is inevitable, so they emphasize English-medium education for their children. The girls in urban areas have plenty of resources, for instance academies, the internet, and media interaction, but the English competence of the girls of the urban middle class cannot be counted as representative for other girls.

6.1.4. Impact of English on values

This group includes Question (7) – Question (8)

Q (7) Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes in general.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows only a small difference between the male rural class (15) and the female rural class (16) at the level of agree. There is a big difference between the male urban class (11) and the male rural class (15) at this level. There is a similarity of opinion between the male rural class (6) and the male urban class (6) at the level of strongly agree. There is a similarity between the male urban class (6) and the male rural class (6) at the level of strongly agree. There is a slight difference between the disagree level of the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (7). There is a slight difference between the female rural class (4) and the female urban class (5) at this level.

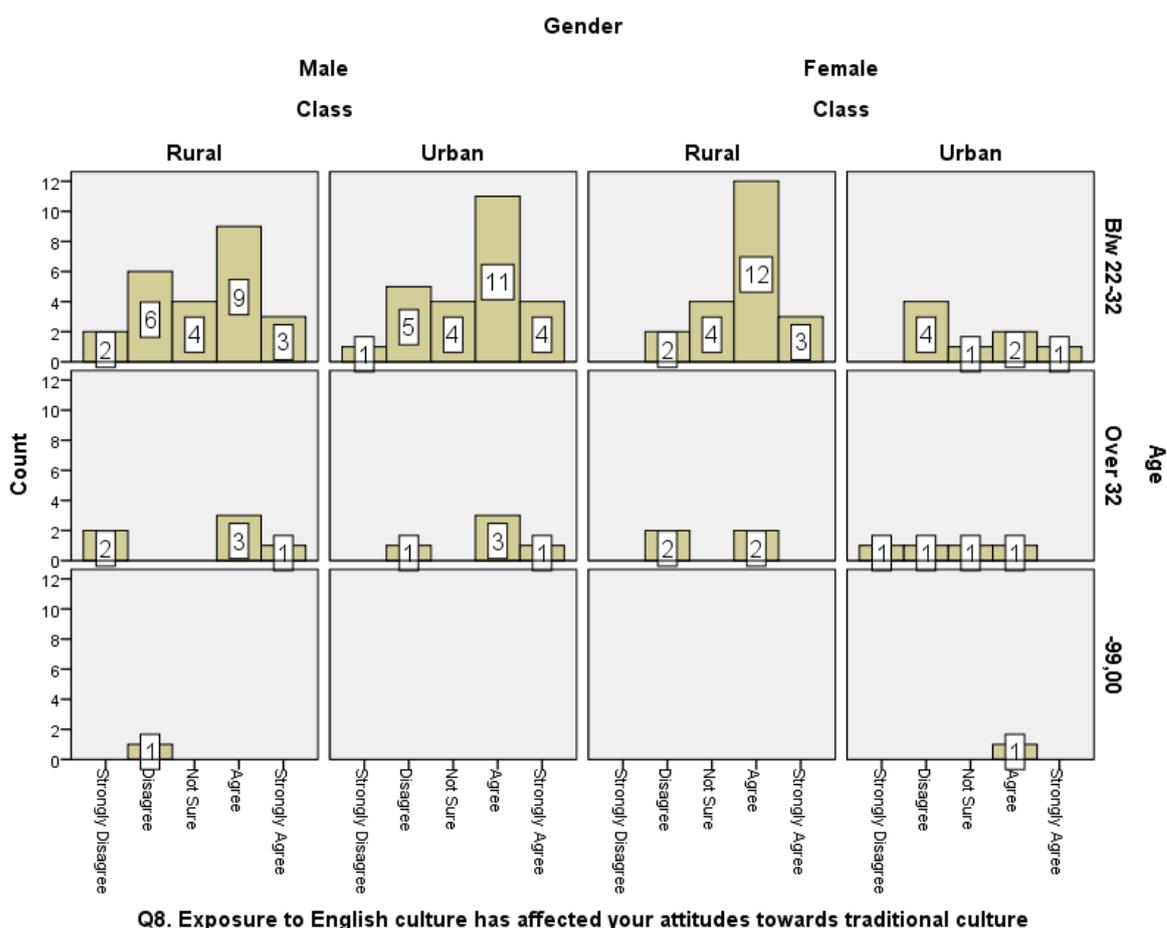
Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows the second highest figure, thirteen. Thirteen respondents agree. There is a need for Pakistani students to communicate with other cultures, by learning about English culture. English prepares people for the future. Although there are no facilities in the rural areas for exposure to English culture, the rural class agrees that exposure to it from TV has affected their attitudes in general. The communities in these areas restrict themselves to the local language (see use of the native language in Chapter 6, 6.2.3). The urban male class aged between 22 and 32 years show nine as the highest figure. Nine respondents agree and six strongly agree. In urban areas, people feel proud while communicating in English. Those who cannot do so, develop a sense of inferiority. Those who know English earn respect in the society, and this also helps them to build social relationships. The knowledge of English language and culture boosts their confidence and pride in themselves (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.5). Those who strongly agree (6) struggle hard to learn English for the sake of prospective social gains.

The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows the highest figure of fifteen. Fifteen respondents agree. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows five respondents who agree. There is a great difference between English culture and the local culture of the Mansehra region. If there was a strong exposure of English culture, the family culture would be greatly affected. There is no concept of a joint family system in English culture. Exposure to English culture increases the risk of the decline of that system in Pakistan. The adoption of English culture directly affects female life because they are central in domestic culture (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). Most of the women are segregated; the rural and middle class urban males think that the girls become liberal after getting acquainted with English culture (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). In rural areas, girls are not allowed to get education; they will learn English and interact with English culture only if they get educated. Most of the middle class urban girls do Masters Studies in English literature. Here I see a contradiction in the middle class urban approach. Some middle-class urban people say with pride that their sister or daughter is doing a Masters in English. People take an interest in English, and take English language courses. They prefer English-medium schools. English food, living style and table manners are not common in Mansehra, but English culture is already having an impact; the positive impact has already been fertile here. Women's English-style dressing is modified in Pakistani culture; the elite

class girls wear jeans, but also long shirts and the *duppatta* (piece of cloth to cover head and shoulders) as well. Rich people are exposed to English culture at different levels, for instance at school and college, and print and electronic media. At the level of acquisition there is only basic English language learning (see Chapter 3, 3.3.3), but except clothing I do not find the promotion of English culture, which is not available at a broader level.

Q (8) Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes towards traditional culture.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a small difference between the female rural class (14) and the male rural class (12) at the level of agree. There is a similarity between the urban male class (14) and the rural female class (14) at that level. There is some difference between the agree level of the male rural class (12) and the male urban class (14). There are also small differences in the disagree level of the male rural (7) and the male urban class

(6) and between the disagree levels of the female rural class (4) and the female urban class (5).

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine as the highest figure. Nine respondents agree and six disagree. In the rural class, the husband is considered to be the head of the family. Other family members have to obey him, even if they disagree with his decisions. This culture is very common in rural areas. The rural area is not affected by the media, due to the prevalence of traditional attitudes towards English culture (see Chapter 6, 6.3.3 and 6.3.6). Rural class males think that life is very busy and there is no time and space for English culture. The traditional culture requires strong families, and free time for them. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eleven as the highest figure. Eleven respondents agree and five disagree. The urban area is greatly affected by the media, but we can see the prevalence of traditional attitudes in the male urban class also. They have the facilities and resources to interact with English culture, but they still keep to the old notions (see Chapter 6, 6.3.5).

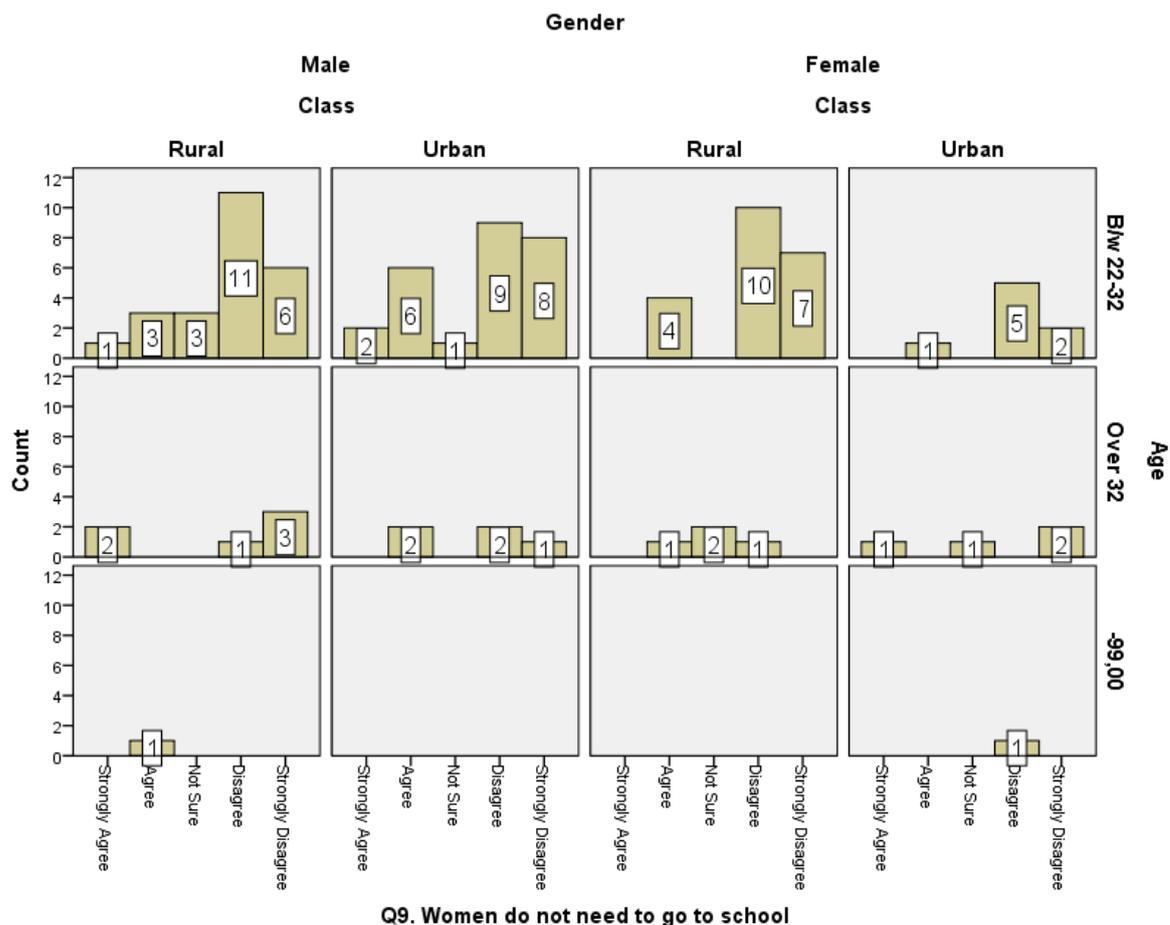
The graph for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows twelve as the highest figure. Twelve participants agree and four are not sure. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows four respondents who disagree and two who agree. The women are more capable of acquiring language skills than the men, but they are not given opportunities to move ahead and take part in social activities (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2 and Chapter 4, 4.3.4). The rural women cannot materialize their potential of learning English, though they are highly ambitious, as is shown by their responses (12 agree), and this is also confirmed by Hussain et al. (2011). Foreign language exposure is considered by men to be a cultural threat to rural females (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5), whereas some urban females engage with each other constantly and exchange and incorporate culturally diverse elements. Compared to rural females, they have enough opportunities to be exposed to English culture and develop acculturation. The acculturation of urban females depends upon the social and cultural competencies which play important roles in the handling of traditional culture effectively and easily. Some urban females show that they think that exposure to English culture does not affect their attitudes towards traditional culture. They might have been assuming their strong footing in the traditional culture, so much so that they think that their traditional culture is unshakeable (see Chapter 6, 6.3.6).

With regard to hypothesis and objective (c) in Chapter one, the findings outlined above reveal that the respondents generally support the statement. They admit that exposure to English culture through texts, movies and newspapers affects their attitudes towards traditional culture, and helps them to add new values to their culture. The level of disagreement of the male rural class is higher than that of the male urban class. The study participants in the rural class feel a need to improve their attitudes because they lag behind in all sectors of life. They are unable to improve their quality of life due to the scarcity of resources. In Pakistan, knowing the English language is a token of success (Rahman, 2006). Both classes also show some uncertainty. Here, the uncertainty level is higher than for the other questions discussed till now. This uncertainty comes with the lack of knowledge and of exposure to different cultures. I notice that the exposure to English culture has not been materialized in the society. It is not put into practice.

6.1.5. General: impact on attitudes about women's social role

This group includes Question (9) – Question (20)

Q (9) Women do not need to go to school.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a slight difference of opinion at the disagree level between the male rural class (12) and the male urban class (11). There is a similarity between the female rural class (11) and the male urban class (11) at the level of disagree. There is a wide difference between the disagree levels of the female rural class (11) and the female urban class (6). There is a similarity between the male rural class (9) and the male urban class (9) at the level of strongly disagree. There is a difference between the male rural class (4) and the male urban class (8) at the level of agree.

Discussion:

The graph shows the highest figure as eleven. In the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years, eleven respondents disagree and six strongly disagree. Apparently, the rural class males accept the importance of female education, although there is a tension between women's literacy and traditional values (For details, see Chapter 4). The rural class females are not aware of the importance of education. The rural class

males are not highly educated, but they are more educated than the females. If they permit school for females, they do not allow their further education in colleges and universities (see Opposition towards women English education in Chapter 6, 6.2.5). These males believe that money spent on women's education is wasted, so it is better to spend on sons than daughters (see Chapter 4, 4.2.1) (Malik & Courtney, 2011). There is also a general issue of affordability; the rural community does not have resources (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.4). The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine respondents who disagree and eight who strongly disagree. Most of the females in the urban areas attend schools. The urban males allow their women to get education in schools and higher education institutes. However, women are still bound by men's decisions. The urban males understand the importance of education for women, but they do not do justice to their daughters because they (urban males) are brought up and trained in the traditional culture of the region.

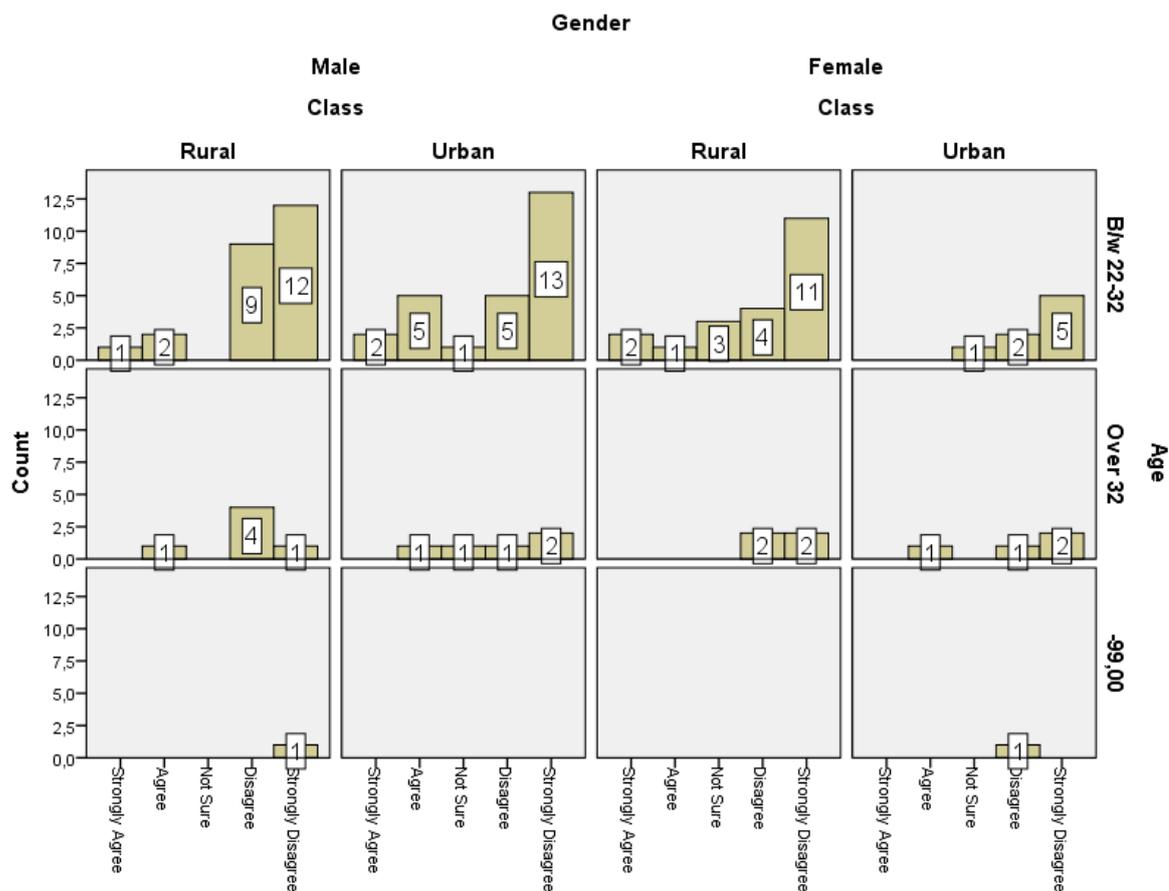
The graph for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows that ten respondents disagree and seven strongly disagree. The rural females have to face many challenges. The patriarchal values in the village make difficulties for them. The rural class females blindly accept male-dominated roles and decisions at homes. In addition to this, they contribute to the promotion of the male chauvinistic society (For details, see English makes negative impacts on girls in Chapter 6, 6.2.5). Though they may be highly ambitious to learn the English language and culture, they cannot raise their voices against traditional values in front of male family members. The graph for the female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows that five respondents disagree. In urban areas, girls can easily attend schools. They become aware of how to handle life situations and how to face their life cycle. When they go to school, they become aware of new life challenges. There are different activities in the school which cannot be done at home. They participate in these activities at the school, which also create awareness. The urban women polish their language skills by attending schools. This enables them to resolve daily life problems easily. Schooling immediately helps them to improve their English language skills, and gradually to communicate in English fluently, but not correctly (see Chapter 6, 6.2.1). It also helps them to get higher education easily.

The fifth group Question (9) – Question (20) includes twelve questions. It establishes two themes. They are general and specific. The general aspect shows the overall impact on attitudes about women's social role, then gradually moves to the specific

perspective of women learning the English language and its impact. The women's social role sets a background scenario for the core concern of this thesis, the learning of English by women for the purpose of higher education. Most of the subjects disagree with the statement, "women do not need to go to school", and thus confirm their approval for women's education. Some of them agree, because of their affiliation with the old-fashioned ideas that bind women to the four walls of the house.

I conclude that the number agreeing with the statement has gone far below what it would have been in the past. Surprisingly, the number in the male rural class that agrees with the statement "women do not need to go to school" is smaller than that for the male urban class. With regard to hypothesis and objective (c) in chapter 1, this shows that the urban class is still traditional (see impact of English on traditional culture in 6.2.2) and keeps to the notion of the four walls of the house. The educated class is also sometimes perplexed about the implementation of the concept of modernization (For details, see confused attitude towards women's English literacy in 6.2.5). They accept the concept and make education one part of the strategies of its implementation. When the time comes to implement these strategies, some of them are more inclined towards traditional attitudes that have been imprinted on their minds for so long. Seven subjects in the present survey are not sure about women's schooling. There are two possibilities here. Either they are bicultural products, or they may not be aware of new trends in English language learning.

Q (10) Women need training, but only in household skills.



Q10. Women need training, but only in household skills

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a slight difference between the male rural class (14) and the male urban class (15) at the strongly disagree level. There is a wide difference at this level between the female rural class (13) and the female urban class (7). There is a great difference between the male rural class (13) and the male urban class (6) at the level of disagree. A difference has also been noted at the level of agree between the male rural class (3) and the male urban class (6). There is also a difference between the female rural class (6) and the female urban class (4) at the level of disagree.

Discussion:

The responses by male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show that twelve respondents strongly disagree and nine disagree. Rural class males believe that the women must be trained in household skills along with education (see Chapter 4, 4.3.4). They think that girls must get married at an early age (see Chapter 4, 4.3.3). If girls are not trained in household skills, that is not considered good. When a man's family consider proposals for marriage they mainly focus on the household training of

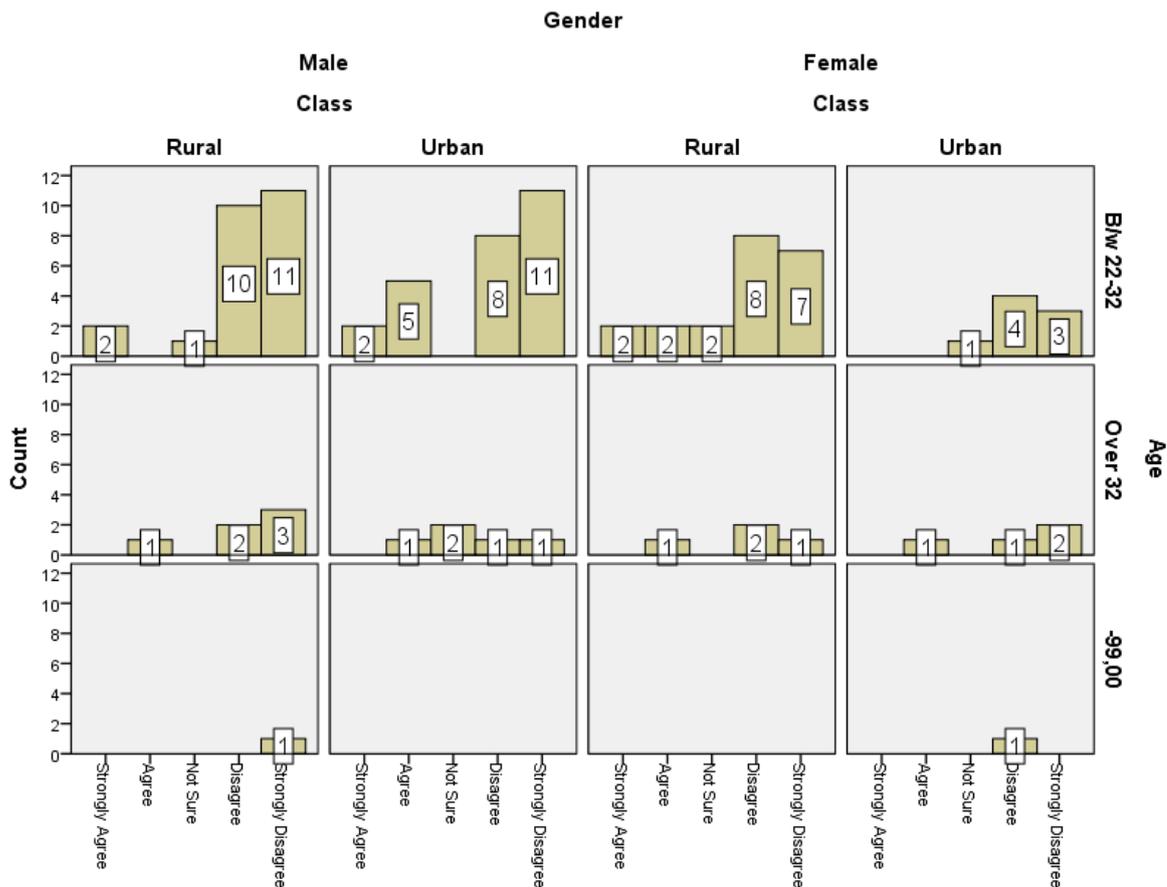
girls. In the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years, thirteen subjects strongly disagree. These males prefer their wives to have education rather than training in household skills. They rely on maids, cooks and chefs for the household. They think that if a girl is educated she will be automatically trained in household skills after marriage. I believe that nobody is automatically trained, but education gives us wisdom and makes us better at managing time. Due to clashes within families, post-marriage life in Pakistan is full of stress. Education teaches us to work under pressure and become sober enough to handle difficult situations. Everyone needs some basic skills as a foundation for learning anything. If a woman is educated, she will be quicker in learning things and will be exposed to new methods and techniques.

However, the mentality of the rural and urban mothers-in-law is the same. They want their sons to marry professional women, like doctors, but they should also be expert in the household, for instance, in making *chappatis* (round bread).

The female rural class aged between 22-32 years shows eleven subjects who strongly disagree, although, of course, there is a need to train rural class women in household skills. They should know how to manage cooking, cleaning, and bringing up children, so that they are in a position to manage their homes in a disciplined way. The urban class females aged between 22 and 32 years show five subjects who strongly disagree. Urban class women have a domestic as well as a social life. They are very busy, and cannot manage the household efficiently. Sometimes this affects the home environment. Training to manage household chores also improves personalities.

The male urban class aged between 22-32 years also show resistance to women's household training. The graph for the male urban class presents a resistance level higher than for the male rural class. This shows the more liberal attitude of the male urban class.

Q (11) Religious education is the only kind of education needed for women.



Q11. Religious education is the only kind of education needed for women

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows some difference between the male rural class (15) and the male urban class (12) at the level of strongly disagree. There are also differences between the male rural class (12) and the male urban class (9) at the level of disagree, and between the male rural class (1) and the male urban class (6) at the level of agree. There is a similarity among the male rural class (2), male urban class (2) and female rural class (2) at the level of strongly agree. There is a difference between the female rural class (10) and the female urban class (6) at the level of disagree. There is also a difference between the female rural class (8) and the female urban class (5) at the level of strongly disagree.

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows that eleven respondents strongly disagree and ten disagree. In male rural class over 32 years of age, only three respondents strongly disagree. What people say does not match their behaviour. Rural class men focus on religious education, not proper schooling. They

do not have to spend money on girls' religious education (For details, see Parental attitudes in rural areas in 4.3.1). They get this from either their parents or someone in the area. On the other hand, for proper schooling, they have to use schools where they have to pay admission fees and accept the fee structure. Most of the people from the rural class cannot afford school fees, due to their poverty. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years also shows eleven as the highest figure. Eleven subjects strongly disagree, eight disagree, five agree and two strongly agree. The urban middle class emphasizes both kinds of education, religious as well as at schools, colleges and universities. Religious education is common among the rural and urban middle class. It is not taught through the medium of English, but uses only Arabic, Urdu and their first language. For this reason, it becomes easy for learners and they opt for religious education. The mode of teaching used in religious education is not very demanding, compared to English language teaching. It is usually taught in private places, and does not require special training as is required for English language teaching.

The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight respondents who disagree and seven strongly disagree. They do so because getting only religious education limits their professional and social roles, and makes them dependent on males economically (see Chapter 4, 4.2.2). Religious education does not affect girls' moral and traditional values; hence, parents allow it. They do not need to go to a special institution for the sake of learning. They cover themselves fully before leaving homes, whereas girls who go to colleges and universities do not cover themselves completely, as *medrassah* (religious seminary) girls do. Although not all *medrassah* girls do so willingly, they have to do it due to societal restraints, which enforce elders' commands and practices (For details, see Parental attitudes in rural areas in 4.3.1). However, they desire college and university life like other girls, although this seems quite unrealistic as well as impracticable in their rural setup.

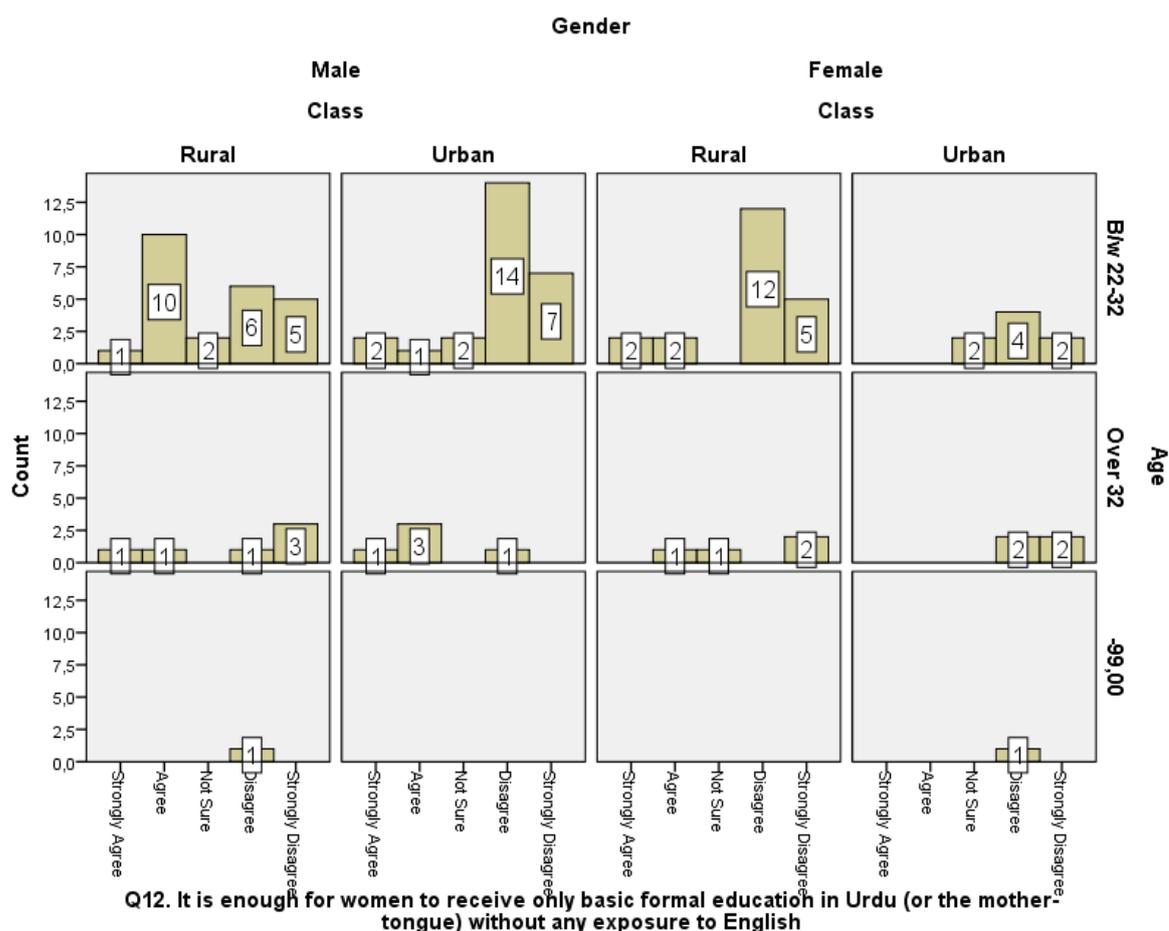
I have seen many families in Mansehra and its immediate environs where the parents consider the *medressah* or religious seminary important and compulsory for daughters (Also see Parental attitudes in rural areas in 4.3.1) (Buzdar & Ali, 2011). They register them in Islamic institutes for different courses like *Tajweed* (the recitation of the Quran), *Hifz* (the memorizing of the Quran) etc (Malik, 2008). After girls complete these courses, their parents get them married, instead of giving them a chance to pursue studies in English-medium schools, colleges or universities. This attitude is not restricted to Mansehra; we can see it in other parts of Pakistan too. For

instance, in Mansehra and Peshawar most of the women are not allowed to go out of their home without wearing a gown and hijab. They are also not allowed to drive alone. Here “alone” means “without *mehram*,” (their husband, son, father or brother). Those who believe in the religious education of women strongly oppose female English literacy. Although according to the questionnaire data they accept the importance of female literacy, they do not allow their women to get English education in English-medium schools, colleges and universities. Doing so leads to confrontation and violence.

