The English/Urdu-Medium Divide in Pakistan: Consequences for Learner Identity and Future Life Chances

Fauzia Shamim
Ziauddin University, Pakistan
fauzia.shamim@gmail.com

Uzma Rashid
University of Peace, Costa Rica.
urashid@upeace.org

Abstract

Both Urdu, the national language of Pakistan, and English the official language are widely used for spoken and written communication in different contexts in Pakistan. In education; however, a linguistic divide is evident in the two-stream system of education - mainly referred to as Urdu medium and English medium - according to the dominant language of instruction in an institutional setting. Urdu medium schools are normally the state schools providing free education to the poorer communities while the English medium schools are private fee-paying schools for the economically well-off sections of society. This disparity in the educational system has loaded the labels English medium and Urdu medium with a range of meanings that constitute self and other's perceptions of identity, in addition to signaling linguistic capital, particularly in terms of proficiency in English. This paper reports findings of a small-scale qualitative study undertaken to understand how students at a higher education public-sector institution in Pakistan experience and construct their own and others' identities in relation to their previous and current educational and social experiences of language learning and use. Insights gained from this study further our understanding of how linguistic inequalities can be sanctioned by the state's language policy and related practices.

Keywords: English/Urdu as medium of instruction, identity, language policy, linguistic capital, linguistic inequality, Urdu-medium.

Introduction

Pakistan is a linguistically diverse country with 74 languages (Simons & Charles, 2018). According to the Constitution of Pakistan (1973), Urdu is the national language, while English is the official language of Pakistan. The Constitution recognizes the range of regional/provincial languages but without any clear guidelines for their use in the business of the state, education or everyday life. Today, almost 45 years after the Constitution was promulgated, the situation on the ground is as follows: English and Urdu are the two main languages used widely in Pakistan (Simons, & Charles, 2018). Accordingly, they hold wide currency as 'linguistic capital' in Pakistan's linguistic market (cf. Bourdieu, 1991). The use of Urdu as a lingua franca is widespread across the country. However, English serves as the official language and the language of the more privileged elite institutions such as the military and bureaucracy (Rehman, 2004). Hence unsurprisingly, English plays the role of gatekeeper for entry into prestigious higher education institutions and high salaried jobs. Though the importance of teaching regional languages in addition to English and Urdu is recognized by Pakistan's National Education Policy (NEP, 2009) regional languages are at the lower end of the language hierarchy in Pakistan and used mainly for informal communication amongst the inner circle of family and friends (Manan & David, 2014; Rahman, 2003).

There are three parallel systems of education in Pakistan: the public sector Urdu-medium schools, the private sector English-medium schools and the religious schools or Madrassahs (Coleman, 2010; Rahman, 2004; NEP, 2009). This study focuses on the first and second school types only. The private schools are normally sub-divided into elite and non-elite English-medium schools according to their fee structure and facilities provided to the students (Harlech, Baig & Sajid, 2005; Khattak, 2014; Rehman, 2004; Shamim, 2008). Normally, the high-income schools follow the University of Cambridge system of examinations (O/A level track), while the medium to low-income private and state-owned Urdu-medium schools follow the local/provincial system of examinations (matriculation/intermediate track). Also, there are a few Sindhi-medium state schools in the Sindh province (Table 1). In higher education, English is the medium of instruction in all prestigious Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) (Shamim, 2011). However, both English and Urdu are used as medium of instruction in some departments in public sector HEIs (Mansoor, 2005).

Table 1

Medium of instruction- facts and figures (NEP, 2009, p.71)

Medium of instruction	Percentage
Urdu	65%
Sindhi	15.5%
English	10.4%
Other languages	9.5%

Thus, in Pakistan, linguistic (and social) inequality is mediated through kinds of educational institutions with distinct educational practices related to medium of instruction and tracking of students into the local exam boards or University of Cambridge curricula and examination systems (Mansoor, 2005; Rahman, 1999). In fact the terms Urdu and English-medium refer not only to the medium of instruction, but certain school types in terms of ownership (public/private), social status of learners attending these schools and facilities provided etc. (Warwick & Reimers, 2005). Additionally, these labels are recognized as identity markers; English- medium is considered synonymous with the more affluent social class, and a more liberal and westernized persona, while Urdu medium denotes the less affluent strata of society characterized stereotypically with individual traits of being more conservative and less polished in attire and mannerism (Ahmed, 2016; Rehman, 2004).