Specific: learning English for women and its impact

This includes Question (12) – Question (14)

Q (12) It is enough for women to receive only basic formal education in Urdu (or the mother-tongue) without any exposure to English.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a wide difference between the male urban class (15) and the male rural class (8) at the level of disagree. There is also a difference between the female rural class (12) and the female urban class (7) at the level of disagree. There is a

difference between the male rural class (11) and the male urban class (4) at the level of agree. There is a similarity between the male urban class (7) and the female rural class (7) at the level of strongly disagree. There is a slight difference between the male rural class (8) and the male urban class (7) at the level of strongly disagree.

Discussion:

Results for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show that twelve respondents disagree and five strongly disagree. Rural females believe that a woman should get basic formal education in English; then she will be able to practise her moral values or traditions. It will be easy for her to understand and analyse social situations. Others will also understand her better. Rural class females take an interest in English, but they prefer their mother tongue. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years show four subjects who disagree. Urban females are comparatively intellectually sharper than rural females. When urban females get education in English, they explore further activities and develop interests in different aspects of life. Besides, they improve their creative abilities and take part in various seminars and conferences which are usually conducted in English.

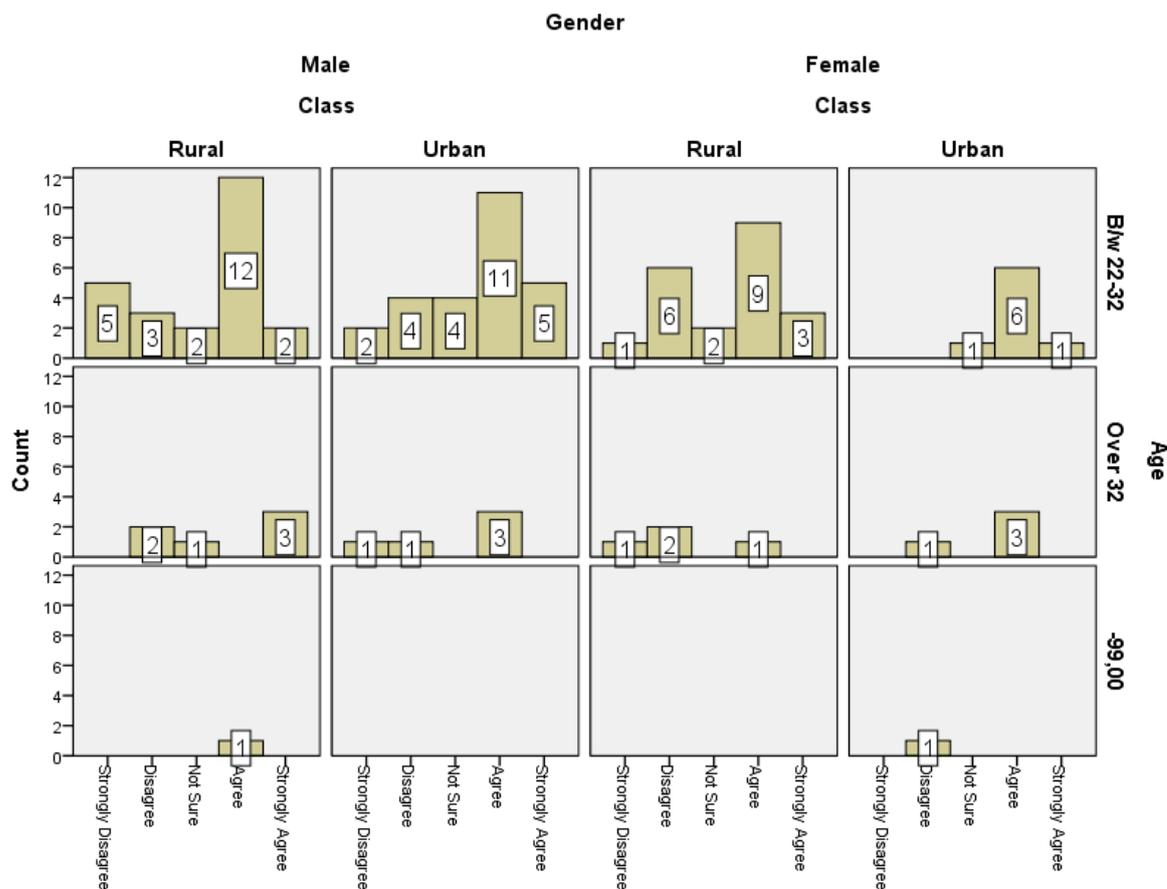
Many male rural subjects (10) between 22-32 years agree with the statement that it is enough for women to receive only basic formal education in Urdu (or the mother tongue) without any exposure to English. Such men hardly allow their girls to study, except in Urdu-medium schools. They do not allow anything else because they think if girls learn in English this will affect their mother tongue; they might forget it. If there are schools available in rural areas, then they are Urdu-medium. People prefer these schools; they cannot afford the English-medium education in the cities, which are mostly private and expensive, and thus unaffordable for the rural class (see Expensive English medium schools – rural versus elite in Chapter 3, 3.1.3) (Sulemani, 2011; Rahman, 2004).

By contrast, the urban subjects (14) between 22-32 years are strongly opposed to the statement. The male urban class shows more resistance to it than those of the rural class. Also, the female rural class shows more resistance to the statement than the female urban class. The male rural class reveals traces of the concepts of linguistic colonization. They restrict the area of education for women and believe that it is enough for women to get acquainted with regional languages. There is always a tension between traditional values and women's English literacy (see Impact of

English on traditional culture in 6.2.2 and English makes negative impacts on girls in 6.2.5). The patriarchal values in the village limit the choices of language learning for women. Rural women collude by blindly accepting the decisions of this male chauvinistic society. They do not reason about their male counterparts' decision that indicates 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu, 2001). As a participant observer, I see this as a major hurdle. The local masses believe that if women get education in English, they will be modernized. The males, then, will not be able to control them, and so they confine them to the four walls. They consider modernization a mark of the rebellious nature of an independent woman. They think that the women will also adopt English culture. Then, men will lag behind as women will come to the front (see Impact of women's English language learning practices on traditional culture in Chapter 6, 6.2.4).

This analysis relates to the hypothesis leading to objectives (a) and (c), mentioned in chapter 1, which relate to the traditional norms which are well established. They may not be challenged if the movement to do so is confined to men. The contradictory attitudes of urban and rural class men might lead to confrontation between them and violence, as is also implied by responses to Question 11.

Q (13) Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English.



Q13. Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a difference of opinion between the male rural class (13) and the male urban class (14) at the level of agree. There is also a difference between the female rural class (10) and the female urban class (9) at this level. There is a similarity between the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (5) at the level of disagree. There is a difference between the female rural class (8) and the male rural class (5) at this level. There is a similarity between the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (5) at the level of strongly agree. There is also a similarity between the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (5) at the level of disagree.

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows twelve as the highest figure. The male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows twelve respondents who agree, five who strongly disagree and three disagree. According to the data, the male rural class favours higher education for women, but in fact there are no higher education institutions in the rural areas. In rural areas, some people get their

daughters married very early; they do not even wait for the completion of their secondary schooling (see Chapter 4, 4.3.3) (Ahmad & Neman, 2013).

The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eleven respondents who agree. The male urban class mostly favours higher education for girls. There are many colleges and higher education institutions in the city. The majority of the urban female population is educated. In the urban population, the middle class focuses on English in education. The use of English in the upper class is greater than in the middle class. If people are highly educated then they can survive better, and their daily interaction and exposure towards English is greater than for the middle class. The upper class males allow their daughters to go abroad for studies and learning English language at higher levels.

The graph for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine respondents who agree and six who disagree. Some young rural-class females are ambitious to get higher education with considerable exposure to English, but there is a need to create more awareness amongst most rural class females that higher education opens the door for good future prospects. Such education would help them to build up confidence, so that they can communicate with everyone. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows six respondents who agree. Urban females are generally confident about communicating with people of different communities and cultures. However, some level of shyness in their attitude towards using English is noted. They feel somewhat hesitant, due to their lack of competency in English. As compared to rural females, the urban females tackle various social situations skilfully. More highly educated women enjoy better status in society.

The graph shows the extent of participants' desire for women to get higher education and exposure to English; the findings relate to objective (a) in Chapter 1. A total of 46 participants agree, a total of ten strongly disagree. Twenty participants disagree with the idea that women need higher education with considerable exposure to English. Here we see that the societal norms favour passive women than socially active ones (see Chapter 4, 4.2.1) (Bradley & Saigol, 2012). A total of ten subjects show levels of uncertainty. The male urban class shows the higher level of uncertainty. The more educated participants want to see women in multiple roles. They should be obedient daughters and submissive wives as well as socially competent women, who perform domestic duties as expected but also move in society and earn for their family. Such concepts prevail in the society of Mansehra. The women are marginalized in various

fields of daily life. The male group in the society does not show a flexible attitude regarding women's English literacy when the time comes for the practical implementation of female English education.

According to the 1998 census, the estimated population of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa was almost 21 million.²⁸ The total population of the Khyber Pakhtunkhawa comprised 52% males and 48% females. Mansehra is one of the districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhawa. The total literacy rate of Mansehra region was 36.30 percent. The literacy rate of the male population was 50.90 percent, while the literacy rate of the female population amounted to 22.70 percent. The following table is compiled on the basis of the "population (10 years and above)."²⁹

District	BOTH SEXES			MALE			FEMALE		
	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban	Total	Rural	Urban
Mansehra	36.30 %	34.40%	68.50%	50.90%	49.20 %	76.70%	22.70%	20.70 %	59.70%

According to an expert, Dr. Riaz Hassan at Air University, Islamabad, the estimated English-literate population of Mansehra is 1 percent to 3 percent. The female English-literate population is less than 0.5 percent to 1.5 percent.

Of course, not all women are the same. But for those who want to advance, the opportunity and encouragement should be given for them to go as far as they can. The cliché is that an educated mother brings up educated children, but this is not the only justification (For details, see the role of English-literate mothers in 6.2.4). Women should be allowed to use their talents freely in any or every field for the betterment of society as a whole in law, decision-making, engineering, teaching, medicine, technology, banking, entrepreneurship, business and commerce. The traditions that have grown up over the centuries in parts of Pakistan have weakened these basic rights of women to participate in the above mentioned fields.

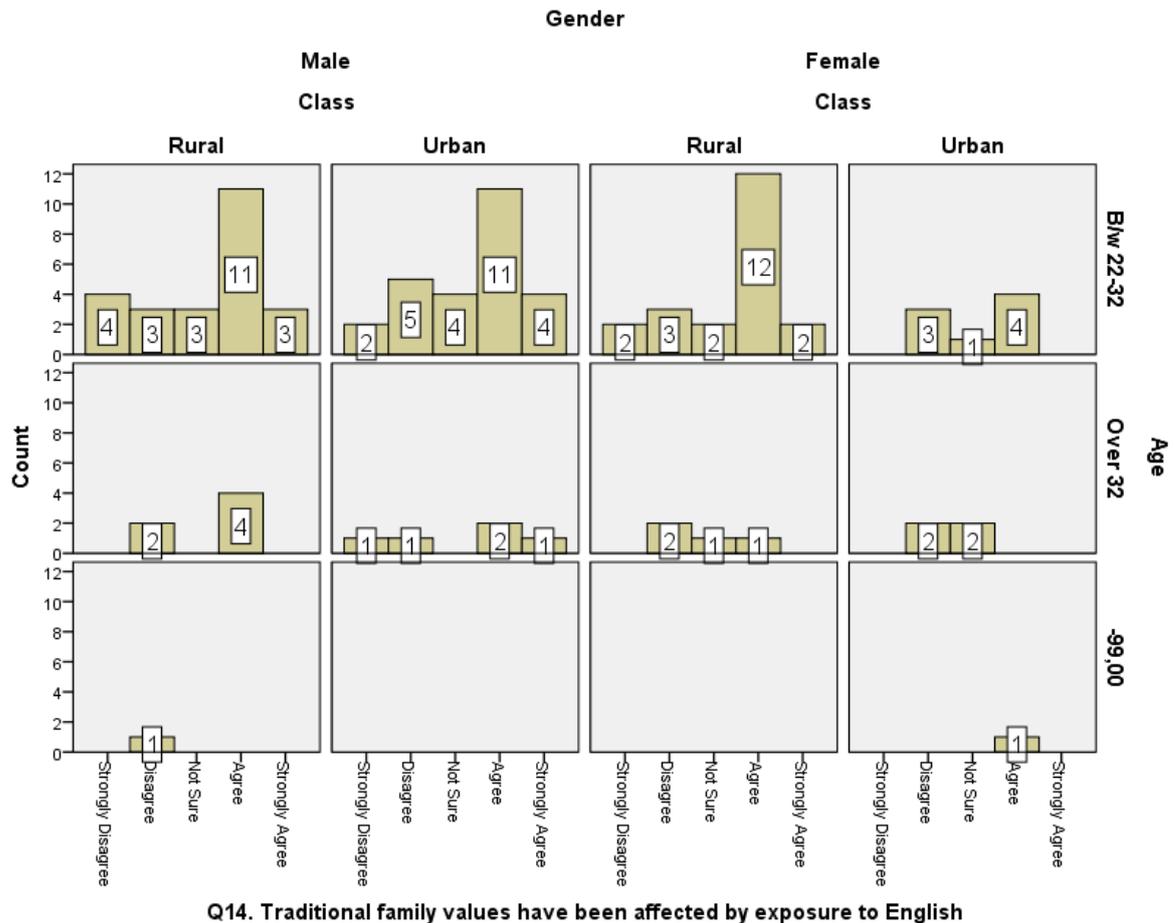
The results support the hypothesis that female English literacy will have a significant trickle-down effect on Pakistani society. The above explanation also relates to

²⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khyber_Pakhtunkhwa

²⁹ <http://www.khyberpakhtunkhwa.gov.pk/Departments/BOS/nwfp-ind-education-tab-23.php>

objective (c) of this research: to examine how the traditional culture of the region hinders higher education for women.

Q (14) Traditional family values have been affected by exposure to English.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows some difference between the male rural class (15) and the male urban class (13) at the level of agree. There is a similarity between the male urban class (13) and the female rural class (13) at this level. There is also a similarity between the male rural class (6) and the male urban class (6) at the level of disagree. There is also a similarity between the female rural class (5) and the female urban class (5) at the level of disagree. There is a similarity in the uncertain or not sure levels of the male rural class (3), the female rural class (3) and the female urban class (3).

In the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years, eleven respondents agree. The graph for the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years also shows eleven participants who agree.

Discussion:

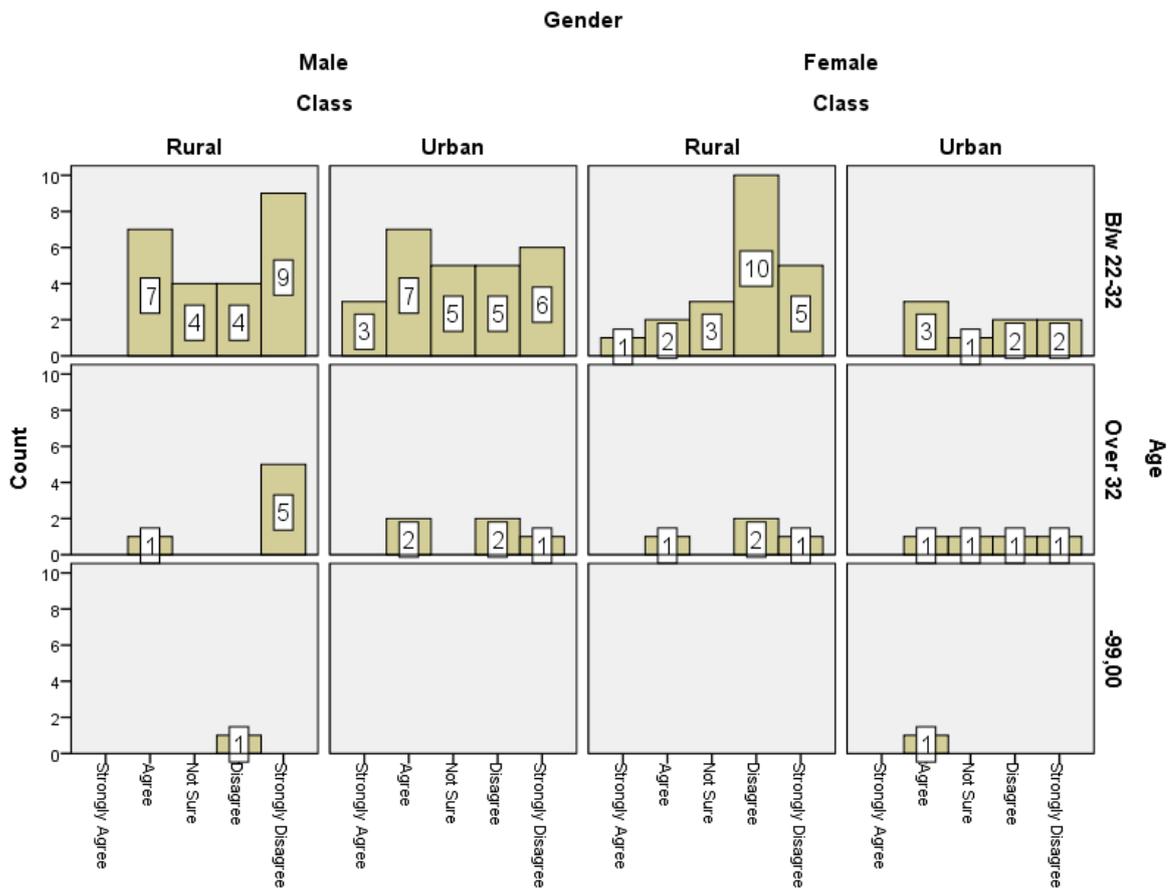
Among the rural males, everyone uses his mother tongue. In the urban class, if there is exposure to English at a high level this affects the mother tongue and regional languages (see use of the native language in Chapter 6, 6.2.3). The upper class adopts aspects of English culture like clothes and manners. If the middle class is strongly exposed to English culture, traditional events are also affected; for instance, Valentine's Day and New Year celebrations become more common than the local festivals like *Basant* (kite flying). Garments like jeans and shirts replace the traditional dress, which is *Shalwar* (trouser) *Qameez* (shirt), *kurta* (short shirt) *pajama* (tight trousers). The traditional values in the region are affected by the exposure towards English culture. In this culture, everyone is busy with a laptop in separate rooms, whereas, in the rural areas of Mansehra, people sit together in the evenings and share their daily experiences with each other in their *chopaal* or *bhethak* (a kind of lounge). Not only family members but other people from the surroundings and neighbourhood also gather. The exposure to English culture also affects our traditional games; for instance, indoor games (including video games) replace our outdoor games like *kabbaddi*, *gulli dhand* (tip-cat), *shtaappoo*, *teeepu gol garram*, *kokla chappatti jhumehraat aai he*. These activities are local, with no equivalents in the west. The traditional food, for example *saag roti* (spinach bread), has been replaced by pizzas, burgers, noodles; diet-conscious people do not eat pure butter or yogurt; dieting is also considered part of English culture.

The data for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows twelve participants who agree. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows four participants who agree. Here the highest figure, twelve, supports the statement that "traditional family values have been affected by exposure to English." The rural class try to preserve traditional values and believe that exposure to English decreases self-respect and respect for others. Exposure to English language and culture prepares us to face new challenges. In Pakistan, a woman has to play multiple roles. She has to act as a mother, daughter, wife and sister (For details, see Chapter 1, 1.1.3). After getting married, she has to maintain relations with her in-laws. The society is status-

conscious. The highly educated women cannot avoid employment. They become a part of the working mainstream and have to mould themselves and their manners according to the situation.

Moreover, the media plays a positive role in changing the attitudes. The exposure to English culture has affected the idea of women’s virtual confinement to the four walls, but the general attitude towards women learning English does not favour change.

Q (15) Highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers.



Q15. Highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows the difference between the female rural class (12) and the male rural class (5) at the level of disagree. A large difference between the male rural class (14) and the male urban class (7) has been found at the level of strongly disagree. There is a slight difference between the male rural class (8) and the male urban class (9) at the level of agree. A difference is also noted between the male urban class (7) and the male rural class (5) at the level of disagree.

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows that nine respondents strongly disagree and seven agree. As can be seen, some participants of the male rural class have come to favour the idea that highly educated women can make good wives or mothers. The change to favouring this idea occurs with the spread of media country wide, although it is limited to a few groups in the rural class. The change in attitudes occurs after watching role models of educated females in TV programmes as well as success stories of highly educated women like Asma Jahangir, a famous lawyer and human rights activist. Other participants of the male rural class think that highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers. They think that if women will become highly educated they will consider themselves superior; rural class males do not consider it good that women go ahead of them (For details, see Opposition towards women English education in 6.2.5). They are of the view that the highly educated women will not be able to do household chores efficiently, like an uneducated or poorly educated woman. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows seven respondents who agree and six who strongly disagree. Some participants of the urban male class agree with the statement. Despite being educated and part of the urban class, these men have not come out of the cage of old traditions and culture. Bringing up children, they consider, is the sole responsibility of mothers, which they do with divided attention if they have outdoor jobs. Looking after their husband, urban class men think, is the duty of wives, which educated and working women do not perform wholeheartedly. However, some participants among the urban class males prefer their wives to be educated, so that they can manage the home and train children in a better way than the rural uneducated women (also see Question 10). These urban males say that if a woman is educated she can help children with their school homework and other activities in the school.

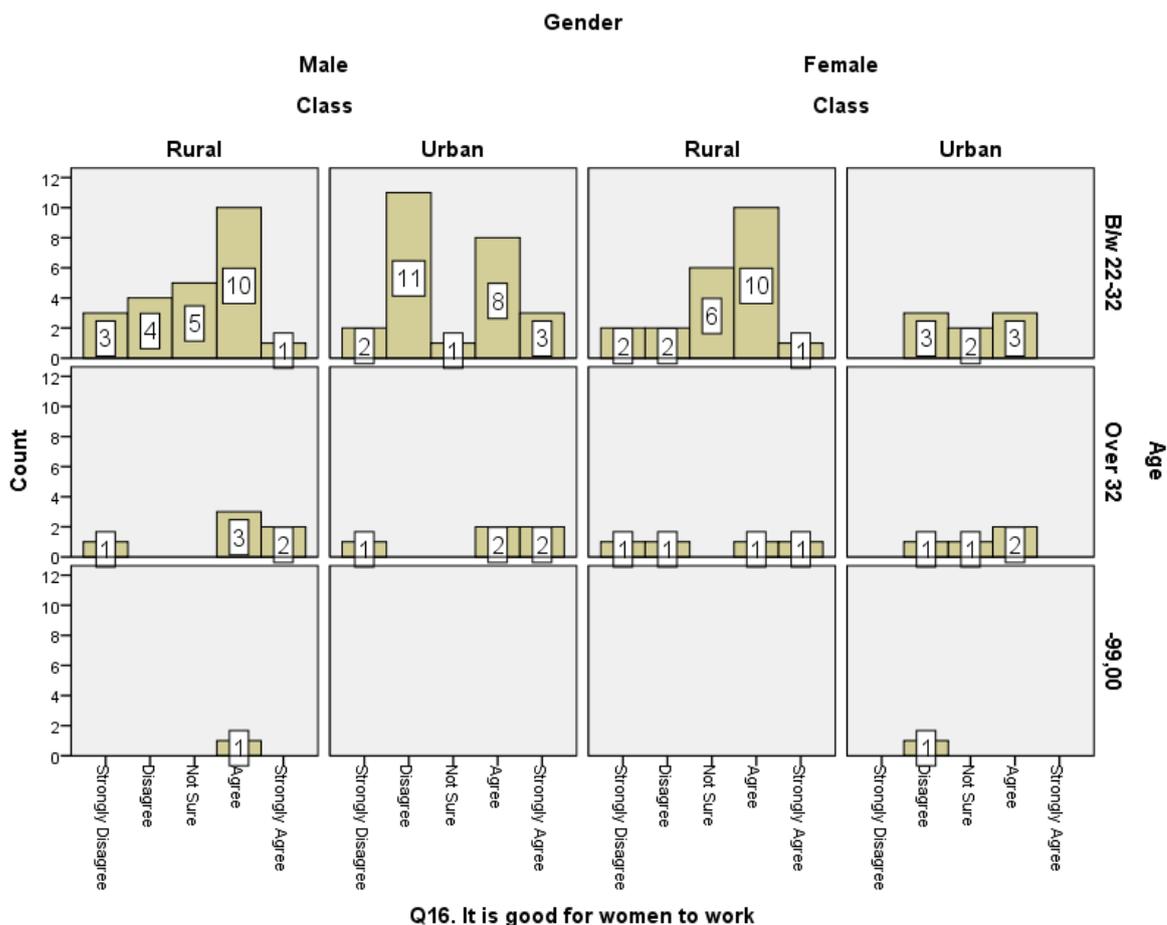
In the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years, ten respondents disagree. Many rural women disagree, although they are restricted to their homes and to being good wives. Uneducated rural women spend much time in gossiping. They are very concerned about what other people are doing. The educated women in the rural class are bound by their cultural ties to investing most of their time in their children and husbands, sometimes to their own cost. In the female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years, three respondents agree and two disagree. There are two points of view:

first, that women who are highly educated about the worldly and literary scenes are so very busy acquiring education that they cannot give adequate time to their children or husbands, second, that they are highly educated so that they understand their children and husbands' perspective, defending everything they do, resulting in devoted wives and mothers.

On this question, the highest figure, ten, of the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years disagree. Of course, most of the working women in universities, colleges and other private and public organizations are married. They play multiple roles. In the male rural and urban classes, a total of seventeen agree to the notion that highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers. When wives are overburdened, they are unable to perform the three duties of profession, wife and mother (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.4.2). Sometimes they are not aware of their children's performance in schools. This is true not only about some professional women but also some housewives. Pakistani society is replete with gossiping and interference in others' matters. I feel sorry for some housewives, but the fact remains that sometimes they prefer gossiping and trivial talk to attending to their children. This society is male chauvinistic. So, due to set norms, most women carry a burden of responsibilities too great for their capacities. The multiple roles and tasks of the household and workplace make them overburdened (For household responsibilities, see 4.3.4). The males, whether urban or rural, are responsible only for their jobs. They get everything ready made, for instance food and indoor as well as outdoor clothes. They consider that it is the duty of their wives to manage all this. If wives cannot fulfil their duties, most of the times husbands comment that they can never be good wives or mothers. A total of fourteen subjects show a level of uncertainty. This high level occurs due to the multiple roles performed by the female group.

The above analysis partially justifies objective (b) (in chapter 1), which calls for the assessment of attitudes to the social role of highly educated women. Change in these social roles will bring change in the traditional norms, which is hypothesized in chapter 1.

Q (16) It is good for women to work.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a large difference between the male urban class (11) and the male rural class (4) at the level of disagree. There is a difference between the male rural class (14) and the male urban class (10) at the level of agree. There is a difference between the female rural class (11) and the female urban class (5) at that level. The level of uncertainty in the female rural class (6) is higher than in other groups. There is a similarity between the male urban class (3) and the female rural class (3) at the level of strongly disagree.

Discussion:

The results for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show ten respondents who agree. The male rural class aged over 32 years shows three respondents who agree. Although rural class males accept the importance of education for women, they do not practise this idea in their lives. Few participants of the male rural class do not consider it good for women to work outside the home. The women

work alongside men in the fields, but they are not allowed to work in other professions (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). Strict limitations are imposed upon women by their men.

The results for the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years show eleven respondents who disagree and eight agree. Some males from the urban middle class do not allow their women to work. Some women from the urban upper class work in specific professions: medicine, teaching and nursing (For details, see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). I have come across men even in urban areas who think it is very bad if their wives work. The opposite view is also found. Some males in the urban class cannot detach themselves from the age-old traditional thinking. They do not like women's careers because they think that the women will become independent. In conservative societies, they are also kept away from the company of men (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). However, restrictive attitudes are more common in rural areas.

The results for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show ten respondents who agree. Most of the rural females are not educated, though they favour the idea of female literacy. They work either in the fields or in others' homes as housemaids; they are not allowed to work in factories or anywhere else. In addition to this, they have little exposure to the outside world, and are bound by the limitations which are imposed on them. Their limited exposure leads to limited confidence. If they were allowed, they might work better than some urban women.

The results for the female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years show three respondents who disagree and three agree. The urban women gain self-confidence because of work, and learn many things while working. Sometimes there is a need for a woman to work. She tries to help her husband or parents. She then gets an opportunity to become independent and learn from the outside world. Moreover, she gains knowledge from different experiences. The urban women may feel more confident than the men. Their work keeps them active and focussed. Besides, they are vigilant as supporters of their family. A woman who works gets more respect than a woman who is not working. The working woman knows how to deal with different types of people; she becomes strong because she faces them. Women in urban areas are more goal-oriented, more responsible and more independent than others. In urban areas, the upper class males tend to favour the idea of women having jobs. The husband and father play vital roles in building women's confidence. If they allow it,

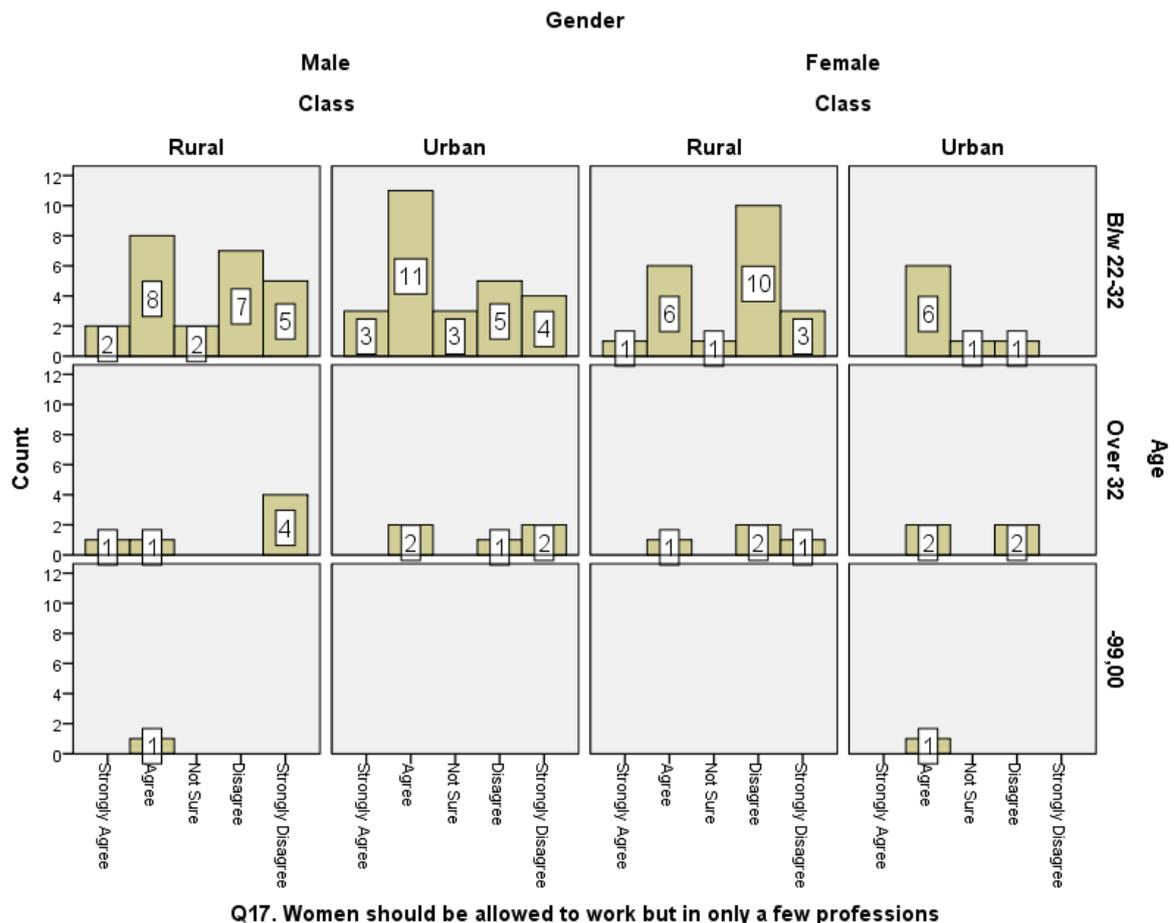
the women become more confident. In urban areas, the educated woman enjoys more freedom.

In most of the urban families in Mansehra, both mothers and fathers have to work for long hours, and the responsibility of taking care of the children is given to either grandparents or domestic helpers from surrounding areas. This is not good for the growth of the children. So in the case of Mansehra, I think it is not good for women (and indeed for men as well) to work for such long hours.

Surprisingly, eleven members of the urban male class disagree with women working outside the home. A total of twenty three respondents disagree, with ten who strongly disagree. I confirm that the urban class group is still influenced by the views of religious factions, which discourage the notion of women working or moving outside their home (For details, see 4.1.3). On the other hand, the changing trends of the society and the needs of survival make reasons for women to work. A total of fifteen respondents are uncertain. The high uncertainty level occurs due to the prevalence of multiple attitudes towards women, who are often restricted to four walls as part of their social identity.

This analysis supports the hypothesis that the traditional norms influence rural and urban men. Data shows that the male group in this society does not favour working options for women. In addition to this, they also close the doors of higher education for women, especially in English.

Q (17) Women should be allowed to work but in only a few professions.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows some difference between the male urban class (13) and the male rural class (10) at the level of agree. There is a difference between the female rural class (12) and the male rural class (7) at the level of disagree. There is a difference between the male rural class (9) and the male urban class (6) at the level of strongly disagree. There is also a difference between the female rural class (7) and the female urban class (9) at the level of agree. There is a difference between the male urban class (6) and the female rural class (4) at the level of strongly disagree. There is a similarity between the male rural group (3) and the male urban group (3) at the level of strongly agree.

Discussion:

The results for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show eight respondents who agree and seven who disagree. The male rural class define strict limitations for their women regarding professions. They allow women to work only in home industries such as stitching, embroidery and cooking (Also see Question 16).

They feel it against their dignity to send women out to earn money. Moreover, they are afraid of criticism from other men that women are bread earners for them; their ego is hurt by such criticism. Besides, they do not respect working women, consider such women inferior, and think that they are needy and poor (which is not always the real situation) and can be exploited easily. Furthermore, women in this culture are always determinants of family honour, and people do not want them to be known as public figures and as mixing with all sorts of men (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). This is probably how most of the rural class and some of the middle class men think. They might countenance their women working as teachers or doctors, provided they are not in contact with men to any great extent: but they would probably not feel comfortable about them working in institutions that require constant or frequent interaction with men. The basic view is that women should remain at home and look after the children, while the men go out and work (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). Of course, women have few reservations about men working in institutions where they interact with women. There is a basic inconsistency in these attitudes.

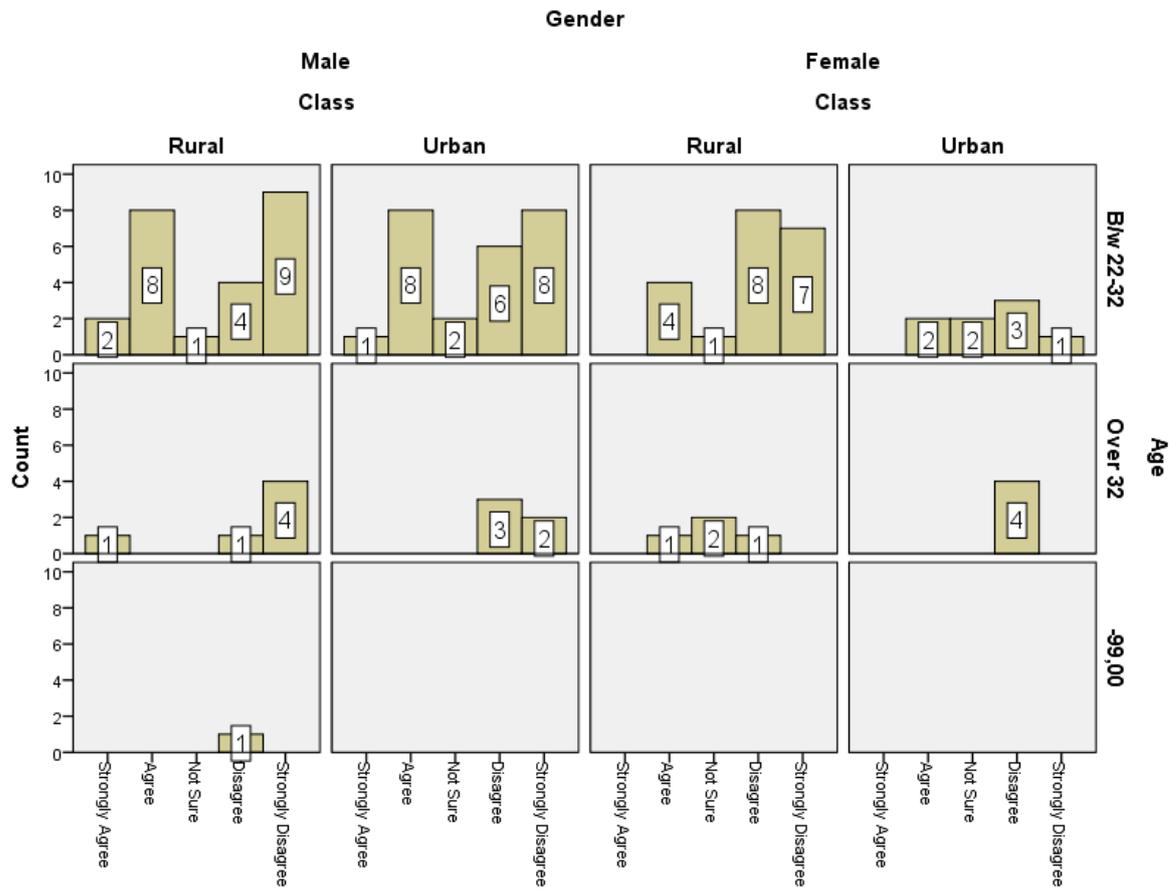
The findings for the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years show eleven respondents who agree and five disagree. Middle-class urban males recommend only a few professions for their women (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2), whereas most of the upper-class urban men are not happy with limited professions for their women. For example, in this culture, medicine and teaching are considered to be the most respected professions for women, whereas the professions like modelling or working in TV, advertising, sales, factories, the judiciary and the law are not considered good in Pakistani culture. It depends upon a man how much trust and confidence he has in his daughter or wife. Ideally, urban and rural women should not be restricted in any profession.

The findings for the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show ten respondents who disagree and six who agree. The rural class women are not consciously aware of any limitations on them, because of their traditional cultural values (Bourdieu, 2001). Moreover, these women are used to living within limitations; if they are restricted in choosing a profession they will happily accept those restrictions. If a woman has her family's consent, for example if her husband agrees for her to act as a school teacher, she will be happy to work in a school. The rural females are not highly educated. They are educated only to a certain level, and anyway professional opportunities are scarcely available in rural areas.

The findings for the female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years show six respondents who agree. Nowadays, urban upper class women are working in every profession, and they are often accomplishing their tasks very well. It depends partly upon the woman what type of profession she chooses; the choice of profession also depends upon her interests, values and family background. Any restriction will not bring fruitful results; it also affects women's attitudes towards other professions. TV and media are the main sources for learning English and areas to use it. We should not restrict women to a few professions. Such restrictions will cause inefficiency in society, because urban-class women are capable of working equally with men in every profession. Urban upper-class women are already working with men in almost all professions. They are doing their best. Often, they work better than men. The urban upper-class women are not restricted to 'authorized' professions of teaching and medicine. They generally do as they please. Usually they are more concerned about the salary that they get. For this reason, they choose the few professions which offer high salaries. Various professions are available to urban upper-class women, due to their high level of education as well as the flexibility in the attitudes of their men. If men try to restrict urban middle class women, the reaction they get can be strong.

On Question 17, a total of thirty nine respondents agree and seven strongly agree. The number for the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years is higher than for the male rural class, while the female group shows seven who agree in the rural class and nine agree in the urban class. These choices show the narrow-mindedness of many in the educated group, who support the hypothesis that the traditional norms do not allow a variety of professions for women. I think that the women should not be limited to a few professions, but the fact is that the people of the north-west of Pakistan prefer them to join teaching or medicine (For details, see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). The world of information technology and computer sciences has opened a new territory for the youngsters. It is mostly chosen by the male members of society. Although the female segment studies IT in the universities, they are not allowed to go ahead to compete at professional and international level. The general attitude of the people of the Mansehra region restricts women to selected subjects and professions. The results of my research on values relate to the objective (b), which was to assess the effect of learning English on attitudes to the social role of women. They cannot take part in advanced education in English; this leads to the exclusion of women.

Q (18) Women should not be allowed to work with men.



Q18. Women should not be allowed to work with men

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows the difference between the male rural class (13) and the male urban class (10) at the level of strongly disagree. There is a similarity between the male rural class (8) and the male urban class (8) at the level of agree. There is also a similarity between the male urban class (9) and the female rural class (9) at the level of disagree. A difference between the male rural class (13) and the female rural class (7) is found at the level of strongly disagree. There is a difference between members of the female rural class (5) and the female urban class (2) at the level of agree.

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine as the highest figure. Nine subjects strongly disagree and eight agree. It is not considered good for women to work with men; if they work, it should be in those professions where they do not interact with men. This restriction is imposed due to the *purdah*

[segregation] system, in which women wear the veil or hijab (Arai & Tabata, 2006; Ahmad & Neman, 2013; Chowdury, 1993) (Also see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). Some rural men think that if women work with men this will affect their traditional values. Besides, such men do not like working with women. They feel insulted and degraded if their women work with men. Furthermore, they detest the idea of equal status and job opportunities. However, I have noticed that in the results for Question 10, in the rural areas, where some girls step out to get education, some of their male counterparts are becoming aware of the fact that female literacy will bring prosperity and general wellbeing.

The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years show eight respondents who strongly disagree and eight who agree. Especially in urban areas, some men are open-minded, allow their women to work and themselves also work with women with great respect. Some middle-class urban males do not like their women to work in a mixed environment, but they themselves work in such an environment. If women have studied in coeducation, they have more confidence when working with men because they have dealt with males in educational life as well. The general opinion of the urban middle-class males is that women should not be allowed to work with men because they are always at a disadvantage outside the home as they are seen as sexual objects by the males. And most of the men stop their women from doing so, so that they are not viewed as the men view working women.

The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight respondents who disagree and seven strongly disagree. The results show that the rural class women mostly want to work with men equally. They want to excel in the fields of their expertise. NGOs were established in the rural areas of Mansehra after the earthquake in 2007. They played a major role in creating awareness among rural people, especially women, regarding utilising their potential by opening different vocational centres, which do not necessarily require knowledge of English. Trained bilingual or multilingual experts were hired to train women, especially in stitching and embroidery. But the fact cannot be ignored that the rural women do not feel confident and do not do their best when working with men because they are not comfortable, due to the *purdah* (segregation) system (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). Even though they work equally in the fields, they get lower wages and are harassed and manhandled by men, since theirs is a world of absolute male dominance. Despite this,

they favour the participation of women so that they could become equal with men at all levels.

The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows three respondents who disagree. The female urban class aged over 32 years shows four respondents who disagree. Indeed, they should be allowed to work with men, because doing so they can learn how the male mind operates. Also, they can learn to tackle difficult situations and experience life's practicalities. Urban women are comfortable when working with men; they are provided by the companies with all the facilities that are provided to their male colleagues.

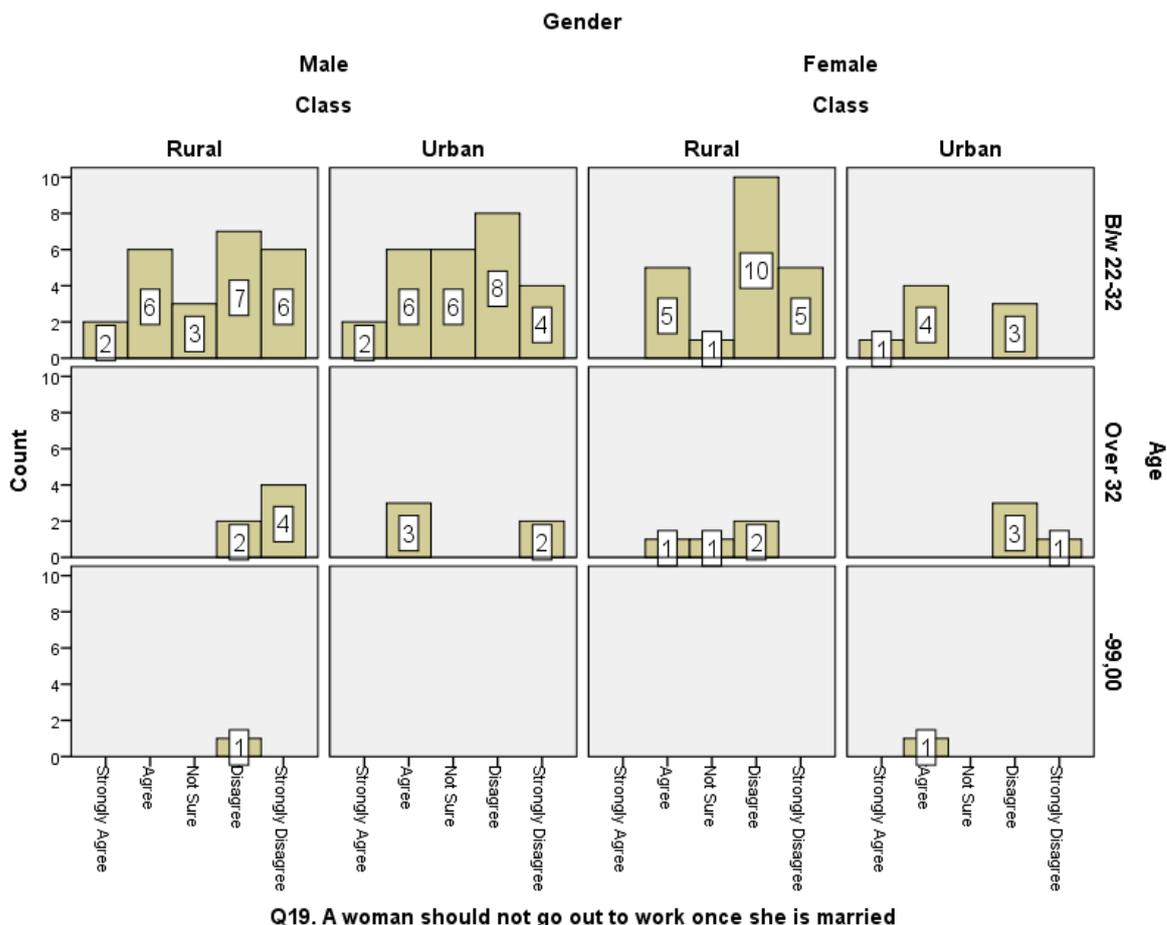
If males and females have the same qualifications, they work at an equal pace. Nowadays women are confident; they can often do better than men. Moreover, they are often more responsible than men. Discrimination between men and women should not be allowed in any organisation, because they work equally. If men and women are given equal opportunities to work, then both can succeed in accomplishing their tasks. Women are not given equal chances, due to discrimination even in urban areas. Although they work equally, the wages of men are higher than those of women. Furthermore, most of the higher posts are given to males. Women should be treated equally in the disbursement of wages and promotion, but they are always treated as inferior to men. They often work harder than the men, but the quality of work is not taken into consideration. The urban upper-class does not care whether they work with males or females. They respect each other and work effectively.

On Question (18), altogether twenty three subjects agree that women should not be allowed to work with men. The male rural and urban classes show equal proportions (8:8). Four subjects strongly agree. I observe that even if girls get education to the same level, they are often not allowed to join professions with men. I suspect that the male segment becomes scared of the female group's success rate. The males think that if women join the professions they will dominate in administrative and other institutional positions. They think that women's exposure to English language learning and culture in a mixed environment or co-education would prove to be detrimental to men (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5).

This male suspicion supports the hypothesis that if control is in the hands of men, change will never take place, though some (rural: 9 : urban: 8) strongly disagree with the statement that women should not be allowed to work with men. Their attitude towards women's work does not correspond to this number (9:8). So there is a need to

recommend (for details, see Chapter 7, 7.5) a course of educational action for women of this region, which is the concern (d) of objectives in chapter 1.

Q (19) A woman should not go out to work once she is married.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a small difference between the female rural class (12) and the male rural class (10) at the level of disagree. There is a similar difference between the male urban class (8) and the female urban class (6) at this level. There is a similarity between the agreement levels of the male rural class (6) and the female rural class (6). There is a difference between the agreement level of the male rural class (6) and the male urban class (9). There is a similarity between the male rural class (2) and the male urban class (2) at the level of strongly agree. There is the difference between the male rural class (10) and male urban class (6) at the level of strongly disagree.

Discussion:

The male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows seven subjects who disagree, six who strongly disagree and six who agree. Although some members of this class accept the importance of females in social and professional roles, which might help to remove financial difficulties, they do not cooperate in domestic household that makes things difficult for women. Data shows that some rural men are conservative; they do not allow their women to work or even to go out of their homes without their permission. Rural class males say that women completely depend upon their husbands after marriage.

The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight subjects who disagree and six agree. The urban middle class does not allow women to work, while the upper-class believes that both genders should work. Upper-class urban men are broadminded and they allow their women to work after marriage; they understand that it will help financially if women work. They allow this on condition that the children and home should not be affected. They also know that the women will work effectively as well as manage the home. In urban areas, women have many facilities; they can hire people for household help. For women who were working before marriage, it is easy to work and manage their homes after marriage. Urban upper-class men are more tolerant than rural men; if women come late from work, they will not mind as much as the men of rural areas do.

The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows ten subjects who disagree, five strongly disagree and five agree. There are some educated families in the rural areas who would disagree with the statement, and want women to utilize their potential positively. On the other hand, the in-laws in rural areas especially dislike their daughters in law going out for work. Those who work are associated only with the profession of teaching. The joint family system in the rural areas creates adjustment problems for a female who works. The family members keep an eye on her departure and arrival times; everyone in the family seems to monitor her activities.

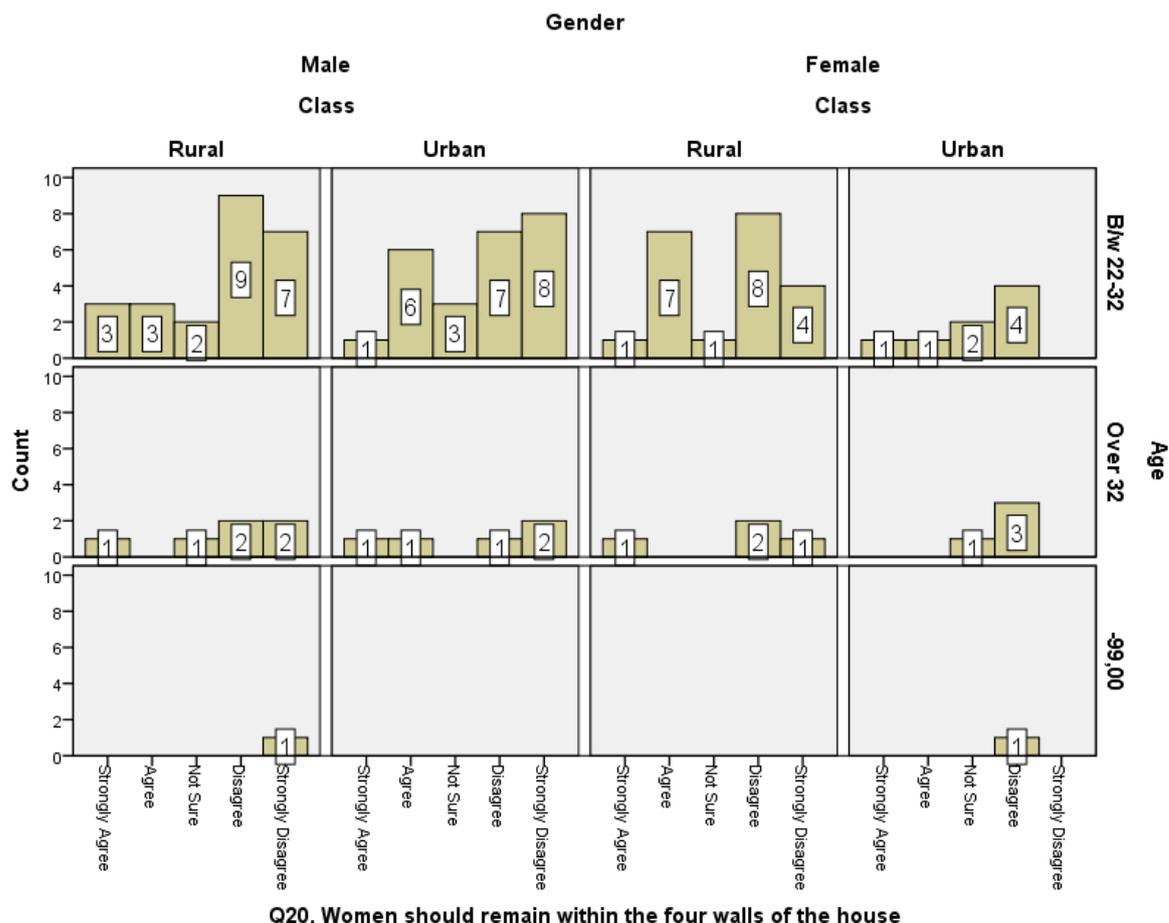
The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows four subjects who agree and three who disagree. Doctors' training places in medical colleges are very difficult to get; some females in the middle-urban class who become doctors are not allowed to work after marriage; thus their training becomes wasted (Junaidi, 2014). There should be males or females who could take those places so that the training is not wasted. Marriage should not limit a woman's capabilities and qualifications; if she has the

qualification and capabilities, she should work after marriage (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.3). It depends on how capable a woman is; if she can manage her home and work effectively, there is no harm in her working.

If a woman is well educated and it happens that she is married in a village, why should she not go to work? Her husband should support her. But a married woman also has a duty towards her children. If her husband earns a handsome salary, she should stay at home and look after the children, unless she was working before the marriage; in this case she should continue to be a working woman even after the marriage. However, if her in-laws do not want her to continue her work, for the peace of conjugal life she must stay at home. Here I feel researcher bias because I am also a native of the Mansehra region, and affected by the norms and cultures of that place.

A significant proportion disagrees with the above statement because of their emerging awareness as well as the economic needs of the society. Also, I observe that although for most of the time the husband and wife work just to make ends meet, some also do so to meet other requirements of family life. This activity is encouraged amongst the urban class. When women go out of home to work, they become engaged in new social responsibilities. In this way, they escape from traditional South Asian family conflicts. The exposure gained at the workplace enhances their vision about life and their standing in society. They no longer act like traditional housewives. With regard to the hypothesis, data shows that many in the male urban class (6) and the male rural class (6) between 22-32 years oppose the idea of women working out and adopting English language and culture. They see women learning English as an obstacle to practising traditional values and culture. These findings relate to objectives (b) and (c), which have been mentioned in Chapter 1.

Q (20) Women should remain within the four walls of the house.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows some difference between the male rural class (11) and the male urban class (8) at the level of disagree. The male rural class (10) and the male urban class (10) show the same levels for strongly disagree. There is a difference between the female rural class (10) and the female urban class (8) at the level of disagree. The male urban class (7) and the female rural class (7) show the same levels for agree. The uncertain levels of the male rural and urban class (3) and the female urban class (3) are the same.

Discussion:

The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine as the highest figure. Nine respondents disagree and seven strongly disagree. Although the male rural class often disagree with the idea that women should remain within the four walls of the house, they do not in practice confirm to the liberal social values of the urban class. Rural males often think that women's work outside the home will

disturb the home. They want them to wear veils whenever they go out (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). If anyone does not conform, then society and the people in the surrounding area do not consider it moral, and comment ironically. The people in the surrounding area are the major hurdle in the way towards female progress in the rural areas. The men do not like women's wider socialization (see Chapter 4, 4.1.3).

The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight respondents who strongly disagree, seven who disagree and six who agree. The men in the upper urban class promote women's socialization. In the urban middle class, traditional families do not allow women to work, even if they are educated. Some educated families do not allow this; every family has its own priority. Some allow higher education to women, but they do not want them to work.

The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight respondents who disagree and seven who agree. Although the female rural class often disagrees with the idea that women should remain within the four walls of the house, the women cannot go out to work, due to the people in their area. Elderly women, such as grandmothers, do not consider it good for women to do so (Arai & Tabata, 2006; Ahmad & Neman, 2013) (Also see Chapter 4, 4.3.1 and 4.3.4). The women remain within the four walls of the house due to their cultural priorities. The cultural values prefer them to do domestic duties instead of partaking in social activities.

The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows four respondents who disagree. The attitude towards jobs depends upon the interests of women; some of them want to be housewives while some are interested in jobs. In the urban class, having a job is fashionable and a status symbol.

If a woman is educated to such an extent that she can contribute positively to society, while keeping in mind her cultural values, she should work. If she has certain capabilities she should not remain within the four walls of the house. The women who go out to work are more likely to socialize, and they are more responsible when dealing in social space. However, a woman has to be mindful of her modesty. It is because of fear about this that parents do not allow girls to go to work.