The current study was undertaken to explore how the English-Urdu medium divide in educational institutions in Pakistan facilitates or blocks access to opportunities for academic and professional growth in Pakistan. The research questions guiding this study were as follows:

1. How do bi/multilingual learners experience the Urdu-English medium divide in the context of a higher education institution in Pakistan?

2. What consequences does it have for their perception of the self, and their current and future life aspirations?

The paper begins with a review of literature followed by methodology and study findings. Finally, the conclusion and implications for policy and practice are presented.

Literature Review

Language in Education in Pakistan

The Constitution of Pakistan (1973) states that Urdu will be the national language of Pakistan while English will be used as the official language till the time (estimated 15 years) that arrangements can be made for it to be replaced by Urdu. However, the fact of the matter is that English, being the language of the military, civil services and higher education in Pakistan, is considered the language of personal and professional development (Mahboob, 2002; Shamim, 2011). Often, English plays a gate-keeping role through being a compulsory subject in entrance exams for higher education institutions as well as those leading to the echelons of power such as the civil services of Pakistan.

As mentioned earlier, schools in Pakistan are divided into state Urdu-medium and private English-medium schools (Coleman, 2010; Khattak, 2014; Mustafa, 2015; Rehman, 2004). Waseem and Asadullah (2013) argue that Pakistan's precarious parallel education systems, that is the public and private sector, are mainly marked by an apparent division in the medium of instruction and communication; the latter system being a symbol of the westernized, elite and powerful section of society with the preferred medium of communication as English. This Urdu-English medium divide is further reinforced in higher education institutions (HEIs). English is normally used as the medium of instruction in private HEIs, while it is normally used for teaching the science subjects as well as high prestige subjects such as international relations in social sciences and humanities in public sector universities. In contrast, Urdu is the medium of instruction for a few low- prestige subjects within arts and humanities. The very high fee structure of the elite English-medium schools and private universities creates barriers for children from the middle and lower classes to participate in the educational opportunities offered by these institutions. As a result, non-elite or low-fee English medium schools have mushroomed in the last two decades or so (Harlech, Baig & Sajid, 2005; Manan, Dumanig & David, 2015; Rahman, 2004). However, their standards of teaching-learning of English are largely questionable (Fareed, Jawed & Awan, 2018; Manan, David & Dumanig, 2016).

Identity and Linguistic Capital

In recent years there has been a lot of interest in identity in general and language and identity in the field of TESOL in particular. Gee (2000) defines four kinds of identity- the natural or N-identity which is nature-based such as being an identical twin; the institutional or I-identity which is imposed upon by institutions and institutional policies and practices, for example, being a professor at a university; the discourse or D-identity that is discursive-based such as a person being recognized as charismatic; and affinity or A-identity based on one's affiliation with, for example, a well-recognized group of people such as a support network. According to Gee (2000), all these four kinds of identity are interrelated and are not discrete categories. Similarly, a number of processes are at work for creating, contesting, negotiating and sustaining these identities such as gaining recognition as a charismatic person through ascription (others ascribe this identity) or achievement (actively working to get this recognition).

Within the field of TESOL, identity refers to how people understand their relationship to the world including their understanding of their possibilities for the future (Norton, 1997). Norton asserts that "Every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors; they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation" (Norton, 1997, p. 410). Thus identity is not static but can change with a person's changing social and economic conditions. Pavlenko and Norton (2007) also posit the concept of imagined identities- learners' actual and desired future identities- as an important determinant of their investment into language learning. These identities can also be seen as being influenced by what Bourdieu (1991) calls linguistic capital, referring to the linguistic assets possessed by individuals and passed on through informal and formal networks that determine the progress they can make in life. Linguistic capital can be seen as a crucial aspect of the identities of learners in educational institutions especially in the context of Pakistan where the English and Urdu medium divide extends from families and informal interaction into more formal learning systems. Thus, there is a need to see how the identities of learners are constructed differently based on the unequal accumulation of linguistic capital during their school years and subsequently in higher education institutions, leading to growth of some students while putting others at a disadvantaged position.