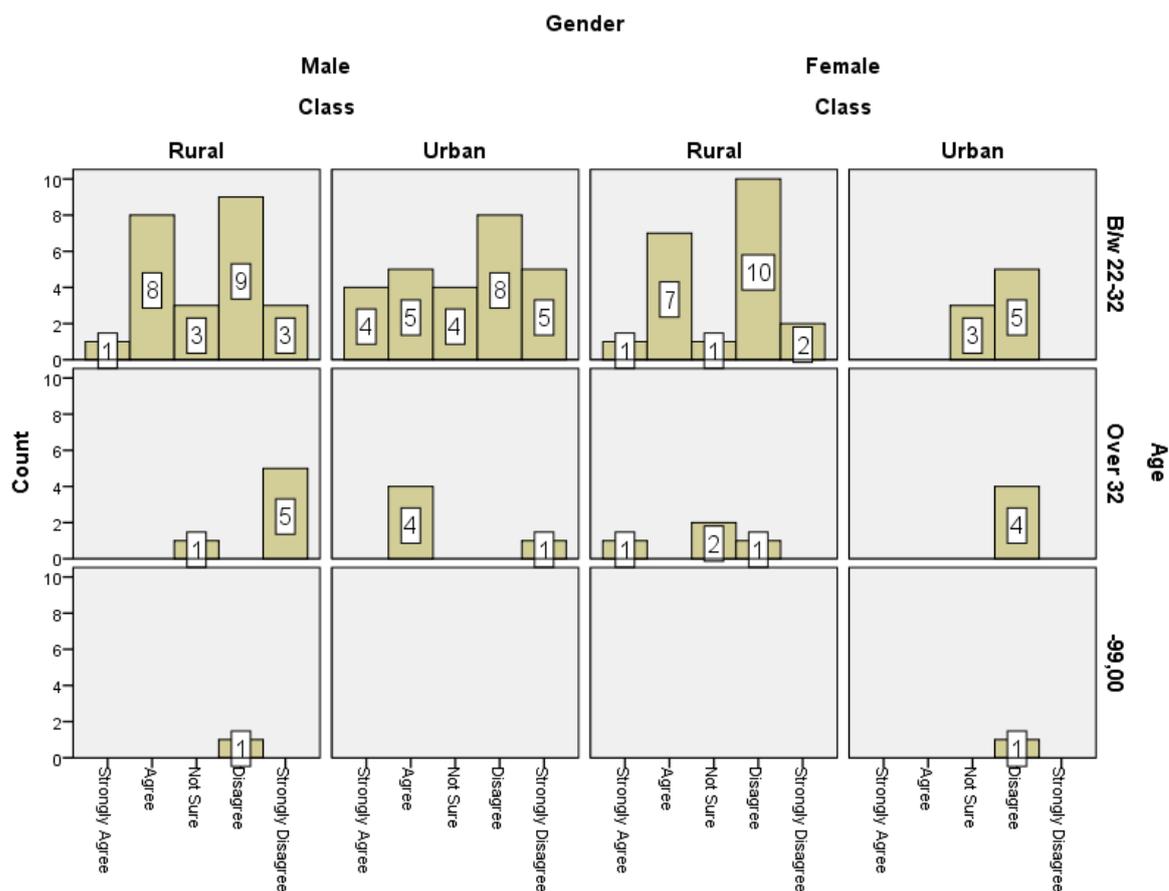
The approaches in the urban and rural areas are different. On Question (20), surprisingly, the number of male urban class who agree to the idea of the four walls is higher than that of the male rural class. I observe that families mostly restrict their wives, daughters and sisters to life within the four walls. People do not allow their daughters to play in parks or outside the home in the streets after a certain age limit,

about ten years. The daughters are mostly engaged in household activities (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.4). This causes a lack of confidence. For instance, in Peshawar and its immediate environs, most of the girls get married at an early age (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.3) (Jensen & Thornton, 2003: 9). Early marriages are also common in Mansehra and its surrounding areas. The results of analysing males' values (6 urban males agree: 3 rural males agree) support my hypothesis related to traditional norms, and also relate to objective (c).

6.1.6. Attitudes about change in the region and the impact of English

This group comprises four questions. It includes questions (21) to question (24).

Q (21) Traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are permanent and must not be tampered with.



Q21. Traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are permanent and must not be tampered with

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a slight difference between the male rural class (10) and the female rural class (11) at the level of disagree. The male rural class (10) and the female urban

class (10) show the same level for disagree. There is a small difference between the male urban class (8) and the male rural class (10). There is also a small difference between the rural male class (8) and the urban male class (9) at the level of agree. There is a difference between the male rural class (8) and the male urban class (6) at the level of strongly disagree. There is a slight difference between the female rural class (7) and the male rural class (8) at the level of agree.

The male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine participants who disagree and eight who agree. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight subjects who disagree, five who strongly disagree and five who agree. The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows ten participants who disagree and seven who agree. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows five participants who disagree.

Discussion:

Some traditional ideas are worth keeping, but not all. Some traditional ideas are terrible and should be changed. Dreadful things are done with girls and women; for example, the tradition of slavery survives in the region. Learning in the broadest sense should be available for all males and females (see English makes negative impacts on girls in 6.2.5). Access to English is the basis of access to many activities. It makes people free. Boys and girls must have the same opportunities available in schools and colleges regarding activities. There is increasingly equal access for boys and girls to education in the western world, but in Pakistan, the religious seminaries want to keep girls and boys separate (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.1.3).

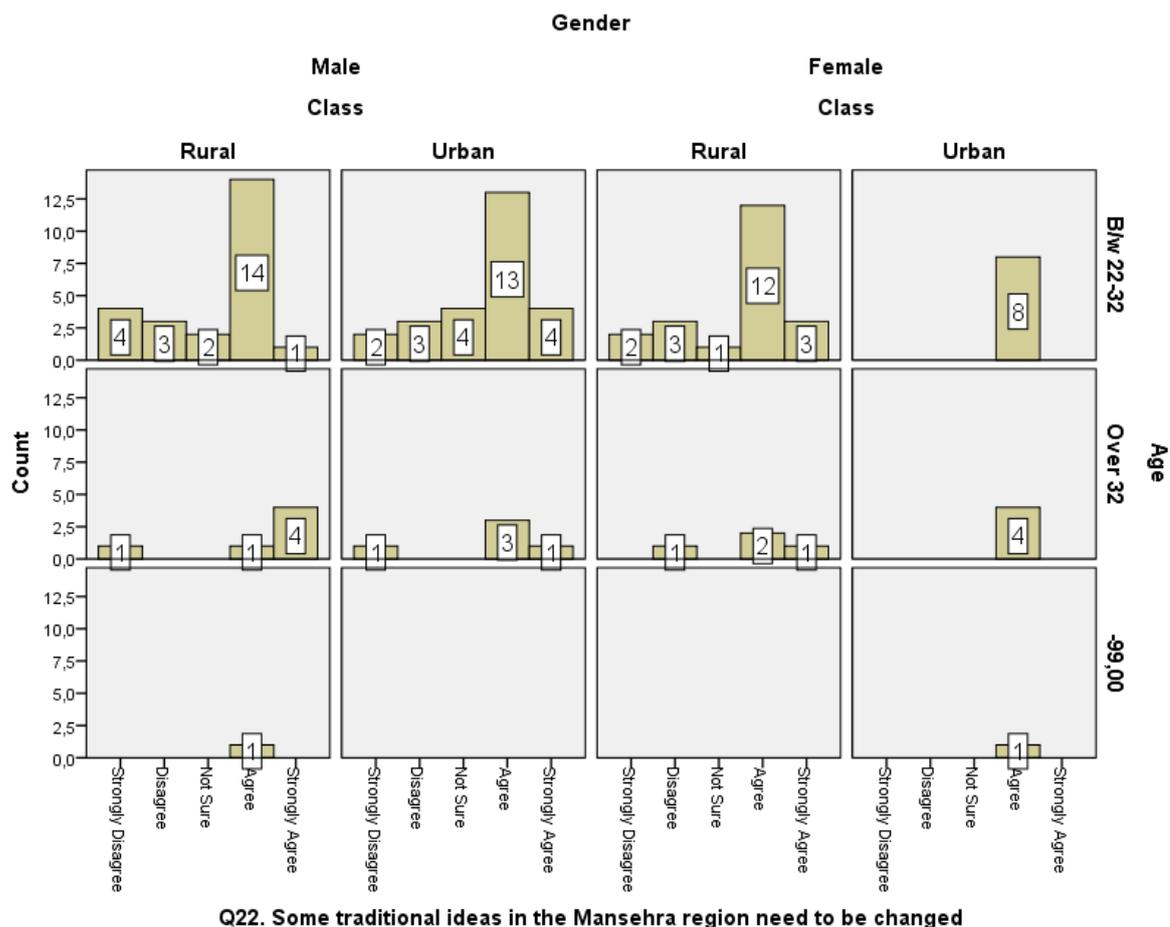
In rural areas dressing in an English way is not considered good, co-education is not considered good (see 4.3.2), and speaking English as a routine is deemed abominable. The traditions of marriage ceremonies are rigid, and waste a great deal of money. The bride is kept confined for many days for the sake of fulfilling these traditions. She is not allowed to move out of a specific room. The joint family system is considered good; it is not considered good if a couple lives independently or alone.

Educational standards have shifted in urban areas; in the past, many people used to educate their children in some of the government schools, but now the trend has completely changed; everyone wants his or her children to study in the English-medium schools. In the urban culture, people are more concerned with the social standard of the institution than with education. They pay huge fees to maintain the

social standards of their children's educational environment. The names of the schools have become status symbols, for example Beacon House, American Schooling System, Aitchison. In urban areas, girls and boys are provided with equal educational standards by their parents, whereas in rural areas boys are given more education than girls. Parents may even send their boys to urban areas to get higher education, but most of the girls remain in their respective regions after completing their limited education, and sometimes they do not complete their studies. Priorities differ for girls in urban as well as rural areas. In urban areas, parents want their girls to complete their education, and then they think about their marriage, while in rural areas they want their daughters to get married as soon as possible (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.3); they are not bothered about education. In urban areas, co-educational institutions are in vogue, whereas in rural areas nobody will send a daughter to such places. Now the practice is gradually changing in a few rural areas; if the girls who are willing, their parents may send them to the cities to get education. Educational opportunities for boys and girls should be equal, irrespective of urban and rural areas. It is difficult to change traditions, because they are deeply engraved in the society. Different marriage ceremonies like *mehndi*, *barat*, *waleema* are Indian trends that we have adopted. "Mehndi day" starts just before the day of marriage, which is called *barat*, and "waleema day" is usually celebrated just after "barat day." In urban areas, people are changing more, adopting English culture and leaving behind their own culture. English-medium schools promote Western culture; some parents, without caring about the environment of the institutions, want their children to speak English fluently. People from rural areas are particular about their traditions. They do not like to accept any change in their traditional values, and celebrate every festival with full enthusiasm. In urban areas, parents try to provide equal gender opportunities for the learning of English skills. Urban people promote the English language, whereas rural people are more concerned about their local language, and festivals like Eid. The responses indicate attitudes about change in the region, and also show the impact of English affecting a transformation in the society. The male rural and urban class is also uncertain about the arrival of change in the region. The educated males of the urban classes are uncertain, due to the social and cultural values of the region. They are inevitably aware of advanced ideas as well as the traditional concepts carved in their minds. Although they understand the benefits of modernization (see Chapter 7, 7.2.4), the region is not provided with the advanced resources to help people think

independently. Nine respondents of the male urban class agree that the traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are permanent. The number of the female rural class doing so is higher than that of the female urban class. The total for the female rural class shows seven respondents who agree, while the female urban class shows zero. Here the situation is the opposite to what might be expected from the male educated group or the urban class. Surprisingly, the educated group indicates some reluctance to accept the idea of change, while the rural class shows some flexibility. These ideas in Mansehra need to be looked at closely. The thinking of past generations should not decide the way we live now. Each generation must think for itself. I observe that there is an inconsistency between what some participants say or how they respond to the questionnaire and what they actually implement in their lives. They consider learning English for women as a part of modernization and against traditional ideas. They are not willing to change their attitudes regarding women's English literacy at any level. All traditions should be tested carefully, as hypothesized in chapter 1. The above explanation relates partially to objective (c).

Q (22) Some traditional ideas in the Mansehra region need to be changed.



Presentation of the data:

The male rural class (16) and the male urban class (16) show the same levels for agree. There is a difference between the female rural class (14) and the female urban class (13) at this level. The male rural class (5) and the male urban class (5) show the same levels for strongly agree. There is a difference between the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (3) at the level of strongly disagree. The male rural class (3) and the male urban class (3) show the same levels for disagree.

The graph for the male rural class shows fourteen as the highest figure. Fourteen respondents agree, four strongly disagree and three disagree. The male urban class shows thirteen respondents who agree and four who strongly agree. The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows twelve respondents who agree, three who strongly agree and three who disagree. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows eight respondents who agree.

Discussion:

My perspective is that the responses support the view that females should be allowed to get education; the tradition of illiteracy and not allowing the education of women should end; women should be allowed to work if they want to. Males should allow females to acquire jobs and education. They often do not allow women to become independent; if women go abroad alone, they criticise them and their families severely. There is a need to change this tradition. If women and men get education equally, the literacy rate will increase, and this will enhance the country's economic progress. Males often think that women get education only for the sake of work (see Chapter 1, 1.1.5). However, the truth is that education brings awareness of sociocultural issues.

Some people are of the view that the social and educational standards of the institutions affect religious and moral values in the region. It has become the fashion to get education in English-medium schools. Another reason for doing so is that parents pay for their children to become modern. The subject of religious instruction in some schools was taught in Urdu; gradually it is changing to English, and now it is becoming excluded from curriculum, but not in government schools. Most of the school authorities are stopping the teaching of religious and Islamic values. They fear impact on regional values (see use of the native language in Chapter 6, 6.2.3). The respondents opine that gradually we are eliminating our traditional culture and allowing English culture to overcome it. For this reason, learning English has become a status symbol (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.2). The English-medium schools are extremely expensive (see Expensive English medium schools – rural versus elite in Chapter 3, 3.1.3). People do not bother about the rest of the curriculum; they are only concerned with learning English. In Beacon House and other high standard English-medium schools, teachers and students are generally not allowed to speak in Urdu and other regional languages, only in English. The students are allowed to speak Urdu only in Islamiyat (the religious instruction course) and Urdu classes. The parents are happy with this. Those who speak English well are considered to be confident and educated. Some people are of the view that this trend also needs to be changed: we cannot judge anyone on the basis of English language proficiency alone.

English is important, but school authorities should not ignore religious and moral values. Some parents feel proud that their children neither speak nor write Urdu; they tell this to others with pride. In urban areas, there is a need to give importance to the national language and traditional cultural values. Children should focus on Urdu, so

that they do not totally leave their own language and culture. In rural areas, people should adopt those modern values which do not damage their culture. People in rural areas should adopt English to a certain extent, so that they can succeed in the wider world. Parents should learn some English so that they can teach their children at home, even if they do not allow them to receive education in English (see the role of English-literate mothers in Chapter 6, 6.2.4).

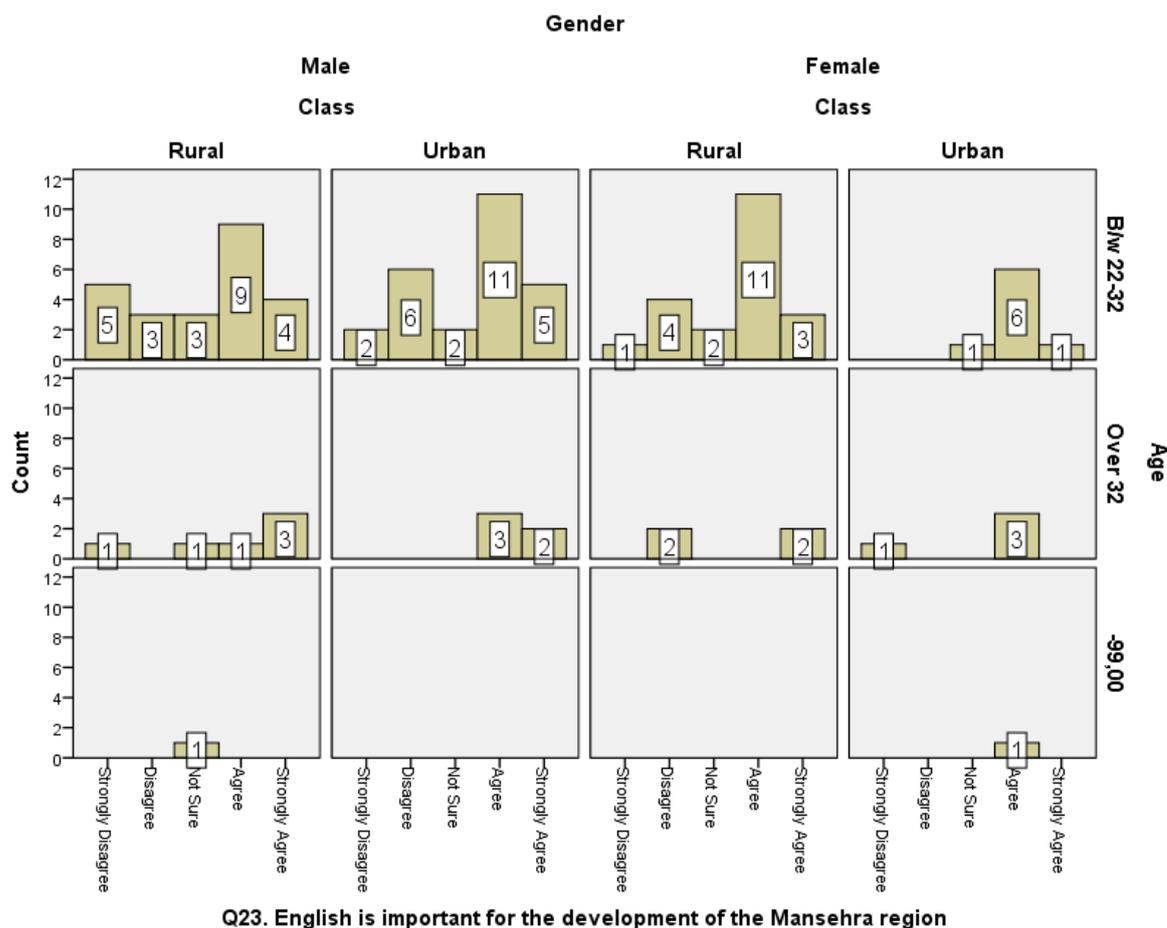
Although both groups agree to accept the modernizing of traditional ideas, reluctance is still found in both groups (see Question (21)). Uncertainty exists due to the clash between traditional and modern trends. This conflict is deeply engraved in social features, for example the social networks, relationships and authorities of the region. I observe that traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are changing, but the society has to overcome some hurdles like the traditional mindset and social assumptions, the *purdah* system, segregation in educational institutions and private and public sector offices, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Above all, traditional restrictions placed on women should be challenged in the light of women's rights. Adult women can decide things for themselves, especially if they are economically self-supporting. An economic issue is at the bottom of traditional restrictions: women are economically dependent on men (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.2.2). According to some rural mindsets, learning English means adopting modern culture, which is not acceptable for all (*Dawn*, May 2014). Such ideas need to be changed to pave the way for improvement in the region. The people of the region need to re evaluate the current trends and traditions, especially those related to women learning English for the purposes of higher education. With regard to this study's hypothesis, the results show that exposure to English language and culture is important for women in order to bring positive change in the society. This explanation also relates to objective (c), which was introduced in Chapter 1.

I confirm that the traditional teaching methodologies, curriculum and the typical mindsets discussed above are related to English language learning need to be remoulded (for details, see 3.3.3, 3.3.4 and 3.3.5); otherwise the students will suffer in the long run. Teacher training programmes are in vogue, but even so the students on them are not informed about new trends, especially for girls in the rural areas.

There is a need to enhance the motivational level (for details, read 3.3.1) of English language learners. The recent situation of the Mansehra region shows that the students' English proficiency level does not increase, even after taking various

English language courses (Shamim, 2011). They themselves comment that “they are at the point where they started, there is no change.” There is a lack of motivation, which needs to be improved in order to learn the English language effectively.

Q (23) English is important for the development of the Mansehra region.



Presentation of the data:

The graph shows a difference between the male rural class (10) and the male urban class (14) at the level of agree. There is a slight difference between the female rural class (11) and the female urban class (10). There is a difference between the male rural class (6) and the male urban class (2) at the level of strongly disagree. There is a similarity between the male urban class (6) and the female rural class (6) at the level of disagree. There is also a similarity between the male rural class (7) and the male urban class (7) at the level of strongly agree. A large difference in the level of uncertainty is found between the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (2).

The graphs for the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years and the female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show eleven as the highest common figure.

The male rural class shows nine participants who agree and five who strongly disagree. The male urban class shows eleven participants who agree and six who disagree. The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years show that eleven participants who agree and four who disagree. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows six participants who agree.

Discussion:

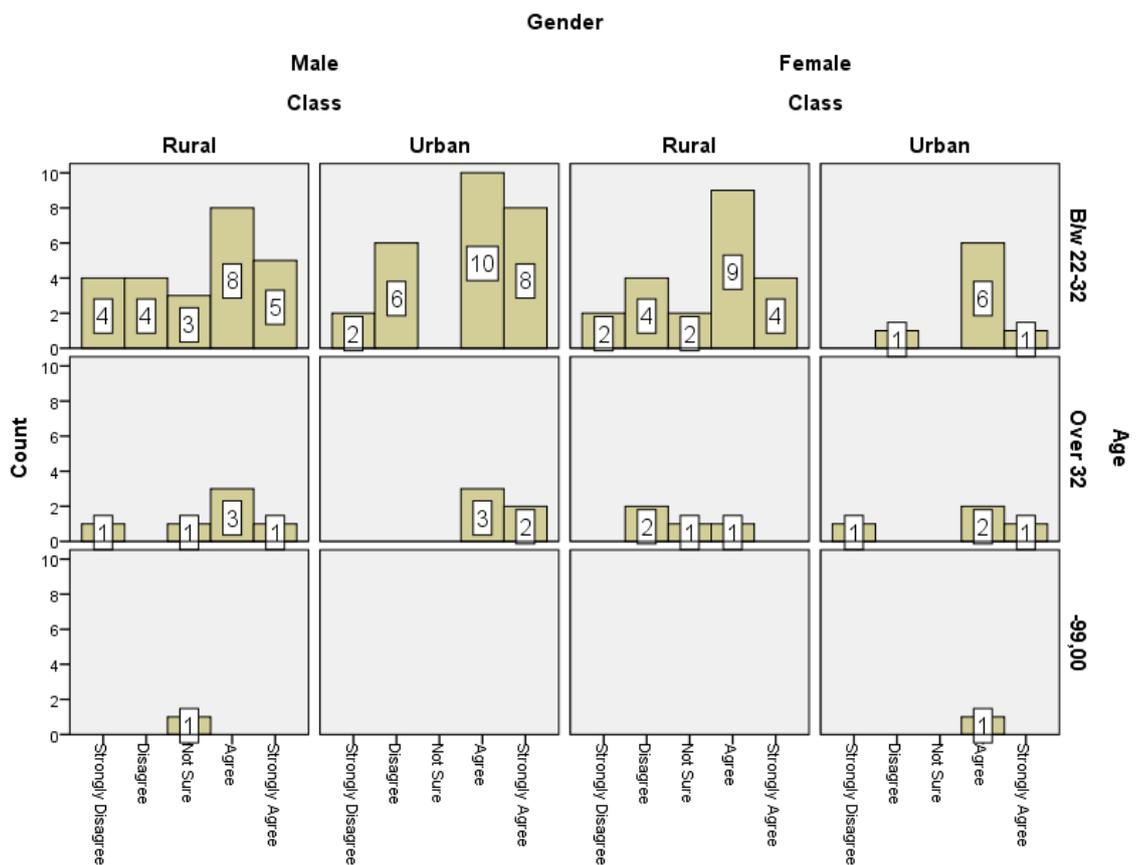
The responses indicate that many accept that English is important for the progress of the country; every person should learn it. If they are competent in English, then it is easier for them to use technology. If they are English-proficient, it is easier for them to survive in the bigger cities.

English is important for the development of any region in the world because it is an international language (for details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.5). It is equally important for men as well as for women; it plays a vital role in personal success, especially in Pakistan. In urban areas, English is considered to be the most important communication tool and equal opportunity is given to boys and girls to develop their educational standards of English. In these areas, Urdu is not given priority nowadays. English is important, but we should not leave the national language behind (For details, see Use of the native language in Chapter 6, 6.2.3). For instance, the Chinese use their own language, even as they are progressing very fast all over the world; they promote their own language (see 6.2.2). In rural areas, people should consider English as an important language so that they can cope with worldly affairs and succeed outside their country.

The data generally verifies the hypothesis that English is accepted as important for the development of Mansehra region (see 6.2.2). Most of the subjects from both groups in this study agree with the idea that English is important for that development. Although they accept the importance of the language, they seem to be uncertain, perhaps due to the colonial legacy. Some participants from the rural class consider English to be a language that enslaves them, but the dominant groups with social, political and economic strength in Mansehra and other parts of the country, consider English with a view to the future (For details, see 3.1.1) . They believe that English plays a major role in the development of country. It is the language of development for the whole country, but is especially important for relatively backward areas. It should be made available to everyone regardless of gender, right from the beginning.

I observe that English is a compulsory subject in private schools, right from the youngest class. Court proceedings are done in English. Official letters in the public and private sector universities are written in English. The Urdu-medium schools and government colleges are deficient in teaching English. It is important to draw their staff's attention to the importance of English. Unlike private schools and colleges, they are not well equipped with sufficient supporting material and staff (Saeed & Wain, 2011; Qureshi, 2003) (Also see Chapter 4, 4.4). The syllabi need to be improved (Karim & Shaikh, 2012; Shamim, 2008). I confirm that the teaching staff in government schools are not well versed in English. They use the grammar translation method to teach it, all the way from class one to class ten (For details, see Direct instruction model versus traditional method in Chapter 3, 3.3.4). In addition to this, general support for women learning English for the purposes of higher education can also help in the development of the Mansehra region. But this has not been given priority, due to the non-acceptance of women learning English.

Q (24) English is important for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region.



Q24. English is important for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region

Presentation of the data:

The graph shows some difference of opinion between the male urban class (13) and the male rural class (11) at the level of agree. There is a slight difference between the female rural class (10) and the female urban class (9) at this level. There is a difference between the male urban class (10) and the male rural class (6) at the level of strongly agree. The male urban class (6) and the female rural class (6) show the same levels for disagree. There is a difference between the male rural class (4) and the male urban class (6) at the level of disagree. There is also a slight difference between the female rural class (10) and the female urban class (9) at the level of agree. The male urban class (2) and the female rural class (2) show same levels for strongly disagree. A difference is also found between the male rural class (5) and the male urban class (2) at the level of strongly disagree.

The graph for the male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows ten as the highest figure. The graph for the male rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows that eight participants agree and five strongly agree. The male urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows ten participants who agree and eight who strongly agree. The female rural class aged between 22 and 32 years shows nine participants who agree and four who strongly agree. The female urban class aged between 22 and 32 years shows six participants who agree.

Discussion:

Most of the responses indicate acceptance of the importance of English for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region. The concepts developed in the English language are of higher value than those in Urdu; there is less academic work and research in Urdu, because English is the language of those who are better in education (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.5). Since the users of English are culturally modern, English is compulsory for modernity, and the new developments show that those who speak English are more modernizing (see Chapter 7, 7.2.4). If people are English-proficient, this can solve many problems like English comprehension at advanced levels; it can help them in their work too.

Some influences of English might be noted--one, all contemporary English-speaking societies today tend to be democratic and egalitarian; two, the idea of change and progress is more strongly in evidence in English-speaking societies than in developing

world societies such as that of Pakistan, in which stasis and the overvaluation of old ideas and norms will be seen.

The responses show that some people in rural areas think that knowing English is not important to modernize attitudes. In urban areas, everyone speaks English because competence in doing so has become an important standard for families. A certain class of people in urban areas speak English as a status symbol, just to show off, but they are not highly educated. When urban-class girls go to shops they speak English with the shopkeepers, who do not understand a single word of English. The girls coming from rural areas speak broken English, though they can speak Urdu and regional languages better than English. A certain class of educated people speak English when there is a need to do so. When one knows good English, then, one gains confidence in himself or herself, and one can communicate effectively with the people who do not know even their national language.

In urban areas of the Mansehra region, English has been strongly promoted, especially for males. In rural areas, people do not understand the importance of English as an important communication tool, especially for girls. In urban areas, English is required for development and to promote modernizing attitudes. Some people opine that English should be used for the sake of development, and not for modernizing attitudes, though it should be used for positive growth. In rural areas, there is a need to adopt English as a developmental tool. This is the first step. The second step should be to adopt steps in order to modernize attitudes. Some participants are of the view that English should be taught for personal benefit rather than for modernizing attitudes: it should be adopted for one's own self, and should not affect religion and cultural values (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5 and English makes negative impacts on girls in Chapter 6, 6.2.5). In urban areas, there is a modernizing attitude among men and women. The men may speak only broken English in rural areas, but people give them more respect if they can do so, and they show more confident attitudes, whereas in urban areas, some people speak English fluently, although some of them also speak broken English.

The modernizing attitude affects schools, colleges and universities greatly. They have established certain standards of English language and English literature. In urban areas, if people learn English, this does not affect them to a great extent; this is normal routine for them. However, in rural areas, the people who learn English or can speak English are considered to be well educated on the basis of their English proficiency,

due to the differences in educational standards in urban and rural areas. In urban areas, women are given more exposure to English, whereas in rural areas, women are not given much exposure; their exposure to education is limited to Urdu-medium schools. Those who know English become modern themselves. There is a close connection of the English language with modernizing attitudes.

The data discussed in this section verifies the hypothesis that English is often accepted as important for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region. English is vital--unless we can modernize the local languages very quickly, which, judging from what has happened over the last six or more decades, is not going to happen. Responding to Question (24), both groups agree on the need for English as a resource to modernize attitudes in the region. They show their desire to shift to modernization, which has been achieved to a certain extent. The educated urban class is aware of the benefits of modernization, while the rural class feels a need to learn English.

6.1.7. Summary

Practical steps need to be taken to increase exposure to English language and culture. Gradually, people are developing an interest in learning English. They understand the importance of English for improving attitudes. Some parents feel proud when their children speak English fluently. A person who is fluent and accurate in speaking and writing English is considered as modern and advanced. The uncertain and dismissive approach amongst the rural class to modernization is because of its insufficient political power, as well as the inadequate material available in Urdu for all levels in Urdu-medium schools. Some of the government Urdu-medium institutions were converted into English-medium model schools. These schools are still deficient in trained English-proficient teachers. We can see a positive aspect: the range of acceptance of English language and culture has become wider than before (see Chapter 3, 3.1.1). A favourable attitude towards women learning English for the purposes of higher education can play a vital role in modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region (see Chapter 7, 7.2.4). Women learning English can help in modifying the general attitudes of the region.

Women's English language learning supports the modernizing of attitudes through exposure to a relatively modern, forward-looking, liberal attitude, as opposite to a relatively static, backward-looking, restrictive one. It fosters their exposure to science and rational thinking, as against the unthinking acceptance of traditional perceptions

of morality or social structuring (see Question 21 and 22). Modernizing develops through keeping well-informed with modern knowledge in the fields that matter most in the world today instead of relying on outdated norms and customs. It requires an opening of the mind to issues outside the narrowly confined ones that have been announced for women in some parts of the country. Of course, this does not always happen. However, learning English opens some doors for our women to grow in knowledge and participation.

Analysing the themes emerging from the questionnaire survey along with participant observation, perhaps, would not be sufficient to present a clear picture of attitudes towards female English literacy for the purposes of higher education. For this purpose, I look at different themes in interviews, which are to be discussed in 6.2.

6.2. Dataset 2: Interviews – findings

I conducted qualitative interviewing and acted as a neighbour, student and teacher during my participant observation. I designed interview questions on the pattern of semi-structured interviews, which were flexible and continuous (For details, see Qualitative interviewing in Chapter 5, 5.1.1). I changed the questions according to the interviewees' responses. The interviewees took more time to speak than the interviewer. I changed the words and their sequence according to the situation. First I had to introduce the topic. The interviews took place in English, Urdu and Hindko (see Appendix 10). One interviewee answered questions in short statements. Sometimes he replied with only "yes" or "no." I had to ask many additional questions to learn his views. All the interviewees allowed me to include their personal details (except names) as well as interview extracts in this research. I have translated the relevant parts into English (see Appendix 11). All the interviewees are natives of Mansehra and its immediate environs. Most of them belong to the rural class (For details, see Chapter 5, 5.2.1). Their responses show that females' education in English depends partly (or wholly in some areas) on the attitudes of their men. The interviews also show the effect of language use on surroundings and relationships. Expert opinions are attached in an appendix (see Appendix 9). I have organized the following summary of the dialogues with interviewees in different themes or groups in order to understand interviewees' stance. I present collective opinion by using "some

interviewees.” Each interviewee’s opinion is reflected under different themes in Appendix 12.

6.2.1. Self-assessment of competency in English

Some interviewees admit that they do not know English. The first female interviewee elucidates with an example of their problems, saying:

“When we go outdoors, some people speak English; we cannot understand, we only look at their faces.”

She rightly points out that those who do not know English face obstacles and troubles in public spaces. Another female interviewee points out her illiteracy, and says that she does not know if the way she communicates is good or bad. She notes the relationship between the macro and micro levels. The macro level is that of society and institutions, and the micro level is personal. She is of the view that if we learn English this will be beneficial for society as well as individuals (see Chapter 3, 3.1.2); this issue is to be discussed in 6.2.2. In her case, a relationship between language and her social contexts is created.

6.2.2. The role of English in the Mansehra region’s development

This study drew their attention towards the role of English in the Mansehra region’s development and progress. Most of the interviewees say that they are not literate; they cannot even speak Urdu fluently (see Chapter 6, 6.2.1). This is a major hurdle which means they cannot take part in improvement and progress. In Pakistan, those who can speak English fluently are considered more educated than those who are fluent in Urdu only (see Chapter 3, 3.1.5).

Some interviewees say that English is not important for the Mansehra region, and the people there do not like the English language. This is not true for the general populace, but it is true for the male members of these interviewees’ age (which is 50-60 years). They think that Urdu is the best medium of communication. If someone learns English, it is useless. Of course, people who know English are rare in the region. The interviewees’ desire to retain the national language is explicitly stated. The fourth male interviewee maintains:

Learning English language does not play any role in Mansehra. The people qualified in English are limited (in number) here.

Some of them say that the culture should remain the same as it was inherited from forefathers. They opine that the learning of English by women is not necessary for a region's development (for details, read 6.2.5). There are many other sectors of life where we can develop and progress. When I said that all the needed information and texts are available in English, not Urdu or other regional languages, these men did not reply. I think that the people of the villages do not accept English as a valuable additional language. They continuously focus on the regional languages. When I inquire about women learning English, they often show extreme opposition. Such attitude answers objective (a) in 1.2.4 and explains the extent of learning English as well as its effect on women's lives.

On the other hand, some of them say that there is a need to learn English, especially in the Mansehra region. English is important for conveying world knowledge and information in the globalized world village. We cannot ignore English language learning, as it paves the way for internet access, communication, and the media. English plays a pivotal role in our communication with the rest of the world. Learning English helps us to improve ourselves. It also plays an important role in the development of the region. They say that English is not important only in this region but also in the other regions of Pakistan. Everyone must learn it, whether they belong to Mansehra or any other part of the country. They have rightly pointed out the role of English in Mansehra as well as other parts of Pakistan.

People who know English gain a better status in society. Learning English also opens advanced professional opportunities. It affects people's thinking and behaviour, and it also affects their interaction with the other members of society. In this connection, the thirteenth male interviewee maintains:

[...] the way people think, the way people behave, the way people deal or interact with others, it is going to be affected or it is going to be influenced by the English language because the language will affect the overall behaviour or attitude of a person.

The learning of English affects the general attitude of a person towards societal networks, which are institutions at the macro level and composed of individuals at the

micro level. It is important to learn English to get better education as well as status in society.

The desire for children's English education

Some interviewees pinpoint their own illiteracy, but show a desire for their children to get education in English-medium schools. They belong to the rural class; therefore such schools are unaffordable for them (For details, see Expensive English medium schools - rural versus elite in Chapter 3, 3.1.3). They also point out that the people in Mansehra region speak a mother tongue that is Hindko rather than English, but there is a need to learn English. In this vein, the second female interviewee maintains:

We are illiterate but we want our children to get education in English-medium schools. [...] We are neither English-literate nor educated, so we do not think that the way we speak is a decent one.

Women who are well educated in English can resolve problems in a better way. However, many people prefer to speak Hindko, rather than English or Urdu. As a teacher during my participant observation, I noticed this in Hazara University; people speak Hindko, especially in same-sex gatherings. As a student and teacher, I also noticed this in other universities, like the International Islamic University at Islamabad and the University of Management and Technology at Lahore, where people prefer their mother tongues. Although they are in working environments, they do not communicate in English.

Effects of learning English

Most of the interviewees equalize learning English in Mansehra with being a literate person. They think that those who can speak, read and write English are the literate ones, while the rest are illiterate, though some of them can read and write in Urdu and Hindko (see English versus Punjabi in Chapter 3, 3.1.5). They understand the drawbacks of illiteracy. They also elaborate on the advantages of learning English and consider themselves as part of the unprivileged group. They interpret civilization according to Bourdieu's cultural capital (1979, 1984). By civilization, they mean sophisticated ways of living which one learns from primary socialization that is family, for example, table manners, and secondary socialization that is school, for

example, social etiquettes (For details, see Bourdie's Class Distinction in Chapter 1, 1.3.1).

Some of them opine that the effect appears in the form of civilization. The ninth interviewee says:

After learning English, the person becomes civilized.

Good manners and etiquette can also be learnt in regional languages. The interviewee's opinion shows that English in Pakistan is considered as a high-status language (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.2). Those who know English know superior manners and etiquettes. When I asked for the reason for thinking this, then she replied strongly and quoted an example:

[...] if you interact with a person who speaks English and you are unable to speak English, then it seems odd.

She also points out another reason: "*When you watch an English programme on television ... you are unable to understand it.*" English on television has nothing to do with civilization. However, English language learning can resolve many problems at the micro as well as the macro level. At macro level, the institutionalized promotion of English literacy will help to widen the extent of learning English as posited earlier in chapter one (For details, see Chapter 1, 1.3.3)

Impact of English on traditional culture

Some interviewees say that English language education influences our traditional culture, which should remain the same; there is no need to learn English; women should stay at home (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.2.1); Mansehra is a remote area where we use only Hindko, and sometimes Urdu; people do not know English. The fourth male interviewee says:

The traditional culture must not change.

Infact, the culture is changing because English is inescapable in the environment. Actually, advertisements, brochures and pamphlets are published in English. People try to read and understand them, but still some do not appreciate English language education.

On the other hand, some interviewees present two sides of the picture. The culture is sacred, they say, and it should not be changed. However, they change their position by saying that some things need to be eliminated from the culture and we need to revise it. The thirteenth male interviewee quotes an example from his life:

[...] because if I analyse my own context, I can say that learning English language is going to affect my culture, because I am going to revise, I am going to have a sharp eye on it and I am going to take negative things out of it and opt for good things. I'll certainly opt for some good ideas from English culture as well.

Learning English language affects his own culture. He will not adopt English culture completely; he will eradicate negative points from his own, and will reshape his attitude towards life.

Some interviewees show their concerns for the local culture and regional languages: the native language must be preserved in order to preserve the local culture. If we preserve the native language, then the traditions will also be saved (see Chapter 3, 3.2.5).

Rigid attitudes of aged interviewees and only slight changes in the attitudes of young interviewees towards traditional culture, which is objective (c) in chapter one, do not show greater improvement towards change affecting the native language and culture.

While these points are, as I said, a matter of the importance of English in the Mansehra region, they help understand difficulties affecting English literacy in the Mansehra region, which are to be discussed in 6.2.3

6.2.3. Problems affecting English literacy in the Mansehra region

Use of the native language

Some interviewees think that people who know English are considered better than those who do not know English. They say that learning English is not a positive change. We must be more proud of our native language than the foreign language. If we use the medium of our native language to teach different subjects, then the children can learn faster. Children are always conscious about language preferences,

hence they risk developing an inferiority complex related to their first language (see Chapter 3, 3.2.4). In this connection, the fourteenth female interviewee pinpoints:

We have to preserve our native language. Along with language, we are losing so many precious traditions, so this must be protected along with native culture.

These interviewees opine that we are not doing justice to our native language, which has been affected by the excessive use of English in the country (see Chapter 3, 3.1.5). Now it is the medium of education in all parts of the country. People think that those who learn English are civilized and well educated, but other factors also need to be taken under consideration to assess features of civilization. Learning English is inevitable, but the fourth male interviewee says:

Our own Pakistani language, which is Urdu, is better for communication purposes.

The excessive use of native language among male and female hinders the way to broaden the scope of bringing change in the traditional culture as hypothesized in 1.2.3 and mentioned in objective (c) in 1.2.4 in chapter one.

Lack of resources

The lack of resources is a major problem that the people of Mansehra face. Some interviewees mention the problem that resources are not available. The seventh male interviewee points out:

Women's English literacy affects men's attitudes, but people like us do not have the resources to learn English language. There are no institutions to improve our English language skills.

When resources are not available to learn English, then there is no change, so English has no noteworthy effect. I think that changes and effects are gradual and slow. However, the effect of English on local attitudes as well as on traditional culture is noticed (see Chapter 3, 3.2.1 and 3.2.2). Local attitudes and traditional culture also affect female English literacy. This is the theme of the next section, 6.2.4.

6.2.4. Social factors affecting female English literacy

The role of English-literate mothers

Some of the interviewees elucidate the advantages of female English literacy. They turn our attention to children, who can learn best from their mother. Children spend most of the time with their mothers before going to schools. These interviewees also pinpoint social gatherings where people meet and interact in different languages. Such gatherings provide them with chances to get to know each other. Those who do not know English cannot participate in gatherings where English is the medium of communication. These interviewees are aware of the relationship between learning English language and the mother's role in society. Therefore, they directly associate children's success with the mother's education and English competency (see Chapter 6, 6.1.5). Children can better communicate in a language which the mother uses for communication purposes. If women get higher education in English, this can improve the situation. In Pakistan, English is a compulsory subject in schools (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.2). If children start learning English right from the inception from their mothers, then most of the problems of language learning will be resolved. In this connection, the second female interviewee maintains:

If a mother is educated, knows English, then it is good. She goes on to educate her children. In this way, she resolves many problems. The success of children depends upon mothers' education and competency in English.

Similarly, the tenth male interviewee says:

[...] if a woman knows English she can train her children in a better way than the woman who does not know English.

Some of the female interviewees show their desire to be English-literate mothers. If they were such, they would transfer their skills to their children in private spaces. Some of the male interviewees complain that sometimes the daughter knows English but the mother does not. Then there will be a communication gap. The fourth male interviewee maintains:

There is one big drawback to a mother's learning English. The drawback is that the children become spoiled. Then they will have their own independent life. English fashions are different from ours.

He thinks that if a mother knows English then the children will be brought up in accordance with English language and culture. They will lead their lives according to an English pattern. There are girls in the Mansehra region who go to English-medium schools, but they have not changed.

Some interviewees favour women's English literacy. A woman who gets higher education in English improves her communication skills. She not only improves her own communication skills but also those of her children and other members of society. Children will also get knowledge of English language and culture right from the start. They, then, will not face difficulties like others. The children can easily access resources in English language, for instance story books. In addition to this, as a mother and wife a woman plays a pivotal role (see Chapter 1, 1.1.3). Everyone learns from this central figure in the home. On the other hand, a woman who is not English-literate cannot fulfill the responsibilities of improving the communication skills of the rest of the family members. So men should not remain the only gatekeepers of English language learning. The rural male aged interviewees show a negative attitude towards the social role of English literate mothers, whilst female interviewees show a positive attitude. This analysis relates to objective (b) in 1.2.4 which determines the impact of English literacy on attitudes on the social role of women.

Impact of women's English language learning practices on traditional culture

Some interviewees say that the women's English language learning affects our traditional culture in a negative way. They are of the view that women become uncontrollable after learning English; surely, the women must lead their lives according to their own wishes rather than showing submissive attitudes. As it is, men control women, and learning the English language liberates women (see English – a window to women's liberation in Chapter 3, 3.1.2). The sixth male interviewee says:

Yes, it affects women in a negative way. They become out of control. Then we cannot control them. This is the reason that we oppose women's English literacy.

However, some interviewees assert that English literacy for some women has no effect on traditional culture. Woman's English literacy has never affected traditional values because they have mostly been deprived of education i.e. they have never had

such literacy. They are not allowed to leave the four walls without the permission of their male family members. The eleventh interviewee, the Judge of High Court, states that only one percent of females in the Mansehra region are allowed to join schools, colleges and universities. The vast majority of the female population is still confined within the four walls.

Furthermore, the twelfth female interviewee believes that if one loves his or her faith then learning English will not affect culture. She says:

If you really respect your religion, then no force can change your beliefs or your love for religion.

I think that these interviewees do not analyze their surroundings. It does not affect women in some cases, because they learn English but they do not want to change their attitudes (see Chapter 6, 6.1.4 and 6.3.5). On the other hand, I see that learning English can affect traditional culture positively. Women are coming out of the four walls for the sake of higher education, which requires the learning of English. Reformation of the culture also occurs, the issue for objective (c) in 1.2.4 in chapter one.

The advantages and importance of women's English literacy in Mansehra

Some of the interviewees stress the importance of women's English literacy in Mansehra. They believe that if women were English-literate, they would get more opportunities in public spaces. Their participation would be significant in bringing change in traditional thoughts and practices, especially linguistic practices (see Chapter 1, 1.1.4 and 1.2.3). In other words, these interviewees elaborate on the relationship between language, surroundings and relationships. Some interviewees opine that learning English is unavoidable in a community where English is the medium of communication in various sectors of life like education, the administration and the judiciary. Learning English brings confidence and it is equally important for both males and females.

Some of them are of the view that the women's English literacy will not affect culture and values. In fact, those who learn English definitely change to some extent, but people in Mansehra mostly do not favour English literacy for girls due to the fear of

changing cultural trends (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). The interviewees verify that most people do not like their girls to learn English for the purposes of higher education.

In fact, women need higher education with considerable exposure to English. In this way, girls will get higher education in the English language. Some mothers feel very happy when their daughters speak English in private spaces and prepare their presentations, assignments and other tasks related to English. They explain the role of English for women in Mansehra. As the twelfth interviewee maintains:

[...] modern education focuses on English. If women know English, they can understand everything easily. This stands to reason, because most of the books are in English. They can get more knowledge by learning English. It does not make an impact on Islamic civilization or culture. Rather, they can actually enhance their knowledge by reading books in English.

Women's English literacy will enhance their understanding of modern knowledge; it need not affect Islamic culture. Learning English will give them a chance to read books in English and increase their knowledge.

Some of the interviewees explain negative attitudes. They say that the idea of women working outside the home is condemned. It is not considered good in their villages. They think that women should be responsible only for the household, rather than finding jobs outside their homes (see Chapter 4, 4.3.4). The thirteenth male interviewee says:

If I speak in terms of women working outside their homes, I think that's unwelcome. [...] in our area women are thought to be only housewives.

In the following, he seems to contradict to the previous statement.

Learning English at a higher level has its advantages. Without English language, how will women educate themselves, how will they meet the challenges of a modern community?

Here the interviewee favours learning English for women. Women cannot educate themselves without learning English. They will not be able to cope with the modern standards of the society. He then explains the challenges which mean that they have to equip themselves fully for survival. In this era, such equipment means the English language. Women must learn English for the sake of proving themselves fit as

individuals in society (see English – a window to women’s liberation in Chapter 3, 3.1.2). This is not only in the field of education, but they also receive wider social and economical advantages (for details of obstacles, see 4.2 and 4.3). Without learning English, they will remain an underprivileged and oppressed group. The interviewee denies as well as accepts the importance of English language for women. This is the dilemma that needs to be resolved.

The above explanation relates to objectives (b) and (c) in 1.2.4. The confused attitude towards the social role of women as well as bringing change in the traditional culture needs to be reconsidered in the light of current trends.

The role of the government in promoting women’s English literacy

The government of Pakistan can solve this problem of women’s English literacy by providing resources (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.4) to raise the level of higher education in English amongst the females of Mansehra and other parts of Pakistan. The eleventh male interviewee suggests:

If we focussed on the female section of society, then the government of Pakistan and the other governments of the world could look into the declining level of education prevailing amongst the females, and they would be able to provide any remedy to them or facilities that facilitate them in learning and in imparting English education. This would be [...] better for this part of the country.

The role of women learning English in the international community

It is a general opinion that learning English will enable Pakistanis to know about the international community. It will also help us to compare ourselves with others in that community. Women’s learning and knowledge of English will open new doors to world knowledge (for details of English – a window to women’s liberation, in Chapter 3, 3.1.2). The twelfth female interviewee says:

If women learned English, then they would be in a better position to know about the international world. They could compare themselves with the women of foreign countries.

The role of women's English literacy in bringing change

Some of the female interviewees focus on bringing change to the region. They draw our attention to the need for women to learn English and then take part in the city's development and progress. The first female interviewee says:

If a woman knows English, she will get better employment opportunities in society. If she works hard, then people will also cooperate. She, then, will be able to gain a better status in the society.

Some of them believe that culture has always been considered important in any society (see Chapter 3, 3.2.5). In this part of the country, the traditional culture is vital in the lives of the people. People are not willing to adopt new trends and fashions. For example, the eleventh male interviewee maintains:

[...] they [people] should not forget that if they support the old (traditional) values the present (modern) values are also the factors for the uplifting of the society and for the well-being of the women's section of the society. So we should, rather we must, concentrate on the English education of the women, and, to change the culture,... that is required is the English education of the female section.

Although some interviewees understand the importance of the English language and modernization, they are not willing to change. He stresses that we can promote old values along with the new ones which will give rise to a revitalized society (for details of revitalization, see 2.2.2), in which the condition of women's English language learning will also be revitalized in order to bring change and reformation as hypothesized earlier.

While these steps are, I said, a matter of promoting female English literacy, they require us to understand the problems which affect women English learning. These are to be discussed in 6.2.5.

6.2.5. Problems affecting female English literacy

Confused attitude towards women's English literacy

Many people show a confused attitude towards women's English literacy. They think that it is vital for women to learn the English language at a high level in this region;

they therefore would be able to support and encourage English language learning properly. They also mention the adverse effects of English language learning, as I have discussed earlier and in some recent sections. However, they do not mention these effects clearly. It seems that the population at large is confused about women learning English, although they say that women should learn this language. The seventh male interviewee says:

It is important for women to learn English, because they will be in a better position to promote education in the English language.

The interviewee then contradicts his own opinion, saying that there is no importance of English in the region, as people are poor. They cannot access the various training institutions, which are costly. He also mentions that the culture needs to change, and only such change will bring progress and development. He does not elaborate his points. So confusion is shown on the part of this interviewee.

The interviewees realize that learning English at a high level is advantageous for the women of this region. If they know English, they can share information and knowledge with other women in the region. In addition to this, the exchange of thoughts and ideas would lead to the gradual acceptance of English in the Mansehra region (see Chapter 3, 3.1.1 and 3.2.2), but the eighth female interviewee mentions what she sees as some adverse effects. She says that women “*become liberal and modern in their attitudes as well as dress.*” It is not bad if a woman becomes liberal and modern after learning English (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). Moreover, she says that “*there is no need to promote English language learning in Mansehra.*” I consider that people belonging to both the rural and urban classes are confused about women’s English literacy at an advanced level. The urban class wants them to learn, but when the question arises of practical implementation they are reluctant.

This analysis relates to objective (a) in 1.2.4 that addresses the extent of learning English by women and its effect on their lives.

Expensive English-medium schools

Most of the people in rural areas cannot afford English-medium schools (for details of expensive English-medium schools, in Chapter 3, 3.1.3). As they themselves are

illiterate, so they do not prefer English education for their females. The sixth male interviewee maintains:

Neither can we afford English literacy nor do we like it. Neither can we read, write or speak English nor do we favour it for our daughters, sisters and wives.

The interviewee justifies himself by presenting two reasons. English-medium schools are more expensive than Urdu-medium schools (see Expensive English medium schools – rural versus elite, in Chapter 3, 3.1.3). However, these men do not even allow their women to join Urdu-medium schools (see Parental attitudes in rural areas in Chapter 4, 4.3.1), which are state-controlled and where the students are given a monthly stipend to pay for their expenditures (see Introduction in Chapter 4).

Opposition towards women English education

Some of the interviewees say that it is not important to learn English in this region. They explain the causes of their opposition towards women's English education (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). The third female interviewee says:

After learning English language and culture, girls become disobedient to their parents. They get married of their own choice.

Everyone shows some degree of change after learning English. This woman wants her children to learn English, but she is not in favour of adopting English culture. She complains that the girls who do so become fashionable and show disobedience to their parents. They choose their life partners themselves, which is not considered good. They also sacrifice their parents' honour for the sake of their future husbands. I see a contradiction in her views. She says:

My son Rizwan learns English in school. He studies in an English-medium school. He is better than his siblings. Sometimes he speaks English. I feel very good about him.

She says that he performs better at school than her other children. As a neighbour during my participant observation, I learn that her daughters go to Urdu-medium schools. She mentions that girls who learn English diverge from good social norms

and values (see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). She thinks that the learning of English by women brings change which is sometimes not positive.

The basic cause for contention is a gendered attitude towards English. The attitude is not same for boys and girls (for details, in Chapter 4, 4.3.1). Some women see many pitfalls if the time comes for women to learn the English language.

Some interviewees show their strong view that the people in their villages do not like to learn English. Women are not allowed to go into public spaces and interact with other people. These interviewees say that the English-literate women neither live with their husbands nor prove to be good wives (see Chapter 1, 1.1.5). They raise their voices against their husbands, which is considered extremely unethical in their villages. They also speak loudly in front of elders. If they become English-proficient, how will we understand their words? Therefore, the interviewees stress that there is no need for female English language learning for the purposes of higher education in the Mansehra region. In the same vein, the fifth male interviewee says:

We do not allow women to learn the English language. Women should not step out of the four walls for the sake of learning English. We do not like them to wander around. This is the reason that we do not allow them to step out of their homes.

Speaking loudly is not considered good, especially for women in the culture of Mansehra, but in fact not all the women who know English speak loudly. Their conversational patterns are very soft (see Gender based sociolinguistic constraints in Chapter 3, 3.1.4) and they also live with their husbands happily. However, there is a point to be noted: if women are English-proficient, then men should also be English-proficient, so that they can understand each other.

Some interviewees say that the first step for girls will be to learn English. Then the second step will be to join schools, colleges and universities, and this is not acceptable for them. They repeatedly say that they do not like English and do not want their women to get higher education in the English language. They will definitely find jobs after completing their studies at an advanced level. These villagers do not want to open the door for women to go ahead. They detest the idea of learning English, due to their own illiteracy (see Parental illiteracy and poverty in Chapter 4, 4.3.1).

The villagers resist strongly the idea of women learning English at home or at school. Most of the time, they use the words: “*we will not allow them.*” It seems that the

underprivileged group is always submissive in the Mansehra region and its immediate environs (see Chapter 1, 1.1.3, 1.3.2 and 1.3.3). The villagers practise only their mother tongue. I have observed this situation in many parts of Mansehra, where people like to communicate in their mother tongue (see English versus Punjabi in Chapter 3, 3.1.5).

When I asked them the reason for such a strong opposition, they said that a woman will forget her position as a wife, mother, daughter and sister in private spaces. She will only recognize herself as a working woman who is liberal and modern in her ideas as well as her approach towards life, whereas the woman who does not learn English stays at home, respecting her parents' wishes. Men confine their women to the national language and other regional languages (see Chapter 1, 1.1.4).

English language learning affects women's marriage options

It is a general conception that learning the English language affects women's marriage options (see Chapter 1, 1.1.5). The English-literate and educated women get married to educated men. Although the people of Mansehra are aware of the positive aspects of the English language, they do not promote it positively. The sixth interviewee says:

[...] it has quite an impact on women life. Those who are English-literate, they receive educated proposals and get married to educated men. On the other hand, those who are not English-literate get married to illiterate persons.

This is not always the case. I know a university professor who married a person who did not even pass Matric. Due to the nonavailability of proposal within the family, the parents had to get their daughter, who has completed PhD degree, married with an illiterate person within the family, and the daughter had no say in this decision.

English makes negative impacts on girls

A few interviewees think that English has a negative impact on girls (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). Those who show independence should not be allowed to learn English anyway. The third interviewee says:

But it also affects character. Some girls who learn English, they are distracted. Some of them become better in their conduct. Those who are distracted, they should not learn English.

Learning English language does not change one's conduct. Liberty comes with self-consciousness. I think that there is nothing wrong with new fashions. She understands the importance of English, but she is not willing to adopt it practically. It seems that her thinking is limited to learning about her own environment rather than the wider field. She comments that she does not like female liberty.

Some of them say that learning English affects traditional values and culture to a great extent: it leads girls to stop doing their primary duties, the household chores (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.4). They think that female English literacy affects our daily life negatively. These parents do not like female English literacy. They think that only household chores should be given preference, but if girls start learning English, they will also adopt English culture. They are of the view that we are different from English people. Our social norms and values are not the same.

In Mansehra, mothers think that English should not be taught to girls. They do not like English language learning for girls; thus women themselves promote patriarchy (see 4.3.4). The twelfth female interviewee however considers it valuable.

The mothers do not consider English good to learn for their daughters. But I think that it is really useful.

The rural female attitude to females has been shown to decide the attitude towards female English literacy in rural areas, which is mostly negative (see Opposition towards women English education in Chapter 6, 6.2.5).

Need to improve teaching strategies

Some of the interviewees elucidate girls' English language learning problems. They remark that the girls in Urdu-medium schools cannot read and write English. They cannot speak a single word of English. The ninth interviewee suggests:

There is a need to make proper arrangements to learn English, for instance, establishing an institute specifically for women's English language learning.

She shows her dissatisfaction with the way it is taught in schools. The establishment of language learning institutions would open wide chances for females to learn English. The training at such institutions would also provide a chance for mothers to polish their English skills. These interviewees say that it is important to learn English in all parts of Pakistan. In Mansehra and other parts of Pakistan, most of the syllabi

are in English. At higher levels, all the courses are taught in English. Therefore, there is a need to learn English by the direct method or a communicative approach rather than the grammar-translation method (for details, see Chapter 3, 3.3.4). A few interviewees from the urban class also stress that women should learn English so that they can find further options in the labour market (for details, see Chapter 4, 4.2.1 and 4.2.2) as well as teaching.

Some of them further explain that English language teaching was not common in the past. Most of the students fail the subject of English at Matric level. Indeed, they fail it, not only at Matric level but also at intermediate and bachelor level. These interviewees say that the current situation is better than the past. The current scenario of learning English still needs improvement in various features; for example, syllabus design and teacher training (see Chapter 3, 3.3.3, 3.3.4 and 3.3.5).

The fourteenth female interviewee says that English plays a significant role, but:

[...] it has not been taught properly.

There is a need to improve teaching strategies.

Most of the interviewees accept the importance of English for the development of the region, but they are not willing to change their attitudes. Such a situation creates a rift in both urban and rural society. The male and female rural class interviewees show extreme conflicts. Some of them accept the general importance of women learning English in Mansehra for the purposes of higher education, but at the same time they oppose it for their own context.

6.2.6. Summary

Summing up interviewees' responses divided into different themes as mentioned above reveals a general pattern of thinking that reinforces the need for English as the language of development in Mansehra. Female English literacy will significantly enhance the progress of this region, as the trickle-down effect to the next generation will be accelerated considerably. In the initial stages, some opposition is to be expected, and not only from elderly rural men: patriarchal norms are supported, even promoted, by the conditioned attitudes of elderly women as well. They desire literacy in English for their sons on the correct assumption that knowing English will help them to earn a livelihood in the competitive world outside. However, a questionable premise is sometimes encountered that boys are more intelligent or more 'educable'

than girls, a premise that is regularly eroded by examination results in which girls exceed boys, year after year (For details, see Boys are more capable than girls in Chapter 4, 4.3.1).