Methodology

This is an exploratory study using the qualitative method. The research was conducted at a large public sector university in Karachi, Pakistan. The university has a bilingual language policy: English is the dominant language in science departments (and other high profile departments in social sciences such as international relations) while Urdu is mainly used in low profile departments such as Social Work. The mass communication department; however, has two distinct streams: English and Urdu medium, based on the medium of instruction used in the two streams/sections, but also the future careers aspirations of the learners in English or Urdu journalism and media.

The research participants were selected using purposive sampling. They included three learners: Aneesa, a student from an elite private English-medium school (O/A levels track); Farina from a non-elite private English-medium school (Matric/Intermediate track); and Kamran from an Urdu-medium public-sector school (Matric/Intermediate track).

In depth qualitative interviews were conducted comprising three parts as follows:

Part I: Past- Life story-socio-cultural, social-historical account of learning English in school and/or at home and community.

Part II: Present- Current experiences of using English in regard to institutional practices and related perceptions of identity/self-concept.

Part III: Future- Desires and aspirations to join real and/or imagined communities; investment in learning English.

The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed for analysis. The interviewer was proficient in both English and Urdu and switched between the two languages during the interviews, as required. The participants were free to choose Urdu, English or a mix of both languages for answering the questions. Following the interviews, a thematic analysis was conducted of the data. Thematic analysis is a method of data analysis which is widely used for analyzing qualitative

data, with the aim of "identifying and analyzing patterns" (Clarke & Braun, 2013, p. 121). The process of thematic analysis started with the researchers familiarizing themselves with the data, moving on to coding the data, which involved labeling data and finding relevance of parts of it to the research question. These codes were then reviewed for patterns which led to the formation of broader themes. These themes were then reviewed in relation to each other, named and finally explained with the help of relevant data in the form of a coherent narrative.

Findings

This study was aimed at investigating the experiences of bi- and multilingual learners in the context of a higher education institution in Pakistan in relation to the Urdu-English medium divide. It also explored the consequences that this linguistic divide had for their self-perception and for their perceived current and future life chances and aspirations. Data revealed patterns of institutional discrimination based on language trickling down to the learners and influencing their identities and life chances in significant ways. These patterns will be discussed in detail in this section.

Learners' Perceptions of Their Linguistic Capital

Learners' perceptions of their linguistic capital is shaped by the value accorded to one or more languages by their interlocutors/audience in different linguistic markets (Bourdieu, 1991). Aneesa, a competent user of English considers herself a multilingual speaker. According to her, all the three language she knows, English, Urdu, and Gujrati, have a high-asset value in different domains and for different purposes. Thus, English is a high-value asset for academic purposes. She has a high proficiency in English and demonstrates her competence in the language in formal settings such as class discussions and formal examinations. In contrast, Urdu is a high value asset for social cohesion, such as bonding with friends. She is comfortable using Urdu in oral interaction in informal settings only. Her mother-tongue Gujrati, holds a high-value asset for community relations, but she finds it difficult to sustain a conversation in Gujrati. More importantly, she shared that she has no literacy skills in her mother tongue which sometimes gives her a sense of loss.

Farina is a less competent user of English as compared to Aneesa. She is bilingual with English and Urdu as her two major languages. Farina considers

English as a high value asset in the academic domain and for future career prospects and also, for boasting a higher social status within her close and extended family. Similar to Aneesa, Urdu is a high value asset for her, for family and social interactions, but it carries a low value for academic purposes as well as for her future life chances.