We also notice some confusion on the part of interviewees generated by the plurality of languages and cultures which they encounter in their daily lives. The linguistic problem is as evident here as it is in many other parts of the country. At home a child will speak his/her first language (Hindko in this area) but will have to learn to speak and write in Urdu at school, and will also have to add literacy in English in order to have access to modern learning as he or she progresses. The linguistic load can prove to be excessive for some children: there is a tendency to revert to the local languages for communication (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.5). Other demotivating factors lie in the general paucity of resources and the daily struggle for survival in a demanding environment. These factors lead to a progressive drop in standards in this important language.

After analysing the themes of the questionnaire survey and interviews, it is important to discuss experiences based on participant observation. These are discussed in 6.3.

6.3. Dataset 3: Participant observation – experiences

6.3.1. Use of English words

Using words like “mobile”, “phone”, “duty”, “office”, “attendance”, “appointment”, “explanation”, “meeting”, “conference room” in their conversations and dialogues, they code switch between English and Hindko words. They use only a few English words, but consider that they use a lot of English. Some participants from the rural class are messengers, drivers, labourers, home helps, painters, cooks and shopkeepers. They work in cities and travel daily from their villages. Messengers have to distribute notices which are composed in English in the departments. The drivers have to communicate messages about bus arrival and departure and check students’ bus cards before they enter the bus. The student cards are in English. The watchman has to check vehicle stickers as well as students’ cards before they enter the university campus. Such exposure to English and its use they consider as using lot of English at work. This notion is further supported by my own observation of a guard, who has a only Matric certificate, at the Judge’s High Court, Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa,

who used to call the Judge “Sir,” and sometimes used words like “Sorry”, “Thank you”, “OK”, “Right.” Such professions do not require well qualified individuals. Men who are only Matric and Intermediate pass candidates appear to get such jobs. All of them are male. Sometimes the domestic drivers and cooks have not even passed the Matric examination. They only learn basic skills and soon adopt an occupation. Personal circumstances compel them to stop studies at an early age, for example at primary level or below middle level, to earn bread and butter for themselves and their families.

The use of local languages and the national language inhibits the use of English language, as I witnessed in Hazara University, Mansehra as well as the International Islamic University, Islamabad, Pakistan. Women are not encouraged to communicate in English at work places. The male and sometimes female staff make fun of them if they do so. They are adult human beings, not subordinates. Under the law they have equal rights. However, in practice, under the tyranny of outdated traditions, they are forced into marginal roles. Practice can improve English skills, but the learning environment is not conducive for women learning English at a higher level.

6.3.2. English newspapers versus Urdu newspapers

There was a maid in my parents’ home who used to try to read English newspapers. She was totally illiterate, but even so she tried to read and interpret. Sometimes she asked me to teach her English by translating headlines from newspapers. Her desire for learning English supports the hypothesis that opening doors to female English literacy will bring significant improvement in Pakistani society.

The responses from the sample (whether rural or urban) also show a patriotic interest in the national language, in both classes. Both official efforts and the constitutional position have helped to maintain Urdu as a national language. People are interested in English, but the marketing of Urdu newspapers in Pakistan is stronger than that of the English ones. Of course, the communication of messages is more easily done through Urdu newspapers. I have noticed that English newspapers are always found on men’s tables in the university and administrative offices. They are not distributed in female offices. Reading newspapers and other material in English would help to improve women’s English and promote learning it at a higher level.

6.3.3. Attitude of rural and urban men to English songs

All men do not react in the same way. Years ago, in the cafeteria of National University of Modern Languages (in an urban area), some girls were sitting singing songs. A clerk of the university complained to the Vice-Chancellor that they were singing 'English' songs, and the dean was asked to investigate. He dismissed the complaint, saying these were young people, and wondering: if the girls had been singing Urdu or Punjabi songs, would the complainant have minded? The VC just laughed and threw the complaint away. Some men might react in the way that the clerk did. Others might react like the VC and dean. However, the clerk's reaction is not uncommon, and might be very common in the rural areas that I am dealing with. Men there would think that girls singing English songs are doing something immoral which is not acceptable for rural class men. This explanation for the clerk's behaviour supports the hypothesis related to the strength of traditional norms, which may be challenged. A tradition was often built up in a given age or society in order to meet the challenges of that time. Those challenges might become irrelevant in subsequent times, and traditions tend to last beyond their immediate purpose. Revision is required: each age should determine its own needs, and not force them on later generations when they are obsolete. Unfortunately, in Pakistani society, traditions are considered equal to religion. So the younger generations follow the outdated guidance, often given by local mullahs (clerics) or older generations. Their behaviour corresponds with objective (c) related to the traditional culture of the region, which makes for differences in learning English between male, female, urban and rural classes.

6.3.4. Acquisition of the English language

I observe that the rural class has to spend more time on learning elaborated codes in the language of instruction, that is Urdu and sometimes English, to get through different subjects at different levels. They use restricted codes that are not patterned according to the demands of the syllabi. The elaborated code is closer to Standard English. The rural class participants are the offspring of parents with low-profile jobs. English has been and still is a high-status language in Pakistan (see Chapter 3, 3.1.2). The respondents from the urban class have had the chance to study in English-medium schools throughout (see Expensive English medium schools- rural versus elite in Chapter 3, 3.1.3). However, Rahman (2005) and Mahboob (2009) rightly pointed out that all English-medium schools cannot be equated with the schools where

the children of the elite get education. Most of the participants from the urban class are not educated and trained by native speakers of English. The teachers of English still need to improve their language and pedagogical skills (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.3.5). The participants from the rural class cannot afford private English-medium schools. So they have to join Urdu-medium schools, willingly or unwillingly. They are taught English through the grammar-translation method. English language teaching is largely dependent on that method, not the direct method, and there is a lack of rigorous ELT training and little or sporadic use of technology; we have to explore new possibilities in this discipline, make our classrooms lively and incorporate a communicative approach (For details, see Chapter 3, 3.3.4).

As a participant observer, I have noticed that it is not easy for women to learn the English language. Most females, if allowed by their male family members, go to government schools rather than private schools. It is easier for men because there are no such restrictions for them. They easily join private-sector institutions to learn English and other subjects. I observe that females do not feel confident studying English in schools. They are always hesitant regarding participation in discussions in English, as described by Hamdan & Jalabneh (2009). They are reluctant due to their incompetence. This hinders their advance towards learning English for higher education purposes. Such explanations also help in establishing a background for further discussion.

6.3.5. Impact of English on values

The general attitude of people is somewhat improved by exposure to English. They have started thinking about new ways. They do not show strict adherence to traditional attitudes. The Art and Design department of Hazara University, Mansehra arranges various events, like fashion shows, although these are not appreciated by the conservative segment of the society. The department has to face the opposition of those faculty members of the university who have been exposed to both traditional and modern culture since their early inception. The university took an initiative, but they had to face many hurdles while operating it. Exposure to English culture is affecting traditional attitudes towards culture to some extent. Still, the situation is the same regarding women's English language learning. It has not changed on a wide scale. The traditional culture regarding women's English language learning is also the same.

In conservative, static societies, where nearly all economic and decision-making activity is in the hands of men, women are bound to be restricted. If the men are suspicious of foreign cultures, this will affect what women do. This can only be changed if women make a strong, sustained effort to educate themselves and become economically self-reliant.

6.3.6. Traditional culture versus English culture

According to my participant observation, urban females see themselves as stronger than the rural females. They think that they are not vulnerable. We see a tendency among most rural women to fear a loss of their (over-valued) traditional culture, while many urban women do not think that learning English at higher levels affects traditional culture in any significant way.

In traditional culture, people used to gather and sit on the floor for lunch and dinner, but now the culture is changing and they prefer dining tables as used in English culture. However, women are not allowed to start the meal before male family members. From English culture, some people have added some positive aspects to their culture, for example, home decoration; they also show modernity by speaking English. The middle-class urban men do not like too much influence of English on women's attitude, but they appreciate small changes in them, like changes in dress and their interaction with others.

6.3.7. Women education

When I was studying in Peshawar, I got the chance to meet the family of the inspector-general. His wife had completed a bachelor's degree, and remained a housewife. Similarly, his two daughters got married after completing their bachelor's degree. They now stayed away from higher education and the professional world. This was a Pashtun family; Pashtuns are usually comparatively more rigid than Hindko speakers. Pashtuns always appreciate education and rights for males rather than females. However, the new generation seems to adopt more liberal attitudes than their parents.

6.3.8. Rural woman get education

A growing awareness is noted in the rural group. I know a lady who usually works in others' homes. She earns some money to meet the needs of her four daughters. Two of

them could not get education due to poverty, while two got admission to the university. That lady's eldest daughter urged her younger (third) daughter to study and do some honourable work. Why did her eldest daughter do so? She emphasized the idea of continuing studies. She herself learned a lesson, because she had to work in others' homes to fulfil her and her family's needs. Later, her younger (third) sister completed a bachelor of business administration degree at Hazara University, Mansehra. When she joined the university, her male relatives opposed her because she was studying in an English medium co-education system; she belongs to a typical Pashtun family. When she completed her degree, she was greatly admired by the local people of Mansehra as well as her own community. In fact, she opened the door for other girls of her family to step out of their homes to get an education in English. It was difficult for her to cope with the English-medium curriculum because she had studied in an Urdu-medium school and college from the beginning, but she worked hard to learn the English language. She learnt it from television and radio broadcasts. She also used to read small pamphlets and brochures that enabled her to develop her fluency and competence in English gradually. Later on, she borrowed English novels from me; reading novels in English brought a tremendous change in her English vocabulary as well as syntactic structure. She was employed for radio broadcasts in English. She had struggled hard to learn English as well as complete her bachelor of business administration degree. Her efforts to learn English set a model for other girls of the area.

6.3.9. Desire to learn English language and culture

I know a security guard at Hazara University. He did a bachelor's degree before joining Hazara University. I noticed him reading English newspapers and novels. He tried to communicate in English with the students and faculty members. He dressed in English fashion rather than the normal male dress of the region, which is shalwar 'shirt' qameez 'trouser.' This exhibited his desire to apply not only the English language but also English culture. His purpose was to improve his competency in English. He wanted to get admission to the department of English at Hazara University, Mansehra. Finally, he succeeded, and enrolled as a Master's student.

6.3.10. Summary

Summing up the above discussion, it is necessary to say that the two classes generally show different attitudes towards women learning English for the purposes of higher education. Sometimes their views are ambivalent. I notice one common feature in both classes; that is traces of the enslaved mentality and linguistic imperialism. I find that both classes are affected by these traces. But they also show Islamic sensibilities while answering questions about women's education, learning English and modernization. The urban class prefers to adopt English as a neutral language that can better assist them than the local languages, at home as well as in the workplace. I note that the rural class sometimes finds itself in a muddled situation, where it is difficult to keep constantly to either the local languages or English. Such a situation arises especially at home where family members are hesitant to communicate in English, but the workplace is not devoid of confused scenarios. The rural class therefore try to explore other options. They realize the importance of English, which has already gained strength in the higher social strata in this multiethnic and multilingual region. As Leitner (2012: 261) says:

Text books may avoid extreme local practices in speech and code-switching in multilingual habitats that will not be understood. There is no possible educational remedy there anyway. But awareness and skills in circumventing problems in intercultural communication can be practiced, as even a good command of English need not open up the doors to different worlds.”

I support Leitner's ideas about the danger of local practices in multilingual habitats. It stands to reason that such local practices produce local varieties of English which are not considered standard. There is a need to promote Standard English rather than local varieties of English. In this way the competency of English among all people can be enhanced. There is a need to develop awareness amongst the urban class as well as the rural class in order to rectify the current situation for learning English in Mansehra, especially for women.

7. Conclusion

This study focuses on women's learning of the English language for the purposes of higher education and on the impact of this learning on general attitudes. The operational framework is mainly adapted from qualitative field research, with subordinate use of quantitative methods. Furthermore, modifications are made by inter mixing other relevant methods (see Chapter 5, 5.2) to devise a final model for the study of a South Asian country, i.e. Pakistan. The study provides findings on attitudes to English learning, measured from responses on different themes as discussed in Chapter Six. It is true that the observations do not provide quantified estimates of attitudes. I agree with Babbie (2010) that the consistency of questionnaire responses cannot be measured with the help of observation. So I used Cronbach's Alpha to measure the reliability of the findings from the questionnaire. In order to avoid bias in responses to the questionnaire, I designed the matrix of questions so as not to suggest any political perspective or religious point of view.

This thesis sets out to examine three factors (see 7.1) and to achieve four objectives (see 7.2).

7.1. Three factors affecting female English literacy

7.1.1. Age

The division into two age groups in the questionnaire is based on the purpose of determining general attitudes. Most of the respondents to the questionnaire are aged between 22 and 32 years. Almost half of them are university students. Their responses are affected by their home environment, syllabi studied in schooling and higher level studies. In addition, English text books in schools and colleges neither promote women's wider social roles nor encourage female English literacy. This is confirmed by Hussain & Afsar (2010), UNESCO report (2004) and Mattu and Hussain (2003). The respondents neither show fully supporting attitudes to this, nor do they completely reject it.

Most of the interviewees aged between 50 and 60 years show a highly rigid attitude towards women's English literacy. They do not give any support to women's wider social roles, English culture or female English education. Arai and Tabata's (2006)

research confirms this in the context of education. Section 4.3.1 provides detail on this. Furthermore, their opposition links their ideas to the old traditions.

7.1.2. Gender

The gender division in the data informs us about the attitudes of males and females. Most of the respondents who responded to the questionnaire and in interviews are male. The female proportion is comparatively small. Females generally are not allowed to interact with others and discuss English culture. This is confirmed by Ahmad and Neman (2013) and Dawn newspaper (May, 2014). The society is male-chauvinistic, and the data and analysis show that female English literacy depends mainly on the perceptions and attitudes of men, which are also proved by Sadiqi (2003) in Moroccan context and Khan, Azhar and Shah (2011) in Pakistani context. (For details, see 4.3.2). As Shah (2012), Hussain and Afsar (2010) confirm, there is gender inequity in the field of learning English in Pakistan. Baker and MacIntyre (2003) also believe that gender plays a significant role in the learning of English.

7.1.3. Class

The division into urban and rural classes is based on the occupation and geographical locations identified in questionnaires and interviews.

The hinterland of the region is basically rural. The villages are small and some are quite difficult to reach, although transport is improving. Mansehra city itself is, of course, urban. There are different definitions of urban and rural, mostly to do with the size of a collection of people. Some people say it is more to do with mentality, that you can have a rural mentality in the middle of a large urban setting (see Chapter 5, 5.2.1).

The division of the sample into two classes helped to clarify the attitudes of both classes (Eppler, 2011). In addition, the equal proportion of males in the urban and rural classes who completed the questionnaire shows their equal contribution to the forming attitudes, while the unequal proportions of females in the urban and the rural class show their less controlling and dominating attitude relating to English culture and literacy in the region. The urban class shows a slightly more moderate attitude towards women's English literacy than the rural class. As mentioned in Chapter 3 that the rural class is misled by the presentation of English as "un-Islamic" (Sulemani,

2011). The affluent class dominates the medium of education and create faulty system where rural class cannot afford expensive English medium schools (For details, see Chapter 3, in 3.1.3). This is confirmed by Manan and David (2014), Shamim (2008) and Rahman (2004, 2003 & 2001).

Now I conclude with suggesting four objectives in the light of the data and findings

7.2. Four objectives developed to assess attitudes to female English literacy

7.2.1. Extent of female English language learning

I consider that the general attitudes shown by my research largely affect women's English literacy in the region. Women do not have TVs in the rural areas, so it is difficult for them to become aware of the outer world. Also, men watch English movies more often than women. Moreover, parents buy laptops for their sons often than for daughters. Some participants in the urban class are noted as rigid in their approach towards daily activities. They consider it immoral to watch English-language movies. They think that doing so spreads immoral values in society. Furthermore, the rural class is not aware of Standard English and its norms (see Chapter 6, 6.1.2). The urban class shows a tolerant approach towards the use of English in their daily life, but opportunities are not available for females to use English in their daily life as they are for men. Such use of English can help to improve English at the higher level. Sarwar, Shah, Alam and Hussain (2012) confirm the use of English in Pakistani society, which is limited to the male segment.

In rural areas, only Urdu-medium schools are available, and for only a few females. They learn English by the grammar-translation method in these Urdu-medium schools. In addition, they deem it fit to learn it through GTM for other subjects, such as the science subjects of biology, zoology, chemistry and physics, in the intermediate class. They do not acquire English through the direct method or the communicative approach (Kousar & Shah, 2010), but only from the word for word translation method (see Chapter 6, 6.1.3). As Akram and Mahmood (2007) confirm, the examination system tests only rote learning rather than the understanding of concepts, which could be better taught through the direct method or a communicative approach.

I also note anxiety about foreign languages among female learners, and this is found more among the rural class as well as in some participants from the urban class.

Hussain, Shahid and Zaman (2011) confirm the presence of this anxiety among rural participants in their study. Female second language learners are worried about improving their English language skills (Al-Saraj, 2013). Hassan (2004) opines that the cause of this anxiety is the interference of Urdu and other regional languages. Ali, Chaudhary and Arshad (2013) contradict the general opinion, and claim that girls are provided with a favourable environment to acquire English. Women are not facilitated to do so, especially at the higher levels of education. Furthermore, they are deprived of English-medium schools and other higher education institutions and universities. Female English literacy is, no doubt, also affected by the traditional culture and values of the region; this issue is discussed in 7.2.2.

7.2.2. *English and traditional culture*

The questionnaire shows that members of the male rural and urban classes show a tolerant attitude to English culture, although they agree that exposure to this culture has affected their attitudes towards the traditional culture. Moreover, this exposure brings a change in the attitudes towards higher education for women which require the learning of English. The change affects local mass attitudes towards age-old established values and culture (See Chapter 6, 6.1.4 and 6.2.4). Rahman (2005c, 2006), Mahboob (2009), Akram and Yasmeen (2011) and Al Mamun, Rahman, Rahman and Hossain (2012) confirm that the regional languages and cultures have been sidelined by the spread of English. Mansoor (2003b) pleads that there is a need to teach English in local contexts. Akram and Ghani's (2012) study contradicts the general opinion, and favours the view that women's learning of English does not affect traditional culture. In Malaysian context, (Malaysia UKM) Aziz (1994) says that learning English actually strengthens relationships with religion and culture. It equips them with the knowledge of other cultures, too.

Some participants realize the need of women to go to school; some of them deny it. According to the questionnaire responses, as compared to the male rural class a significant proportion of the male urban class is reluctant to identify other kinds of education that are needed for women. Similarly, the female rural class is somewhat reluctant to identify them. Moreover, I observe the general wish of some interviewees not to identify other kinds of education as suitable for females in the region, which is also confirmed by Sadiqi (2003) in Moroccan context. They want them to be limited

to religious education only (for details, see Chapter 6, 6.1.5 and 6.2.4). Limiting them to religious education only reveals symbolic power in male chauvinistic society, which Bourdieu labels 'symbolic domination' (for details of social and gender inequality in education, in 1.3.1).

Most of the participants agree that traditional family values are affected by teaching, learning and using English in schools, homes, workplaces and community areas. Some people are committed to the old traditions and conventions. They are not in favour of modernizing attitudes, which favour women's English language learning for the purposes of higher education. (see Chapter 6, in 6.1.5 and 6.2.5). The clash between English and traditional culture, therefore, also affects the social roles of women. This is discussed in 7.2.3.

7.2.3. Social roles of women

The male urban and rural classes generally show a rigid attitude towards the social role of women. The urban-class attitudes towards the social role of women are an amalgamation of traditional and modern attitudes. Their responses reflect their attitudes at home, universities and work places. I confirm that women perform multiple roles, whereas most men get all domestic tasks done by their wives, mothers, daughters and sisters. Ahmad and Neman (2013) confirm this attitude in Chapter 4, 4.3.4. They have plenty of time to spend on learning as well as professional or other outdoor activities. They also get more chances of learning English than the females. Moreover, they get chances to go to countries like the UK and the USA to polish their skills. On the other hand, the female group is rarely given such opportunities to cope with the current trends. They lag behind in many sectors. It is not a matter of language only, but language is the core point of discussion here.

The urban class does not favour paid work for women (see Chapter 4, 4.2.2). I understand that the reason is the male urban class's awareness of the duties and responsibilities of any professional. They think that women are not able to fulfil the many responsibilities of work and home. In addition, the urban class recognizes few professions as suitable for women. Teaching and medicine are the most opted profession for them in Mansehra, and other parts of Pakistan too (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). I consider that women should be given more opportunities to learn English (Beiser and Hou, 2000). They should learn not only at home but also by being enabled

to visit English-speaking countries. They then could join multiple professions on their return.

The male rural and urban classes show a rigid attitude towards women working with men. They think that the mixing genders should not be practised (For details, see 4.3.2) (Chowdury, 1993; Ahmad & Neman, 2013). When I asked them why, they said, ‘It is against Islamic values.’ They are inclined towards traditional Islamic beliefs (Sadiqi, 2003). Moreover, they also do not like mixed classes in co-education. Women should be allowed to work with men, and they should not be confined to all-female groups. New opportunities for them to take part in new social roles should be promoted. In some universities, there are sports facilities for male staff, but female staff are not provided with these. Sadiqi (2003) and Shah, Mahmood and Qureshi (2011) opine that women lag behind in conversation patterns too. They use submissive patterns of language in conversations as indicated in chapter three (for details of gender based sociolinguistic constraints, in Chapter 3, 3.1.4). Hence, the female gender is underprivileged in most of the sectors of daily life; but an improvement in their English language skills could bring them to equality. They could voice their needs, wants and opinions more easily.

Some male rural class participants agree that a woman should not go out to work once she is married, because they do not want their wives to be exposed to other people. Furthermore, they consider them as their properties that they own. This idea is very common in Mansehra’s immediate environs. These participants also think that a wife’s first responsibility is to her husband, children and household, which is also depicted in Sadiqi’s (2003) writing. This finding is also confirmed by Ahmad, Said, Hussain and Khan (2014). On the other hand, those who disagree with these views convince themselves with the reason that it is not possible for one person to afford the expenditures for a whole family, so both husband and wife need to work. These are not highly paid professionals. I observe that the husbands work as labourers and the wives work as maids in others’ houses. In the urban classes, we may find husbands and wives both teaching in colleges and universities as lecturers or professors. Others work as doctors in hospitals.

Another reason to restrict the female social role is the concept that women should remain within the four walls of the house. On this, I observe that some of the female rural class, as well as the male urban and rural classes, do not agree with changing the notion of “four walls.” The question arises, why is it so? Sometimes members of the

male urban class think that outdoor activities are not suitable for any such change. They think that there are not enough facilities for women to learn English or do professional work. Moreover, they want a separate working environment for women. Most of the female rural class are already used to living within four walls; they do not raise voices against it. Therefore, they contribute to the maintenance of patriarchal values which equalizes Bourdieu's idea of symbolic domination (Winkvist & Akhtar, 2000). In Peshawar, Pathans (Pashto speakers) do not allow their females to step out of their homes. The same is the case in Baluchistan. I consider that the idea of "four walls" has been modified to some extent, when women started coming out of their homes to make ends meet. The rule is on the verge of change. The same situation has been noticed in other parts of the country, but no constructive steps have been taken for women to learn English at higher levels.

Women's wider social roles pave the way for the modernization of the region, which contributes to change in the traditional culture; this issue is to be discussed in 7.2.4.

7.2.4. Modernization and female English literacy

There is a need to draw subjects' attention to modernization. The idea of modernization has been accepted indirectly, but with the passage of time it will become stronger. There is a need to provide facilities as well as opportunities for women to improve their skills. This is not the case with Mansehra only, but also in other cities. The basic idea that women must be dominated prevails everywhere in Pakistan. In interviews, the rural class does not identify and realize that exposure to English is more important for women than receiving basic formal education in Urdu or other local languages. For example, if a teenage girl tries to speak English in rural areas, the male members of the society, and sometimes female members also, mock the way she speaks. They go on to criticize her because she tries to be modern and encourage others. Such attitudes stop other girls from learning and speaking English in front of others. Hamdan and Jalabneh (2009) confirm a similar situation over turn taking during conversations. Women are not encouraged to start conversations in mixed gatherings. There is a need to change these traditional ideas in the Mansehra region. The response of participants shows that most of them agree to some change in old values. I note that they say that they want change, but when the time comes to

practise it they either decline or show uncertain behaviour. The uncertain behaviour is the major dilemma that needs to be addressed first.

Most of the urban participants aged between 22 and 32 years agree that English is important for the development of the Mansehra region. Mansoor (2003a), Hashwani (2008) and Jabeen, Mahmood and Rasheed (2011) are of the opinion that students are motivated by external factors: good jobs, and social and career options, so English is considered social and economic capital for its future prospects (Bourdieu, 1984). The question arises: do they accept change in traditional culture? I say that they do not. Why not? Because they are confused by the two systems used as the media of education that are English and Urdu. They realize the importance of English, but when I look at the practical side then there is only confusion. This haphazard attitude is found not only among the urban class but also among rural class participants. Karim and Shaikh (2012) confirm that there is a need for English as a foreign language in higher education in the whole of Pakistan. There is a need for higher education, as well as for the improvement of the English communication skills of women, in the Mansehra region and its immediate environs.

Moreover, the steps taken towards women learning English are not practical. The female teachers are not well trained to cope with the current situation. The English language and culture are not practised outside the classroom. If English is restricted to the classroom only, then there is only formal and official training. The language should be practised in daily lives too (Mansoor, 2003b). For this purpose, we need to accept English culture in order to promote modernizing attitudes towards women's English language learning in the Mansehra region. Here the question arises: how? I have proposed some recommendations to achieve this purpose, especially for women (for details, see 7.5).

Since identifying these objectives is, I said, a matter of assessing attitudes towards female English literacy, doing so was achieved through use of three instruments, which are to be discussed in 7.3.

7.3. Three instruments or tools

I used three instruments to define the above-mentioned objectives and how to achieve them

7.3.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire has been used to examine the attitudes of the respondents; especially, to assess how far a positive attitude regarding women's English literacy is found in Pakistani society. I also used it to study the differences between the attitudes of the rural and urban classes of males and females on this issue. The graphs in chapter six show the results for the responses of the rural and urban classes gathered through the questionnaire. The division of questions into six groups (see Chapter 6, Table 6.1 and 6.1) measures responses on six themes related to the women learning English. The implications are broad. There are areas like Mansehra in other parts of the country, where women learning English is not considered a good thing; we see the same level of deprivation in Baluchistan, Sindh and Punjab (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.5). The urban class encourages female English literacy to a certain extent, while the rural class shows some willingness to come out of its traditional ideas and appreciate modernization and the importance of English for the development of the Mansehra region. However, the rural class subjects' responses to the questionnaire could not satisfy me as a researcher, so a second instrument, that is, interviewing, was used, and is discussed in the following.

7.3.2. Interviews

The purpose of the interviews was to assess the attitudes of the rural class towards English education for women. The gap is not large between the responses of the urban class provided in the questionnaires and the data collected through participant observation (see Chapter 6). On the other hand, a larger gap is found between the responses of the male rural class provided by the questionnaire and the data gathered through participant observation. The data obtained through the questionnaire and participant observation generated the fundamental ideas for the interview questions. The interviews were conducted especially for the rural class, who could not read or write in English or Urdu. The interview responses of the male participants are different from those of the female participants (see Chapter 6, 6.2). The rural-class male participants mostly oppose English literacy for women. In addition, they express their concern to limit women to the "four walls." This is especially noticeable among men of the Mansehra region, who think that women's English education leads to liberty and self-determination. They favour traditional rather than modern ideas. Furthermore, the interviewees from the rural class are found to be obsessed with the

idea of women's illiteracy as desirable. The social and physical environment of the Mansehra region is not conducive to promoting English literacy. Generally, the participants show an inclination towards the mother tongue and regional languages rather than English. Rahman (2005b) finds this also. The majority of male participants are not in favour of women's English language learning. This finding corresponds with those of Sadiqi (2003) and Vicente (2009). There are no community centres for women where they can practise English and develop communication skills.

The data gathered from the rural class through questionnaires and participant observation shows more attitudinal differences than those for the urban class. The less consistent data is mostly related to the participants with less education. It is found during the interviews that the few interviewees from the urban class who have acquired English by the grammar translation method are unable to suggest anything substantial related to the communicative approach. However, the rural class interviewees' attitudinal differences found in the responses to the questionnaire could not be fully addressed in the interviews, and needed to be investigated further through participant observation, which is considered in the next section.

7.3.3. Participant observation

One objective of this study is to assess the extent and effect of learning English on the outlook and lives of women in the Mansehra region. Participant observation has been used to explore the attitudinal difference between the two classes, i.e. the rural and urban classes. The issues studied through interviews were also studied through observation. The data collected through interviews has been related to that from participant observation. Some findings from what they say in interviews, or how they respond in the questionnaire, are not consistent with what they actually do in society (observed through participant observation) (For details, see Chapter 6, 6.3). In particular, it is found that the responses to the issues about women learning English and attitudes to change in the region and the impact of this learning are not consistent. I find a gap between how participants responded to the questionnaire and what they really do. The real-life situation is not as positive as is suggested in some responses to the questionnaire. Furthermore, respondents' assessment of their competency in English and their reported use of English are also not consistent with what they claim in questionnaire responses. There is a need to improve the English language skills of

male and female students. Thus, the need to employ female English language teachers and instructors emphasises the importance of women's English language learning in the universities and other higher education institutions in Pakistan (for details of the role of women's English literacy in bringing change, in 6.2.4 and for details of the need to improve teaching strategies, in 6.2.5). Some of the respondents grasp the importance of women's English language learning for the purposes of higher education.

Next, this study concludes findings based on three datasets: questionnaires, interviews and participant observation.