Kamran has limited proficiency in English. He is a multilingual with English, Urdu and Punjabi as his main languages for communication. According to him, he is not very comfortable in using English; only recently he began to realize its importance, hence he is making an effort to learn it for future life prospects. Kamran is highly proficient in Urdu and shared that he can switch easily between different dialects, 'awami' and 'classical' Urdu. Since Punjabi is Kamran's home language; he also uses Punjabi for bonding with friends and family. He also hosts two radio programs in Punjabi. However, he feels that he needs to do 'riaazat' [practice] to speak 'sahee' [correct] Punjabi.

Knowing English, Social Class, School Type and Self-Concept

Learners view their current language proficiency in English almost as an inheritance - a consequence of their school type and social class affiliation. As Farina stated:

"I think that I do not use the language properly. Somehow, misuse of tenses happens and the only reason is my schooling. Had there been a better approach towards English in my school, I would've written better articles."

Farina further emphasized that her current proficiency in English (knowing English) was due to the school type she studied in:

"I can tell from my childhood experience that a lot depends on your schooling. If your schooling has been good you're definitely going to make it. If you have had your schooling in the English language you will definitely thrive. You will definitely get proficiency in English. . . . My friends who don't know English- they didn't have good schooling. Mine was relatively better-just relatively better-less than A level students."

Similarly Kamran shared:

> *"Also I have studied in Urdu-medium schools from the beginning. Now I sometimes use English words in conversation, but when I write I try not to use any English words."*

According to Kamran, the elite English-medium schools offering the O/A level stream of education are too expensive. Hence, children whose parents cannot afford the high fee have a lower social status are forced to attend schools that offer the Matric/Intermediate stream. He added:

> *"Everyone knows that studying in A/O levels track is expensive comparatively, so a middle class family that only earns 30,000 rupees, if they spend 7,000 on one child's fee, how can they survive? So, ultimately studying in A/O level schools is a status symbol; parents who can afford it have a higher status, but your parents can't afford it so you have to study in the intermediate stream."*

The opportunities for attending certain school types with their associated characteristics, including their medium of instruction, have important consequences for learners' perceptions of who they are, their self-concept or identity. Farina's comment illustrates this well:

> *"When I was not able to answer their [my relatives] questions [in English], I used to feel that I was not a good person; I was not a good learner. I was an ordinary child. I don't know anything. I used to feel like that."*

Farina further elaborated:

> *"I didn't feel good when they [my relatives] were questioning my capabilities. It was like they were questioning my identity [social class]."*

Kamran shared that though he had improved his English language skills considerably, he would not feel comfortable in speaking English till his proficiency

in English matches his proficiency in Urdu and Punjabi. When asked if studying through the medium of Urdu was a matter of choice for him, Kamran replied with a vehement 'no'. He added:

> *"Our society and the educational system does not give us the right to ask this question [make this choice]. . . Your 'class system' is decided upon as soon as you enter the nursery class. So when someone is speaking in English, they respect him, and when someone is speaking in Urdu, they do not respect him."*

He showed his resentment at what he described as 'East India Company [colonial] environment' in Pakistani society. Kamran is a highly talented person with interest in reading classical literature and does theater. However, he feels extremely sorry for himself that he cannot speak well in English. In his words:

> *"I am a journalist of Urdu newspaper; I have background of Urdu newspaper tu [so] I cannot speak easily in English, but I can understand in English. I can read in English; I love Jane Austen and classic literature and I will be doing some projects in theatre about English literature and I was taking some interviews in English of celebrities, but I cannot speak in English so I am extremely sorry." [Originally spoken in English]*

Kamran also shared his view of the English-medium and Urdu-medium people in terms of the 'kind of people' they are (Gee, 2000):

> *"I did theatre. Through theatre I came into contact with people from 'angrezi class' who could understand what I was trying to convey. 'Urdu walay' did not understand my message. There were problems with them. 'Angrezi walay' [English-medium kind of people] read and write more. So we need to acknowledge that they have a bigger canvas [compared to Urdu-medium kind of people]. But along with this they also have big egos."*

Findings also revealed that socialization practices at home and school

have a major role in construction of linguistic and social identity. For example, as a child, Aneesa had plenty of books and movies available in English and she was encouraged to converse with her parents and siblings in English. Moreover, English was used across the curriculum in her O/A level school and the classroom discourse was also mainly in English. As part of a nuclear family she lived away from her community and therefore had few opportunities to interact in Gujrati with children from her community.