7.4. Implications

This research has presented the social, cultural and learning situation of English as well as obstacles to female literacy in Pakistan. Based on these presentations, the situation of female English literacy in Mansehra has been assessed after conducting a cross-sectional survey and observation.

This research indicates that social attitudes directly affect the female literacy rate in Mansehra, and identifies the men's attitudes as the most important factor that affects women's English language learning. Almost half of the male population show a negative attitude to the promotion of female English education. Therefore, it is critical to identify and resist the negative attitudes among two different age groups of the male population.

The analysis reflects various dimensions of the attitudinal pattern. The interviews allow a more detailed discussion of why most of the rural class does not accept English language and culture, and why they stay away from modernization. For instance, the rural class and some of the urban class participants do not allow their females to take part in English education; if they allow education at all, they only allow it in Urdu-medium schools. Men think that English culture affects the social role of women. Girls must get married very early, often when they are only fourteen or fifteen (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.3). In the light of the data collected through questionnaires, interviews and participant observation, the following implications are suggested:

7.4.1. *Traditional culture*

The people of the rural class are committed to their traditional culture, and regional language as we have seen the case of Punjabi (John, 2014), and to farming as an occupation. According to the data collected through questionnaires, some of them show a flexible attitude towards the modification of the traditional culture, and I as a participant observer see differences in attitudes among them. Further, they view occupational matters as matters of integrity and family honour. However, interview questions compelled them to think about changes in attitudes, which are manifest to some degree. I understand that they will take time to change their mindset towards traditional culture.

7.4.2. *Participants aged 22-32 years product of 2 cultures: traditional and modern*

More favourable social attitudes towards female English literacy are also correlated with the youth of the participants who are between 22 and 32 years age. The urban-class participants in this age range show mixed attitudes towards female English education. They do not show a bias against traditional culture, but they are the product of two cultures: traditional and modern. They want women to perform double duties: household as well as professional. Parents' attitudes in 4.3.4 confirm this assertion (Ahmad & Neman, 2013). These findings suggest that the female urban class have developed with the support of their male family members. Many middle-class females struggle with their males to allow them higher education in English and other fields as we have seen in the case of Mehwish reported by Guardian that she had to struggle hard to re-join the school after getting married, although it is notable that the majority of the urban class do not rate the traditional culture strongly or highly. However, the opening of English language learning institutions for women in the region would help to improve the current scenario.

7.4.3. *Parents' dissatisfaction with their daughters' conduct*

The data collected through interviews shows the critical situation of the female English language learners. The parents desire the language for their sons, while for females they consider it a distraction from the right path. The parents do not plan for the English-medium education of their daughters as they do for their sons. This is confirmed by The Express Tribune (Jan, 2014) and Stromquist, Lee & Brock-Utne

(2013) (also see Chapter 4, 4.3.1). They prefer their daughters' early marriages which is confirmed by UNFPA (2012), Arai & Tabata (2006), UN Women (2013) and Ahmad & Neman (2013). Strengthening female education in English-medium schools would improve the general perception or attitude. Moreover, the data shows that parents are dissatisfied with their daughters' conduct in social spaces after exposure to English culture; thus a gendered attitude is created towards both the English language and the culture (DAWN, May 2014). Developing more trusting attitudes might improve the general situation of the girls.

7.4.4. Purdah / Seclusion

Interaction with male colleagues is another critical issue. In the data collected through questionnaires and interviews, the male participants express their anxieties for their women: they do not want them to interact with non-mehram (males who are not family members) so the chances for women to improve their language skills are limited. This type of seclusion is also confirmed by Chowdury (1993) (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2). Thus, the promotion of interaction related to female English language skills between females and females would be efficacious. This strategy might require English language planning at individual as well as institutional levels to secure the same opportunities as are already implemented in the upper urban class, and provide chances for the participants to observe model conversation and speaking.

7.4.5. Different ethnic groups

According to data collected through questionnaires, interviews and participant observation, the participants belong to different tribes and ethnic groups in different villages as well as the city. Establishing institutions for instruction in the English language for diverse ethnic groups would promote effective teaching (see Chapter 7, 7.5). Such institutions would help the urban middle class participants who are not confident enough to communicate in English, though they claim to be so in the questionnaire responses: participant observation reveals the reality which does not coincide with the responses in the questionnaire survey.

7.4.6. Female education

There are many cases in which women who totally depend on men suffer if the marriage breaks down. This is becoming more and more common in our region. I

have strong opinions about the need for women to be economically independent and self-supporting. Those women who want to be independent should be given every opportunity to develop skills necessary for earning money in respectable jobs, or for running a business as they think suitable. The ideas that women must stay within the four walls or that there is a clear-cut division of labour between men and women are traditional and old-fashioned (For details, see 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). Also, there is no support for them in the early history of Islam. There must be total equality for all our citizens regardless of ethnicity, gender, sect or religious influence in all matters of life. Our constitution is supposed to safeguard this principle (For details, see 4.2). This study supports female education at all levels, as far as women can go. Some will, of course, go farther than others. To achieve such equality we need a period of about twenty years within which women are given preference over men instead of equality. By this I mean that if a man and a woman of nearly equal educational background and ability are competing for a position, the woman should be given the preference. This view might contradict traditional thinking with regard to women's domestic duties (For details, see Chapter 4, 4.3.4). However, changes in this direction would generally improve things. The nation should not be deprived of the talents of half of its population. This explanation supports the hypothesis that educated women can bring a change in the traditional norms of the society, which are mainly controlled by men.

7.4.7. Educated women affect child education

The highly educated women are job-oriented. Upper class urban females have the help of servants and maids. Some educated women in the urban class can manage well, better than rural class women, but this depends upon each female's thinking and perception. If a woman is job-oriented, she may not give the preference to her home, husband and children. Some urban women focus only on their job and status. Other educated women may spend their time at home productively, and devote their concern to their family, home and children's education. If a mother is good at English, she interacts with her children in English; therefore their preparation for English language learning will be good (For the role of English-literate mothers see Chapter 6, 6.2.4) The children, then, will move smoothly in society, and their use of English will increase; their awareness of the benefits of English language will be enhanced. Learning English at home makes it easy for learners at schools. But teachers do not use English for conversation in schools; the syllabus is in English but the explanations

are delivered in Urdu, and debates are also organized in Urdu on special occasions like Independence Day and Pakistan Day. Students do not use English in their daily conversations in schools and colleges; this leads to their lack of competence in English (see Need to improve teaching strategies in 6.2.5). However, they start using English in conversations at university.

7.4.8. Islamic view on women education

If women want to gain knowledge about anything, even rocket science and nuclear physics, they already have the legal right to do so. Any attempt to take this right away from them in the name of tradition or custom is a violation of our fundamental religious principles. There are commands in Islam to get education and knowledge (even if we have to go to China) and to keep on learning all our lives, from the cradle to the grave. These recommendations are not only for men but also for women (see Chapter 4, 4.3.2).

7.4.9. Women's use of English

The women's use of English affects general attitudes towards learning English. The exposure to a more modern outlook would help creating a fuller, more open, more tolerant personality, and these things can then filter through society. As wives and mothers, women are the primary transmitters of attitudes (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2). The way women feel and think deeply affects present and coming generations. But this is not the only reason for the use of English at home. Women can also contribute with their (at present largely unused) talents to the progress and improvement of society. We certainly encounter some residual resentment against British colonialism and the burden of English (see Chapter 3, 3.1.1), accompanied by a feeling that we should assert our own norms and confine ourselves to them. However, looking backwards is not the answer. Almost seventy years have passed since independence, so these resentments are now self-defeating. The above explanation clearly justifies Objective a) in Chapter 1.

7.4.10. Urdu (national language) versus English

Urdu has a fairly well-developed store of writing in poetry and literature. However, it is a relatively backward and underdeveloped language in that it has no reservoir of writing about modern knowledge, by which I mean science, technology and medicine

(For details, see Chapter 3, 3.1.2). It has no foundation in primary research and so far has not developed a strong base of translations. At its present level of development it cannot supply a person, woman or man, with what s/he needs if her or his purpose is to learn something about engineering and medicine. In contrast, English has the largest reservoir of modern knowledge among all contemporary languages, together with a very strong base in research. It is the language of development. All Pakistanis, regardless of gender, need to learn English and learn it well.

7.4.11. Four walls – urban and rural

My perspective is that those who want to stay at home should remain at home if they have been conditioned to think there is some special advantage in doing so. However, those who are ambitious for something more already have every right to fulfill those ambitions without unnecessary restrictions. They already have this right, but many of them do not know it as they have been accustomed to restrictive patriarchal norms (see Chapter 4, 4.3) since infancy, due to what Bourdieu (2001) labels as ‘symbolic violence’. Some of these attitudes will be found in urban areas as well, especially since many villagers have migrated to urban centres over the last few decades. Pakistan is still patriarchal in most of its perspectives, urban or rural. However, these social restrictions are in greater evidence in rural areas (see Chapter 4).

7.4.12. Rethinking traditions and social values

As hypothesized earlier, some people proclaim ‘tradition’ as the main reservoir for moral living. However, traditions change (and ought to change) according to contemporary and future needs. In a sense, excessive reliance on tradition is like the tyrannical imposition of the past on the present, and this is not desirable. Whatever our ancestors thought when setting up methods and answers to the needs of their own time, we should rethink our social values and customs for ourselves in the light of our needs today, with an eye on the future. Exposure to English might affect family values as understood, or perhaps misunderstood, in some parts of Pakistan, but this would not necessarily be bad (For details, see Chapter 6). The present situation with regard to women is not at all good in these areas. They are suppressed, kept ignorant or even physically brutalized in the name of tradition, the social system or morality (For details, see Chapter 4). The above explanation also relates to objective c), which has been mentioned in chapter 1.

7.4.13. *Transition*

There may, sometimes be the necessity for both men and women in a marriage to work. Nowadays both men and women may work to support their families, to meet their expenses. In Pakistani culture, I confirm that there is a general impression that a woman should stay at home before and after marriage and should be a good housewife (see Chapter 1, 1.2.2 and Chapter 4, 4.1.3), but now, with the passage of time, as expenses have increased, the women are getting more and more highly educated. Moreover, more people do not mind women going out to work, especially in urban areas. Now the trend has changed, and some parents are more concerned about the wishes of their children; if they want to study they allow them to study, if they want to work they allow them to do so. Nowadays men have also become more career-oriented rather than limiting themselves to agriculture and farming, so they allow their wives or women to work. The support of the husband and family is very important in enabling women to work outside the home. When a woman works after marriage, she becomes more confident as she knows she is contributing money for the household needs and other expenditure. Unfortunately this contribution is counted as father's, husband's or brother's (Arshad, 2008).

7.4.14. *Policies related to female English literacy*

The data from interviews suggests that policies especially related to female English literacy at district and national level need to be realigned in schools, colleges and universities. The interviewees show their dissatisfaction with the current English language policies. This is also confirmed by Mansoor (2004) and Rahman (1997). The reasons are quite explicit: the teaching and testing procedures are not up to the mark, remarks Shamim (2011). Also, I see district and state policies as vital for the change of attitudes to female English education. Rahman (2005a) also confirms this assertion (for details of English – a window to women's liberation, in 3.1.2).

After explicating three factors, four objectives, three instruments and some implications, it is clear that we need to improve the current situation of female English literacy. A change is required, especially, in the attitudes of the spousal generations (husbands and sons); this change is to be discussed in 7.5.

7.5. Recommendations

The following are the recommendations for educationists, local government administration, teachers, students and general readers, based on the analysis in this study. These recommendations are relevant to women's English language learning, but they are also related to other contexts where the issues for English language learning, women's education and the policy for English language textbooks overlap. Some recommendations primarily relate to Mansehra and its immediate environs. However, they have implications for elsewhere in the country as well as the rest of South Asia.

1. The desires of individuals to some extent decide the path they take with regard to education. Therefore, the will of women themselves cannot be ignored. If a woman is determined to educate herself to a high level, she can probably do so despite social restrictions. It is not true to assert the generality that all women or all men think in a certain way. There are determined women and determined men, and each household will possibly function on a different pattern of mutual understanding and behaviour. However, the dominant climate of control is patriarchal (also see 4.2.2) (Winkvist & Akhtar, 2000).

If a woman wants to move to high levels of education, which would require substantial familiarity with and competence in English, she may come across social and familial obstacles (for details, see 4.3), the threat of divorce, paternal disapproval, maternal negativity, familial resistance and a range of pressures planned to discourage her. She is expected to fulfil only two roles: wife and mother.

All these obstacles mean that the education of men on these issues is important, but we probably cannot expect much from the older or paternal generation because its attitudes are strict and hardened. However, much can be done for the spousal generation (present and future sons and husbands) to make them aware of the issues involved.

It should be pointed out that under law the female 'right' to education is already there. This is not something that needs to be given to them. It is already theirs to utilize if they wish to do so. It is not necessary to give justifications, such as 'educated women make better mothers' or 'two earning members are required in the current economic scenario.' A two-way approach is required: (a) to inform women that they have this right, and (b) to sensitize men, especially younger men, to the situation as it exists at

the moment. It is also necessary to inform them of its negative repercussions on the immediate region, and, in a broader framework, the country in general.

2. Special foundations should be established to open branches funded by charities in the Mansehra region and its immediate environs. Their aims and objectives should be well formulated, and should focus on free English classes. These would give an opportunity to the underprivileged women to acquire basic communication skills; such a scheme has been launched in Malaysia (Kumaran, 2014).

Like Malaysia, the local government should allocate funds to continue such projects, which would help local women to learn English language skills. Such institutions would also help disadvantaged women to improve their general communication skills as well as their employment opportunities. Moreover, the project should not be limited to young adults. It should be open for women of all ages. The projects could be titled the Corporate Social Responsibility Programme (Kumaran, 2014). It would specially serve the women in communities in the Mansehra region and its surrounding areas, to a radius of fifty kilometres. The idea could be generalized to other areas of Pakistan.

First, the foundation should be launched in Mansehra city as soon as possible. Then the foundation would plan to fund other projects under the same initiative, as Corporate Social Responsibility Programmes in the other cities of Pakistan. This programme might also receive further proposals, plans and schemes to help the communities. Moreover, the foundation would be responsible for providing well trained teachers, teaching materials, furniture and payments for ten teachers in each branch. The number of teachers would be increased depending upon the number of learners or participants. Six intakes of learners per year would be organised. Each intake would study for two months.

The project team members would work closely with the community to analyse the problems, such as the need for adult language education, in the area. Besides, the linked initiatives in different cities like Mansehra, Peshawar, Lahore, Faisalabad and Sadiqabad would work diligently with the local communities to identify the problems like pronunciation, how to do scanning as a reading skill, and how to avoid common mistakes with articles and prepositions. Most of all, they would identify ways to improve the listening skill.

The local government would appoint a neutral team to gather feedback from the participants who have completed their courses. The feedback would help the foundation, the local institutions and the teachers working in them to improve and bring better possibilities. Furthermore, feedback would be collected to investigate the practical implementation of participants' English language learning in society.

3. The government of Pakistan should plan a programme called "Digital Pakistan 2030," like the one which has been started in Bangladesh (Tyers, 2013). This plan aims to spread digital use through the country. It permits access to online training, so that the local population can develop and nourish new skills and abilities. Here I discuss such a programme especially with reference to English language skills. In Pakistan, the people who are proficient in English find better careers than others, but the way English has been taught in schools has resulted in poor spoken as well as written proficiency that leads to a lack of self-confidence amongst the young generation of Pakistan. Moreover, English is always perceived as unapproachable, difficult and costly for the general populace, with a substantial difference between rural and urban access. Digital English teaching provides an opportunity at a larger level in Pakistan. There is another approach which uses mobile phone technology. Unfortunately the rate of computer and internet users is low in the Mansehra region, but the trends are changing rapidly. The service of English language teaching can be provided at public computer centres as well as on mobile phones.

In Pakistan, women and girls are also ignored in the digital sphere. Usually "men remain the gatekeepers of technology, with fewer numbers [sic] of girls accessing digital technology than boys" (Tyers, 2013) (also see Boys are more capable than girls in Chapter 4, 4.3.1). Parents do not allow their daughters to visit community computer centres, as they are not considered safe places for women. As a result, women cannot access information and digital technology freely and frequently. This leads to "less access to learning English" (Tyers, 2013). The gender split over digital technology promotes inequity in gendered abilities and talents. There is a need to establish female community information and communications technology (ICT) centres, where women can access the resources related to English language learning and learn digital skills side by side. Furthermore, these centres would be safe social spaces for women, overcoming the social obstacles to their English language learning. These would help to equalize the genders and generate chances in employment for women. The local

community centres could be used for English language training. Daughters' use of local community centres which are for females only would calm parents' worries and pave the way for better job opportunities as well as overcoming social constraints (For social constraints, see Chapter 4).

The project should use "portable netbooks preloaded with British Council digital English resources, solar-powered radios and micro SD-cards preloaded with audio for mobile phones" (Tyers, 2013). Some of the women participants would be "trained as peer leaders who can then teach the others using digital English resources and speaking activities" (ibid.). It would also be part of the project "to organize community English and ICT fairs to show their families what they are learning and to gain their acceptance" (ibid.).

4. "Regarding the observed negative attitude towards English, the EFL teachers are recommended to create an encouraging atmosphere in the English classes to promote the students' positive attitudes towards English" (Zainol Abidin, 2012: 126). In the classroom, they must proclaim the significance of English. For that purpose, suitable methods as well as tasks for teaching and learning English should be implemented effectively. Furthermore, there is a need to integrate recent material and additional resources. The role of gender cannot be eliminated from language learning. The EFL teachers must think about the gender aspect, and adapt relevant approaches in order to "improve the students' attitudes" (ibid.).

It is strongly recommended that EFL teachers should adopt the communicative approach. They must know that this approach motivates learners to work together and understand their own linguistic practices. This would enhance their motivational level to acquire English. In addition to this, "curriculum makers should review the content and the design of the curriculum to meet the needs and the interests of the students" (ibid.). They must reflect that EFL learners' perceptions vary from situation to situation and country to country. They are not all the same. As we move from one place to another, their perceptions vary about English language learning. Such differences occur due to factors such as gender, and the area and level of study. Hence, considering all these issues, the curriculum makers must revise the curriculum in order to assist students. It should include the local cultural context explained in English. This would help them to learn the language in their own contexts. The curriculum designers should design new activities, content, topics, teaching practices

etc. which would provide them with a high motivational level to learn English and change their attitudes to doing so from negative to positive. They should establish a curriculum which does not promote gender inequality. There is a need to train teachers in this regard, and enable them to use instructional materials in a balanced way. The teachers should also be well trained to assess the orthodox gender roles presented in the current textbooks.

5. Most of the accessible population for the surveys, who completed the questionnaire, is aged between 22 and 32 years. They show some general problems regarding the learning of English, showing the need to change the curriculum and assessment techniques. There should be a focus on teaching English as a “living language” (Morris, 1966; cited in Khalique, 1996). This would lead to focussing on functional and communicative elements. Skill in speaking has not been given due attention in the current curriculum; there is a need to introduce new teaching methods. The college teachers do not agree to adopt new methods. For them, doing so is against their dignity, although, as Malik (1996) says, the old curriculum and the excessive use of the grammar translation method lead to lack of competence in English. In the 1980s serious attention was paid to the training of English language teachers (Khalique, 1996: 88). Allama Iqbal Open University launched three separate programmes regarding English language training: TEFL, TESOL and ELT. Similarly, the Higher Education Commission has also completed the first and second phase of a plan for English language teachers training (for details, see 3.3.5).

There is an additional need to transform literature-based syllabi into language-based syllabi (*ibid.*). The texts should be taken from different areas of study, for instance, science, art, politics and psychology. They should not be only texts with literary value. Otherwise, the science students may lose interest. In addition, the texts should be chosen at a broader level. If English teachers and other subject teachers exchange their ideas about their classes, then they will establish strong links for an English language learning environment. Adopting this strategy would also motivate students to acquire English. Second-language learners should be aware of the connection between language and culture. Furthermore, they must develop awareness of the important aspects of history, society and culture of English-speaking countries. They should know the similarities and variations between the contexts they know at first hand and the contexts they study in English texts. I have observed that students in

Pakistan only memorise the texts; they do not analyse and understand them by exchanging ideas. This problem can be resolved if participants or students in the class are asked to compare their reactions with their fellow students. Doing so would help them to use all four skills of language learning: reading, writing, listening and speaking. They should analyse, read, discuss meanings and present their own ideas, so that students participate actively.

6. The Ministry of Education should design a checklist to assess all English textbooks used in the institutions, in order to identify the stereotypical roles of men and women in the textbooks (For details, see Unequal gender representation in English textbooks in Chapter 3, 3.1.4). This strategy would also be helpful for publishers, authors and editors. The checklist would therefore help to track in the textbooks the conventional gender roles of the hidden curriculum, which presents women as passive, subordinate and inferior to men, while men are presented as active. There is a stereotypical dominance of males and masculine generic forms in the English textbooks. The Ministry of Education and the Higher Education Commission should conduct regular training workshops for the personnel who are involved in writing, editing and publishing textbooks. The authors, editors and publishers must be well informed about the construction of gender roles in the English textbooks.

7. The data also reveals age differences in the formal learning process. There is a need to launch various free organisations promoting an interest in the English language: this interest can be stimulated in this conservative society by upholding different activities in the interest of all. These activities encompass designing billboards and posters, debating competitions for youngsters at district level to boost their vigour and passion, the arrangement of meetings and conferences to discuss burning issues, the establishment of language institutes for women who belong to the lowest basilect rung, and indoor and outdoor activities maintained in a creative manner without considering the factor of age differences.

While these recommendations are, I said, a matter of bringing change in the Pakistani society, they help understand the limitations of this research, which is to be discussed in 7.6.

7.6. Limitations of this study

I am conscious of the limitations of this study: (1) it might give the impression that Mansehra is an isolated or especially backward region, but this is not so. Communications through roads and telephony with the rest of the country, and indeed with the world at large, have improved considerably in recent times--this factor in itself might lead to increasing pressure to learn English (see Chapter 1, 1.1.2). However, the difficulties and restrictive attitudes I notice for the Mansehra region will undoubtedly be found in other parts of the country. What this study can do is suggest that similar exercises be conducted especially for outlying areas of the Frontier province and rural places in the other provinces: (2) it might give the impression that women are widely mistreated, but again, this is not so. The restrictive attitudes noted earlier often go with a general feeling of respect for womanhood, even if that respect does not include provision for them to engage in higher education and develop literacy in English: (3) as an educated Mansehra woman myself, I occasionally sensed hostility among some respondents, both men and women, as though I was engaging in an exercise that could, possibly, threaten traditional ideas of morality. I came up against the well-known difficulty of obtaining objective responses to sensitive issues (see Chapter 6, 6.1).

After pinpointing limitations, it is pertinent to mention the futuristic aspect of this study, which is discussed in 7.7.

7.7. Afterthoughts

Knowledge of English is undeniably important, but women's need to learn it is still ignored in Pakistan. We cannot find any significant changes since partition. There is also no change in the role models presented in the society. People always use male imagery and male allusions to exemplify role models. They do not promote female imagery and female examples in daily life, as well as in textbooks. These show a weak relationship between female language needs and their male dominated surroundings, which continuously show the influence of the male gender more than the female. No significant change in gender roles has been noticed for the vast mass. There are some exceptions in some urban areas, but very few. On the whole, the educational planners and the general public are not willing to bring change to the conditions of women's English language learning. Furthermore, any female desire for learning English has often been lost, in the orthodox standard of life and of the

teaching of English in Mansehra. Those women who want to learn when others resist, or those who are deprived of basic learning opportunities, are found to be shy and evasive. The lack of language expertise amongst women in Mansehra creates obstacles to their learning English at higher levels.

First or regional languages are important, but the English language demands effort and toil because it is the second language for Pakistani learners. Furthermore, there is a need to conduct research in the other parts of Pakistan regarding women's English language learning. Field research sometimes requires a strong budget to visit remote places and buy equipment. Further research in this field can be conducted by visiting far-flung areas in the regions selected for this study and conducting in-depth interviews. In addition, women's English language learning needs to be promoted at a high level, to bring them into line with the women of other countries round the world.

It would be pertinent to conduct research regarding the gender roles shown in English textbooks. Textbooks are the major source from which the students form stereotyped images. They present very orthodox and stereotyped gender roles stealthily; these do not support changes in the impressions and attitudes of youngsters. Moreover, the use of textbooks in the classroom also needs to be examined, along with the content analysis of these books. There is a need to conduct research on institutions, as well as on community-related gender issues. Research should encompass teacher-student and person-person interaction in the classroom and the community, studied from the point of view of gender as an issue.

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pierre_Bourdieu#cite_ref-Distinction1984_18-0

Appendix

1. Map of Pakistan³⁰



³⁰ Taken from
http://image.shutterstock.com/display_pic_with_logo/290839/290839,1280076380,2/stock-vector-map-of-pakistan-with-the-states-colored-in-bright-colors-57791998.jpg

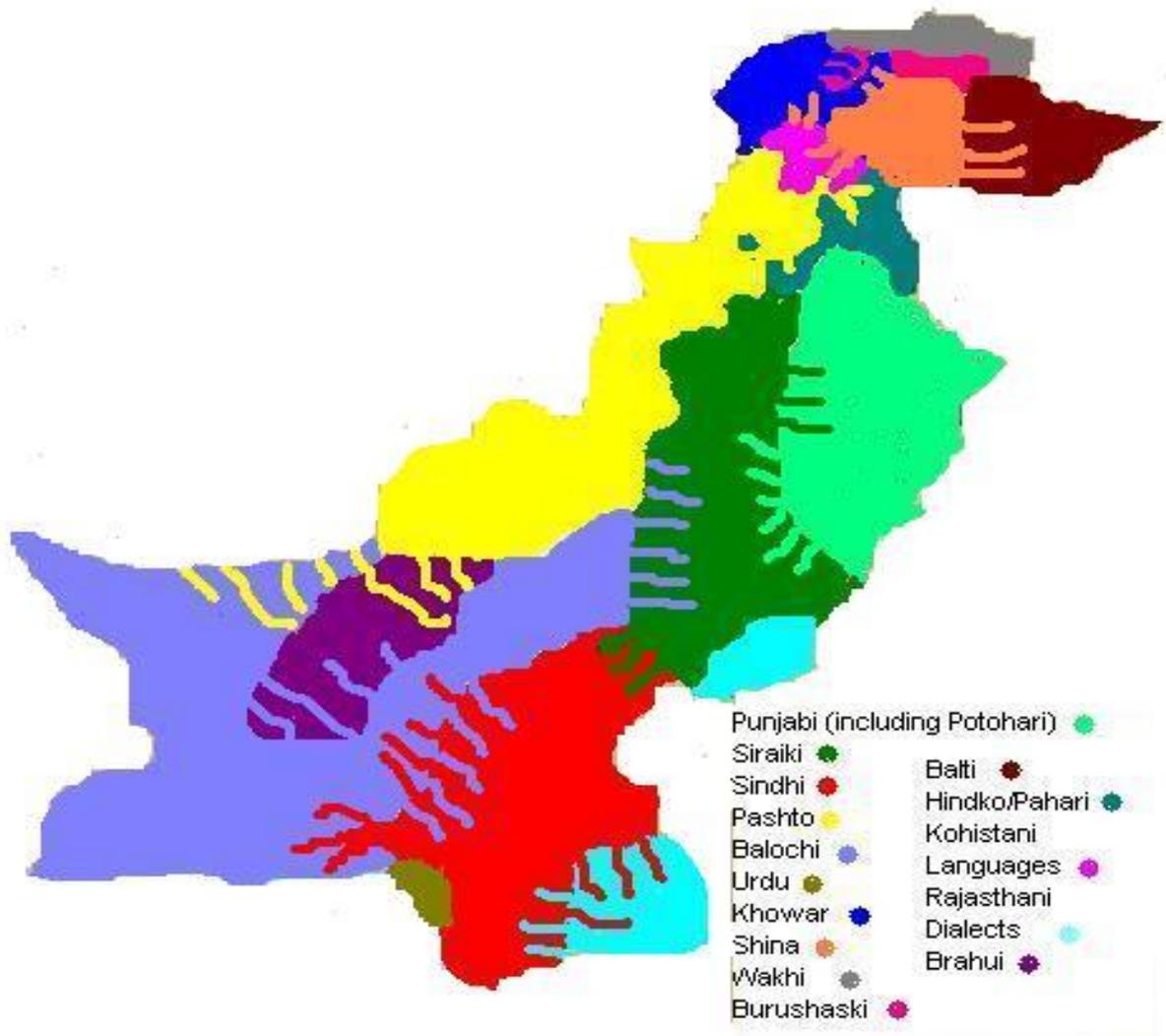
2. Map of Mansehra³¹



³¹ Taken from

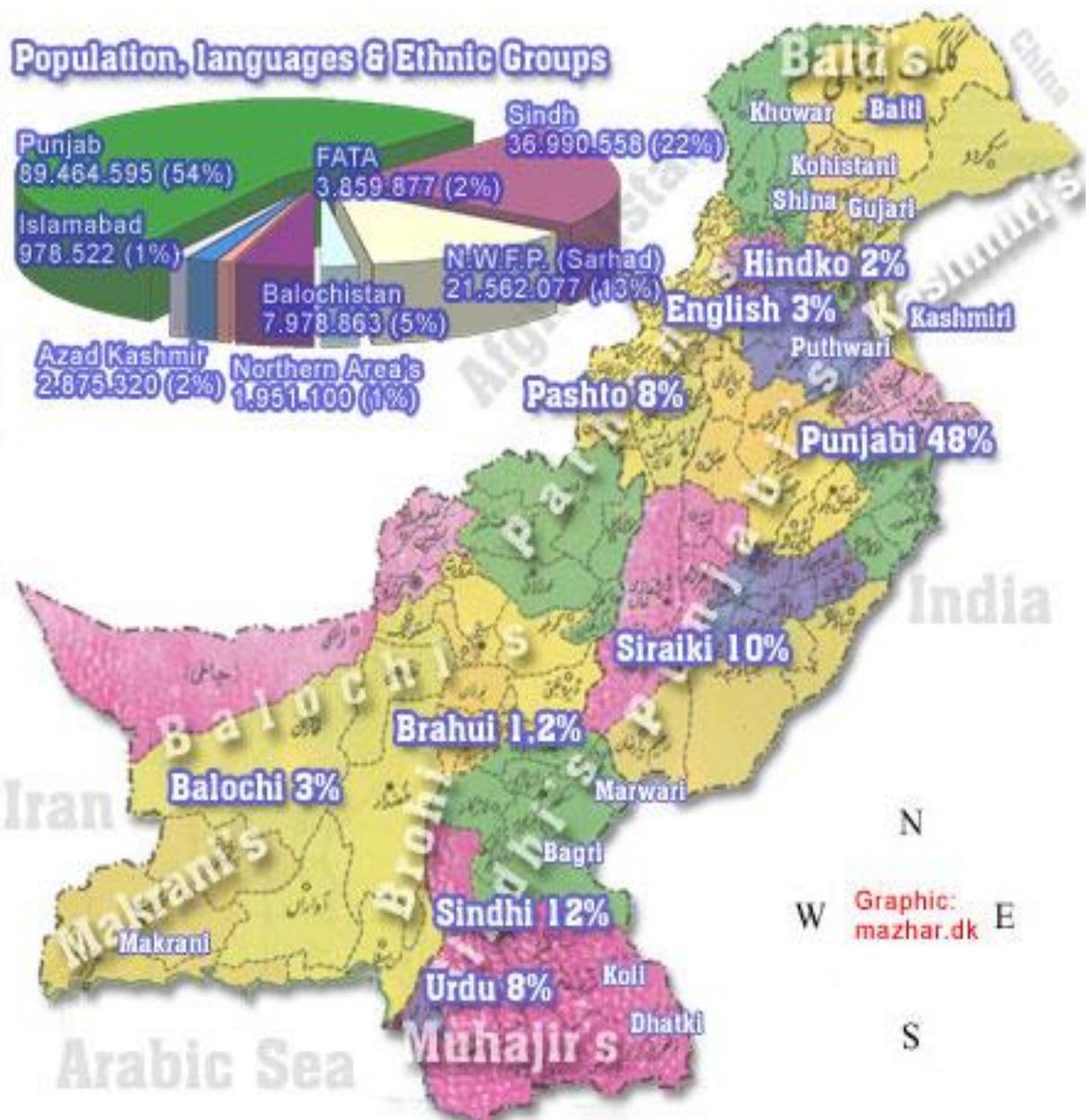
http://www.google.de/imgres?imgurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.paktravelism.com%2Fblog%2Fna%2F2012%2F6%2F22%2Ftn_mansehra001_ouzkw.jpg&imgrefurl=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.paktravelism.com%2Fc%2Fblog%2Fview%2F171%2FMansehra_Map&h=150&w=288&tbnid=JtGpmRDujtUQcM%3A&zoom=1&docid=HC0dXLbBVXnnyM&ei=DfCjVKDaM8niO-u8gPAM&tbid=isch&iact=rc&uact=3&dur=895&page=1&start=0&ndsp=19&ved=0CE8QrQMwDw