Farina studied in an English- medium school with a Matric/Intermediate stream. According to her:

> *"Mera jo school tha wo English medium ke naam se jana jata hai [my school is an English-medium school in name only]."*

Hence, she learnt English mainly at home through the help and encouragement from older siblings:

> *"Whenever my brother calls me [from abroad], he says, Farina, please improve your English. He's really good at it. His friends are very impressed when he converses in English."*

Farina developed a good proficiency in English. As a result,

> *"I was the eye candy for my teachers, for my English teachers especially. . . . I was always raising my hand, answering questions, writing good character sketches. There was discrimination. They [the teachers] used to like me better [for my better language skills]. Girls wanted me to read out [aloud in class]."*

Kamran belongs to a lower middle class family, however, he always had Urdu children's magazines available to him. He lived in and had his early year' education in Punjab hence, his major language during childhood was Punjabi. He got exposure to Urdu through his friends in high school after his parents moved to Karachi and started to focus on learning English only after he entered the university.

Current Experiences with English/other Languages

The English-Urdu medium divide is found in discriminatory institutional policies and practices in the university context also. For example, Kamran shared that an English test was conducted for the selection of students who wanted to join the English-medium section. However, there was no Urdu language test for the Urdu-medium stream. This discrimination was also evident in the attitude of teachers, as Farina stated:

> *"They [teachers] always go for people who can converse better in English rather than my group [with comparatively a lower proficiency in English]."*

She further pointed out that leaners' attitudes in the department also reflected this English-Urdu medium divide:

> *"They [A level stream] are entirely different people. I don't know for what reason. They consider it as a privilege to be there; to learn English; . . . they consider us ke matriculation ke students; kia aage in ka future hai [they think matriculation students do not have a bright future] So I think that is the barrier."*

Proficiency in both English and Urdu is empowering for Farina. She sees herself as a mediator between the haves and have-nots, that is, those who know English and those who do not. This is illustrated in Farina's following comment:

> *"I'm the only one from amongst my group of friends who has connections with the A level students as well. Otherwise, there's a lot of [social] space between the A level students and us [English and Urdu-medium students from matriculation/intermediate track]."*

Kamran shared that he had started to work consciously on improving his English to lessen the gap between the English and Urdu-medium people, in his words:

"I wanted to make Urdu literature accessible to those people [my friends] who do not know Urdu. So I started acting like a bridge for those people [through theatre]."

This indicates that learners who are less competent users of English struggle to construct their identity in relation to their bilingual and other skills.

Learner Investment in Learning English/Future Aspirations

Peirce (1995) introduced the term 'investment' to define learners' socially constructed self. Norton (1997) states, "The construct of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex history and multiple desires. An investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, which changes across time and space" (p. 411). Both Farina and Kamran want to improve their English language skills. Farina wants to do this for future prospects as she aspires to become a journalist in a leading English newspaper:

"My elder brother always wanted me to master English language and it was his wish that I enter Dawn News [leading English newspaper in Pakistan] someday. So I see myself in the English section, in the English media."

In contrast, Kamran wants to improve his English language skills for networking across geographical boundaries through Facebook, email and the like and for getting access to ideas and materials produced in the English language."Ye bhe lekin choice nahi hai, ye bhi majboori thi meri" [learning English is also not a matter of choice. It is my need.]