3. Language map of Pakistan³²



³² Taken from http://3.bp.blogspot.com/_GSrmtv8JtE4/TTPRH-iZ5SI/AAAAAAAAAFs/d8g7zgDYX7A/s1600/PakistanLanguage_map.JPG

4. Population, languages and ethnic groups of Pakistan³³



³³ Taken from <http://mazhar.dk/pakistan/images/pakistan1.jpg>

5. How Pakistan's language in education policy has evolved (Taken from Coleman, 2010: 15)

Table 4 : How Pakistan's language in education policy has evolved³⁸

Year	Event	Policy	Implementation
Pre-1947	Colonial rule	Urdu medium for masses, English medium for elite	As policy
1947	Independence	Urdu declared to be national language	Urdu medium for masses, English medium for elite
1959	Sharif Commission	Primary and secondary education in Urdu, higher education in English	No change
1973	New constitution	English to be replaced by Urdu within 15 years; provinces free to develop their own language policies	No change
1977	Coup by Zia-ul-Haq	Islamisation and Urduisation	English taught from Year 4; schools begin to prepare for complete Urduisation of exams by 1989; private English medium schools begin to grow
1989	Benazir Bhutto elected	English to be taught from Year 1	Little effective change
1998	New education policy	No statement regarding language policy	Private English medium schools flourish
1999	Coup by Pervez Musharraf	English to be taught from Year 1 'where teachers are available'	Little effective change
2007	White Paper	English to be taught from Year 1; mathematics and science to be taught through English from Year 6	Little effective change; in Punjab science taught through English from Year 10.
2009	National Education Policy	Science and mathematics to be taught through English in Years 4 and 5; all science and mathematics to be taught through English from 2014	Punjab declares science to be taught through English starting in Year 4 from April 2009

6. Questionnaire sample (English version)

1. Personal Data: (Note: this is for purposes of tabulation only: if you do not want this information to be revealed at any stage please tick the line below)

I do not want this information to be revealed at any stage _____

Age Group (between 22 and 32) Yes _____ No _____

Highest Qualification: _____

Type of work: _____

Gender: male: _____ female: _____

Location: _____

2. Questionnaire: (please tick appropriate line, a, b, c, d, e). The table of values is as follows:

a. **Strongly disagree** b. **disagree** c. **not sure** d. **agree** e. **strongly agree**

[Note: higher education has a strong base in English. The following questions are designed to ascertain the effect of this language on the attitudes and thinking of people belonging to this region, especially with regard to traditional ideas about the role of women]

1. You are good at English:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

2. You use a lot of English at home every day:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

3. You use a lot of English at work:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

4. You read English newspapers rather than Urdu ones:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

5. You watch English movies:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

6. You found studying English at school and college easy:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

7. Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes in general:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

8. Exposure to English culture has affected your attitudes towards traditional culture:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

9. Women do not need to go to school:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

10. Women need training, but only in household skills:

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

11. Religious education is the only kind of education needed for women:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
12. It is enough for women to receive only basic formal education in Urdu (or the mother-tongue) without any exposure to English:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
13. Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
14. Traditional family values have been affected by exposure to English:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
15. Highly educated women cannot make good wives or mothers:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
16. It is good for women to work:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
17. Women should be allowed to work but in only a few professions:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
18. Women should not be allowed to work with men:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
19. A woman should not go out to work once she is married:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
20. Women should remain within the four walls of the house:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
21. Traditional ideas in the Mansehra region are permanent and must not be tampered with:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
22. Some traditional ideas in the Mansehra region need to be changed:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
23. English is important for the development of the Mansehra region:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____
24. English is important for modernizing attitudes in the Mansehra region:
a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

7. Scanned sample questionnaire (Urdu version)

ذاتی کوڈ نمف: (نوٹ) یہ معلومات صرف جدول سازی کے مقصد کے تحت حاصل کی جا رہی ہیں۔
اگر آپ کسی بھی مرحلے پر انہیں ظاہر نہیں کرنا چاہتے تو براہ کرم نیچے دیے گئے خط پر نشان لگائیں۔

میں یہ معلومات کسی بھی مرحلے پر ظاہر نہیں کرنا چاہتا/چاہتی

عمر کی سطح (۳۲ اور ۳۳ کے درمیان) ہاں _____ نہیں _____

اعلیٰ ترین تعلیمی قابلیت _____

روزگار کی نوعیت _____

صنف: مرد _____ عورت _____

جنگل: _____

سوال نامہ: (براہ کرام اب، ج، دہ میں سے مناسب مقام نشان زد کریں)

اندری جدول حسب ذیل ہے:

۱۔ بھرپور اختلاف ہے ب۔ اختلاف ہے، ج۔ غیر یقینی د۔ اتفاق ہے ہ۔ بھرپور اتفاق ہے۔
نوٹ: اعلیٰ تعلیم انگریزی کے حوالے سے ایک مضبوط بنیاد رکھتی ہے۔ اس علاقے کے لوگوں کے رویوں اور طرز فکر، خاص طور پر عورت کے معاشرتی کردار کے حوالے سے روایتی تصورات پر اس زبان کے اثرات جاننے کے لیے درج ذیل سوالات ترتیب دیے گئے ہیں:

۱۔ الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۲۔ آپ روزانہ گھر میں انگریزی کا زیادہ استعمال کرتے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۳۔ آپ کام کے دوران میں انگریزی کا زیادہ استعمال کرتے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۴۔ آپ اردو اخبارات کی بجائے انگریزی اخبارات پڑھتے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۵۔ آپ انگریزی فلمیں دیکھتے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۶۔ آپ سکول اور کالج میں انگریزی کا مطالعہ آسان پاتے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۷۔ انگریزی تہذیب و تمدن کا سامنا کرتے ہوئے آپ کے رویے عمومی طور پر متاثر ہوئے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۸۔ انگریزی تہذیب و تمدن کا سامنا کرتے ہوئے روایتی تہذیب و تمدن کے حوالے سے آپ کے رویے متاثر ہوئے ہیں:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۹۔ عورتوں کو سکول جانے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے:

الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

۱۰۔ عورتوں کو صرف گھریلو کام کاج میں مہارت حاصل کرنے کے لیے تربیت کی ضرورت ہے:

- ۱۱۔ عورتوں کو صرف مذہبی تعلیم کی ضرورت ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۲۔ عورتوں کے لیے انگریزی سے دور رہتے ہوئے صرف اردو یا مادری زبان میں بنیادی سطحی تعلیم کافی ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۳۔ عورتوں کو قابل لحاظ حد تک انگریزی کے قریب لاتے ہوئے اعلیٰ تعلیم کی ضرورت ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۴۔ انگریزی سے قربت نے روایتی خاندانی اقدار کو متاثر کیا ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۵۔ اعلیٰ تعلیم یافتہ عورتیں اچھی بیویاں یا اچھی مائیں نہیں بنا سکتیں:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۶۔ عورتوں کے لیے ملازمت کرنا اچھا ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۷۔ عورتوں کو صرف چند پیشوں میں ملازمت کی اجازت دینی چاہیے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۸۔ عورتوں کو مردوں کے ساتھ ملازمت کرنے کی اجازت نہیں دینی چاہیے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۱۹۔ کسی عورت کو شادی کے بعد ملازمت کے لیے باہر نہیں نکلنا چاہئے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۲۰۔ عورتوں کو گھر کی چار دیواری کے اندر رہنا چاہئے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۲۱۔ ہانسبرہ کے خطے میں روایتی تصورات کی حیثیت مستقل ہے اور انہیں چھیننا نہیں چاہئے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۲۲۔ ہانسبرہ کے خطے میں چند روایتی تصورات میں تبدیلی کی ضرورت ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۲۳۔ ہانسبرہ کے خطے کی ترقی کے لیے انگریزی اہم ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____
- ۲۴۔ ہانسبرہ کے خطے میں رویوں کو جدت عطا کرنے کے لیے انگریزی اہم ہے:
الف _____ ب _____ ج _____ د _____ ہ _____

8. Interview outline / list

- Q(1). How does learning English make the difference?
- Q(2). Does English play important role in the Mansehra region's development?
- Q(3). Do you think English is important for women in Mansehra?
- Q(4). Does learning English by women affect the traditional values?
- Q(5). How does learning English language affect the role of mother?
- Q(6). Is it important to learn English in this region?
- Q(7). Women need higher education with considerable exposure to English, what is your opinion?
- Q(8). Does English literacy affect women marriage options?
- Q(9). How will it (English language learning) affect the overall attitude of a person?
- Q(10). Would we be able to do justice with English and our native language?

9. Expert opinion

Interview

The matter has many ramifications. Pakistan is perhaps unique among major nations in that it aspires to modern living but is unable or unwilling to accept the possibility of change in its traditional attitudes and core values, especially with regard to women. That this has hardly anything to do with the state religion of Islam is of little consequence for many people, for whom customs have a force almost equal to or greater than that of religion. Large numbers of people, especially among those living in rural or semi-rural conditions, confuse the two. They mistakenly consider it moral in an Islamic sense to deprive women of their natural rights. That in doing so they also deprive the nation of the benefits of half of its total pool of talent means nothing to them.

Such attitudes are out of step with current ideas, especially in more developed areas of the world. We find no natural, national, legal, moral, international or religious justification for these continuing trends in discrimination. Women in some parts of the country are still denied the benefits of education on the grounds that schooling for girls is likely to affect their suitability for the only roles prescribed for them, namely, wifedom and motherhood, a life spent entirely within the confines of first the father's, then the husband's and finally (in widowhood) the son's houses. In some areas such as the rural interior of Sindh or the north-west tribal belt, the atmosphere is neurotic in the extreme--women live under the threat of death if they break the traditional code: no education, not even two or three years of it, is allowed. It is felt that in order to go to school, women have to leave the protective walls of their houses, thereby vitiating the moral climate of the society. There is a deep schism in this society. These attitudes have somehow been grafted on to Islam, or one interpretation of it. Unfortunately, they find echoes in a few other Islamic countries as well. We hear, for example, that hard-line Islamists in Egypt have recently declared education to be out of bounds for women.

I am not privy to any properly conducted survey on the condition of women in this country. However, I can speak from personal experience. I understand that the researcher's interests are limited to the hinterland of Mansehra. As the hub of commerce and education in this part of Pakistan, it may be said that the city is

predominantly forward-looking. However, the same cannot be said for some of the surrounding villages, where extremely restrictive attitudes are still found. Once again Islam is put forward as the deciding factor. However, if people are asked to point to any unambiguous reference or ruling in the texts, they are unable to do so. To the contrary, there are many clear injunctions for the furtherance of knowledge and education to be found in Islam. Nowhere will it be seen that these are confined to men to the exclusion of women.

One problem is, of course, that higher education means exposure to alien cultures through the medium of the second language. This is anathema for many people, who think that foreign cultures are lax towards sexual immorality, and that our women might get ideas. It is difficult to understand how traditional practices have been confused with Islam, but the confusion is persistent and deep-seated. Those who have tried to neutralize these attitudes have usually failed, partly because of their extent and partly because of their depth. To these factors we must add a third—the traditional control of men over women rests on the authority of such practices, no matter how false they might be—in other words, sexual politics. Appealing to religion or presenting models of progress is unlikely to work in such an atmosphere. Men will not willingly surrender their self-assumed status.

It is not my position to suggest how one should bring about changes in these attitudes. Once completed, the researcher's study might be in a position to make workable recommendations. Education is often touted as the panacea for such social malpractices. Educating women, though important, might not be enough. It might be even more important to educate men properly. Here I use the word 'educate' in a wider sense than we find in many parts of Pakistan, where it is considered to be little more than learning things by heart in order to pass examinations. The term should include social awareness and an understanding of fundamental rights, both male and female. And, of course, mere awareness is not enough. It has to be given concrete expression. Traditional attitudes will also have to be challenged, and the whole thing will have to be placed within a viable, effective framework of law. Even if visible effects are slow in coming, the effort will have to be maintained over a long period, and monitored and evaluated regularly.

Administrative mechanisms have existed in Pakistan for a long time for the uplift of women. However, they have generally failed in achieving tangible gains, mainly because they are underfunded, but also because the issues involved are not given much importance in the nation's scale of core values. Momentum has to be generated. Top-down implementation procedures can fail if there is lack of coordination at different points in the process. Likewise, bottom-up implementation can fail if the elements at both ends are out-of-step. Political will, adequate funding and the agreement of important stakeholders with regard to needs and priorities are required for the thing to take off and develop into a general movement for the betterment of women.

Riaz Hassan (PhD),

Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences,

AIR University, Islamabad

10. Sample interview (Romanized Hindko)

The relevant part is italicized.

Interviewee: 3

Village: Kutli Baala

Age: 50

Status: Married

Gender: Female

Occupation: House wife

Time: 10 min

Q. eh jirrian perhy likhy dey kurrian hondey hen eh jirre peshe ikhtiar kerdey hen tussan de khayal bich eh kaafi hen ziada hen yak at hen? Kurrian doctor behe hondey hen, nursaan behe hondey hen, university bich behe perhal dey hen

A. is Mansehra bich much hen, aur behe howan the achy gal he .

Q. jirrian khawateen angareezi sikhty hen us naal unhan de karra de mahul tah assar paende? Unhan dey rawaiyat tah assar paende? Karra da uthran beeran, bol chal, tor atwar tah farak paende, chaal challan tah?

A. Perhna naal teh much farak paende na, angarezi sawa paende na, jian urdu kerden koi haai the assank ke patta lagde teh, urdu kerdian hen na , English kerdian , perhaeey naal much paende, kaafi assar paende,

Q. angarezi naal ke assar paende?

A. Jitney angarezi perhden oh ache honden

Q. kis lehaz naal acha honde?

A. Asda rizwan angarezi perhde the acha na, saarian sey acha he MashAllah

Q. ke kerde oh angarezi perh ke kitha istehmal kerde?

A. Bazze taem the Rizwan angarezi bolde.

Q. ziada taalleem hasil kerna naal aurataan kurrian de rishtian tah behe assar paende? Jirrian ziada talleem hasil kerdey hen oh keh aakhty hen ke aaglla banda behe ziada taallem yafta howe?

A. Eh teh assi anperhan na, assank koi patta behe neen, the jirre taalleem hasil kerden , keety dey howe una da patta lagde na, oh aakhten jitney hasil keety dey he is kolo dugna aur hasil howe

Q. tussan de bache teh perhden na, tussan da ke khayal he tussi bachian ko perhal de ho the unhan de rishte keejey jaaian tah kerso?

A. Assy teh aakhte haan achian hey jaaian tah, dil the eh hey aakhte, je kugh unhan de naseba bich hoewa ooey hosy

Q. angarezi sikhraan da aik maau de kardar tah ke assar paende? Tussank agr angarezi aandey howe the tussi ke ker haqte ho appre bachian aste?

A. Angarezi aawe ha teh me apprian bachiank behe perhallan na, sakhallan na, mak the eh hey arman he bada me na perhy dey, me perhy dey howan marre bache itne khawar na howan na, kharrab na howan na, perh kea wan na me puchaan haan sabak dekhan han na

Q. angarezi aalla sabak dekho ha?

A. Angarezi aalla dekha haan the fir unak koi ghalty howe ha me kadda han, te me anperh haan is galla ta muk badda arman he

Q. tussan de khayal he Mansehra de illaqe bich angarezi sikhraan dey zarurat he?

A. Haarre jee, sikhten log na

Q. us dey ehmiat ke he?

A. Ehmiat eh he perhaaeey he, achy cheez he na,

Q. Achy cheez he ? aur ke waja he?

A. Bas waja eh hey he ke perhaey he achy chez he

Q. Maau da ke role he?

A. angarezi naal much sarra assar paende na, koi bachian kis trha ho juldey hen, koi kis trha ho juldey hen, koi kharab ho juldey hen, koi angarezi sikh ke achian behe ho juldey hen, koi angarezi sikh ke much bigar juldey hen na, much kharrab ho juldey hen. unak ko angarezzi neen sikhreen chahiya dey kharrab howan the unna ko neen sikhreen chahiya dey.

Q. is illaqe bich angarezzi sikhraan dey koi zarurat he?

A. neen

Q. is illaqee bich angareezi sikhraan dey ehmiat ke he?

A. is illaqe bich angareezi dey kugh ehmiat neen.

Q. pehle tussi aakhte assiu he honr aakhte ho neen?

A. jee bass bazzian waste achy he, baazian waste neen, baazee perh ke kitne ache ho julden, baaze perh ke kitne bigar julden

Q. tehzeeb, rawaiyat, angarezi sikh ke eh badal jullan ya barqara rehrrian chahiya dey hen assan da libbas ore assan dey rawaiyat eh behe badal julle ya eh ooja hey rehwe?

A. badalde, perh ke fir kassa da behe ooja hey neen rehnda, badal de much sarra,

Q. kiian badal de? Kirre passé dar julde, ache passé dar ya mande passé dar?

A. bas bich much ache behe ho julde, much insan ache behe ho julden, much bichu mande behe ho julden, oo the bandian tarrun he na, bich much saarre bigar julden perhaey ker ke. Bas bichan waliank aaprre maa pee behe phul julden na perhaey kerke angarezi perh ke, fashion badal julden, sarra kugh badal julde, the bich koi itne ache ho julden ke unak aprre maau piu dey ziad qadar ho juldey he.

Q. jirre bigar julden ore jirre ache ho julden matlab oh ke harkattan kerdn jee oh maau piun ko eehian samajhden? Tussan da ke tajjarbba he is barre bich?

A. is barre bich eh tajjarbba he jee koi perh julden, perh ke the saffa hey bigar julden, maau piu ko satt behe kenden, kitne kitne bichu neen nikalde, pasandgian aalle hisab behe much sarre banr julden, apprey passandgian de karran aalle ker kendey hen. Maau piu kolo perwa hey neen hondey, maau piu dey, bichu much perh ke kugh ziada hey ache ho julden unak kugh ziada hey maau piu dey kadar ho juldey he

Fir angarezi sikhren chahiya dey he?

Neen chahiya dey,

Tussi angarezi ko acha key neen samajh de ho?

Bas achy neen lagdey[laugh]

Ooche level tah jirre log sikhten, khawaten aste is illaqe bich usda ke faida?

Naa, kugh faida neen

Q. fir nuksan ke he?

A. bas nuksan eh hey he ke maau piu ko phul jul dey hen, kurrian behe bich bich aaprrey marzi kerdey hen, her gal aaprrey marzi dey kerdey hen, maau piu dey marzi tah neen chaldian

Q. marzi kis cheezan bich kerdey hen?

Bas herry galla bich aaprey marzi, kappre bich behe aaprrey marzi he, laanrran bich behe, kharran bich behe aaprrren marzi he, saarrian kughan Kaman bich aapren marzi he,

Q. marzi kerna koi mandey gal he, achy gal neen?

A.[laugh] muko teh neen achy lagdey

Q. fashion kerna mandey gal he?

Bas muchian logan naal jurrde teh assi gharreb haan teh assan naal neen jurdan na fir

Q. saarre insan haan dil teh saarian da aakhte?

Dil teh saarian da aakhtegunjaaeish nah owe the neen ker hakta na insan

Q. Ore ke ker dey hen?

A. Allah zindagi karre Khuda dey zaat itny khushi asi jitney khushi viki dey shadu dey, nazi aakhty assi eh suit barra ke desen mak eh ken ke desen, marri takkat na assi me neen kede.

Q. Acha aur ke wajah?

A. bas ore the itny khas waja kugh behe neen, jaan wajah he,

11. Interview transcripts (Translated version)

Interviewee: 3

Village: Kutli Baala, Mansehra

Age: 50

Gender: Female

Status: Married

Occupation: Housewife

Language: Hindko

Time: 10 min

Date: 14 March, 2012

Time of interview: 15: 56

Q(1). Could you please tell me the role of the English literate mother?

A. If I were proficient in English language, I would have taught and trained my children in the English language at home. I wish that I were English-literate as well as well-educated.

Q(2). Does learning English by women affect the traditional values in Mansehra?

A. My son Rizwan learns English in school. He studies in an English-medium school. He is better than his siblings. Sometimes he speaks English. But it also affects the character. Some girls who learn English, they are distracted. Some of them become better in their conduct. Those who are distracted, they should not learn English.

Q(3). Is it important to learn English in this region?

A. Absolutely not.

Q(4). Why are you contradicting your earlier statements?

A. It is good for some, but for others it proves to be a cause of their liberty. Everyone has been changed after learning English. Some girls become really fashionable, and they start adopting English culture. Some of them become disobedient to their parents. They get married according to their own choice. They choose their husbands themselves, which is not good. They do not care about their parents' honour. Some girls show independence. They eat what they want. They do not obey their parents. There was a marriage ceremony in our neighbourhood. My daughter insisted that I should buy her newly designed dresses of her own choice,

but I could not afford this. I do not like my daughter to do things on her own.

Interviewee: 6

Village: Mansehra

Age: 54

Language: Hindko

Occupation: Farmer

Status: Married

Gender: Male

Time: 5 min 52 sec

Date: 15 March, 2012

Time of interview: 18:25hrs.

Q (1). Does women's English literacy affect our traditional culture?

A. Yes, it affects it in a negative way. They become out of control. Then we cannot control them. This is the reason that we oppose women's English literacy.

Q (2). Does English literacy affect women's marriage options?

Yes, it has quite an impact on women's life. Those who are English-literate, they receive educated proposals and get married to educated men. On the other hand, those who are not English-literate get married to illiterate persons. We oppose English literacy as well as girls' education. We do not promote English literacy in our villages.

Q (3). If they start learning English, then how will you react?

A. No, it is not possible; we will never allow them to learn the English language. We will react strongly, in private as well as public spaces. We only believe in our own language and its practice.

Q (4). Why do you strongly oppose it?

We believe that learning English language will make them forget their place in private as well as public spaces. They will even forget their parents and their values. Eventually they will become modern and liberal. On the other hand, those women who are not English literate, they are limited to the four walls. They respect and value their parents. There is no need to learn English in

Mansehra. We restrict them to Urdu and our regional vernaculars. We cannot afford English literacy, nor do we like it. We cannot read English, nor do we favour it for our daughters, sisters and wives.

12. Themes (Interviews)

Topic	Themes	Interviewees													
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
LEL W	A. Self-assessment of competency in English	X		X											
	B. Role of English in Mansehra region's development				X	X			X	X				X	X
	C. Advantages/importance of women's English literacy in Mansehra	X				X	X			X	X		X	X	X
	D. Role of English literate mother		X	X	X				X	X	X				
	E. Desire for children's English education		X	X											
	F. Use of native language				X										X
	G. Lack of resources							X							
	H. Confused attitude towards women's English literacy							X	X						
	I. Opposition towards English			X	X	X	X								
	J. Expensive English medium schools						X								
	K. Effects of learning English	X	X	X											
	L. Impact of English on traditional culture				X				X					X	X
	M. Impact of women's English language learning practices on traditional culture	X	X	X			X			X		X	X		X
	N. English language learning affects women's marriage options			X			X								
	O. English makes negative impacts on girls			X	X								X		
	P. Role of government in promoting women's English literacy												X		

	Q. Role of women's learning English in international community													X							
	R. Role of women's English literacy in bringing change	X											X								
	S. Need to improve teaching strategies								X					X						X	

13. Reliability (Cronbach Alpha)

Case Processing Summary

		N	%
Cases	Valid	96	96,0
	Excluded ^a	4	4,0
	Total	100	100,0

a. Listwise deletion based on all variables in the procedure.

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
.738	24

14. Abstract (German version)

Konservative Gesellschaften wie die pakistanische neigen dazu, Frauen auszugrenzen. Frauen in Pakistan leben deshalb in vielerlei Hinsicht in einer völlig anderen Welt. Die konservativen Normen und Trends in der pakistanischen Gesellschaft machen das Erlernen der englischen Sprache für Frauen insgesamt sehr schwierig. Bis vor kurzem wurde Bildung für Frauen insgesamt als unnötig und entbehrlich empfunden, eine Haltung die in vielen ländlichen Teilen des Landes immer noch anzutreffen ist, obwohl sich stellenweise bereits Veränderungen bemerkbar machen. Auf der anderen Seite ist es heute von größter Bedeutung Englisch zu lernen, da die Sprache den Zugang zu Wissen und Bildung ermöglicht, insbesondere in den Bereichen von Wissenschaft und Technik. Es existieren jedoch keine Forschungen zur gesellschaftlichen Haltung in Bezug auf den Erwerb von Englischkenntnissen durch Frauen und in Bezug auf deren Auswirkungen auf die traditionellen Wertvorstellungen in der Region Mansehra. Mein Forschungsbeitrag untersucht den Einfluss der Lebensbedingungen von Frauen in Pakistan und die Auswirkungen des pakistanischen Gesellschaftssystems auf das Erlernen von Englisch als Zweitsprache durch Frauen. Theoretische Modelle von Bourdieu (1979, 1984) und Sadiqi (2003) werden herangezogen, um relevante Faktoren im sozialen Kontext zu identifizieren. Einstellungen innerhalb der Bevölkerung werden mittels eines methodologisch gemischten Ansatzes untersucht, der Fragebögen als quantitative Methode sowie Interviews und teilnehmende Beobachtung als qualitative Methoden beinhaltet. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die städtische Bevölkerung insgesamt eine relativ offene und moderate Haltung zeigt, aber auch aufgrund der Gegensätze zwischen traditioneller Kultur und fortschreitender Modernisierung verunsichert ist. Im Gegensatz dazu zeigt sich bei der ländlichen Bevölkerung eine ablehnende Haltung gegenüber dem Erwerb von Fremdsprachen; einige Antworten zeigen aber eine gewisse Flexibilität gegenüber Veränderungen der traditionellen Kultur durch das Erlernen von Englisch. Darüber hinaus gibt es erhebliche Unterschiede innerhalb der mit Hilfe von Fragebögen, Interviews und teilnehmender Beobachtung gesammelten Meinungsbilder. Die gewonnenen Erkenntnisse haben wichtige Auswirkungen auf die Arbeit von Sprachlehrern, Pädagogen, Sprachlernenden und Studenten. Eine Berücksichtigung der gemachten Empfehlungen würde helfen, einen weiteren Einstellungswandel in der Region zu bewirken.

15. CV

Year	University Degrees	Professional experience
2012-to date		Assistant Professor, Hazara University, Mansehra, Pakistan
2004-2012		Lecturer, Hazara University, Mansehra, Pakistan
2010	Master of Philosophy, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan	
2003	Master, International Islamic University Islamabad, Pakistan	
2001	Bachelor, Jinnah College For Women, University of Peshawar, Pakistan	

16. Declaration

I hereby declare that I have written this thesis independently and gave references to the sources that are used. The graphical representation is mine. The tables that are adopted are referred to appropriately. I have formulated figures in order to clarify the purpose.

Date, Signature:.....