Discussion

Several political leaders in Pakistan have over the last two decades in particular, pushed for English to be used as the medium of instruction in public sector schools with an aim to provide equal opportunities to all children (Jalal, 2004). Accordingly, the current education policy (NEP, 2009 p.28) stipulates that "The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject" and "English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and

mathematics from Class IV onwards." However, in reality, English- Urdu-medium is an institutional divide imposed on the individuals who attend different school types. As stated earlier, the labels Urdu and English medium in Pakistan are not a simple binary to denote medium of instruction, but a complex construct created by and reproduced through two parallel systems of education characterized by differences in social class and the quality of educational experiences, more generally (Khattak, 2014; Mustafa, 2015; Rehman, 2004). In terms of Gees's (2000) classification of identity, social class seems to become the natural or N-identity leading children from different strata of society into different school types with concomitant facilities such as infra-structure and curricula and examination systems. Thus school type becomes a predictor of success in English language skills (Jafri, Zai, Arain, & Soomro, 2013). More importantly, this becomes symbolic of a kind of person; this I-identity is authorized by the school and higher education institutions in Pakistan, with Urdu-medium ascribed lower level knowledge and skills as compared to English-medium learners. These different identities are formed, recognized and sustained in everyday discourse by the learners themselves, their peers and teachers and the wider community. Learners belonging to one academic stream such as matriculation/intermediate stream, have minimum opportunities to interact with students of another stream as they find it difficult to cross the attached social boundaries. As they form affinity groups (A-identity) with their own kind of people- learners in their own stream in this study, this linguistic divide is created and reproduced in Pakistani society at large. Additionally, their current linguistic capital or proficiency in English seems to be an important determinant of their future aspirations and life chances.

Interestingly, the study participants seemed to make a direct correlation between their proficiency in English and the school type they had attended which affected their perceptions of their own and others' identity. For example, they shared that they are looked down upon or elevated by others based on their English proficiency levels. Moreover, English-medium is equated with being westernized, which is a perception that seems to make others value the speaker more in certain arenas like the job market. These perceptions of the participants seem to be based on their experiences of the perceptions that others have of them or their identity construction in relation to their proficiency in English. Thus, English and Urdu medium indicate not only a difference in proficiency level, but also determine participants' perceptions of both their own self-worth and their worth as perceived

by others in different spheres of life (Norton, 1997). Furthermore, Norton (2013) posits that while motivation is primarily a psychological construct, investment must be seen within a sociological framework. As such, learners' investment or desire and commitment to learn a language is affected by their changing identity as is evident in the case of Farina and Kamran.

The study findings indicate that the school system in Pakistan acts as an agent of cultural reproduction (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and favors students who belong to the affluent class and bolsters their chances of success, while oppressing those students who come from the less affluent strata of society (Vaish & Tan, 2008). In the same vein, students endowed with the linguistic capital of English due to their superior socioeconomic status benefit more from the standardized tests, thus ensuring their entry into elite institutions of higher education or the English-medium section of a department as in this study (Ayre, 2012). Thus, the Urdu-English medium divide in Pakistan facilitates more wealthy students to profit from an education system that identifies, legalizes and rewards the linguistic, socioeconomic and cultural capital of the dominant class. Regrettably, educational opportunities for learners from the non-elite English-medium schools and members of the non-dominant groups in public-sector Urdu-medium schools (often known as Urdu-medium people) are restricted by policies and practices that perpetuate inequalities (Manan, David & Dumanig, 2016; Pavlenko, 2001).

Conclusion and Recommendations

While the English-Urdu-medium divide is a fact of life for all Pakistanis, surprisingly there are almost no 'discourses of resistance' on various public forums and in policy debates to challenge the inequalities in education in general and language learning opportunities, in particular in different school types in Pakistan. The failure of English as Medium of Instruction Policy in Punjab (Bashir & Batool, 2017) clearly demonstrates that decisions regarding English or Urdu medium of education are both complex and multifaceted, particularly as they are inter-woven with deeply entrenched social and class differences related to school types. Consequently, these cannot be levelled out simply by changing the medium of instruction at the stroke of a pen (Jalal, 2004). In fact, bridging the English-Urdu-medium divide requires both further research and a deeper level of thinking to inform future policy decisions regarding medium of instruction in schools in Pakistan.

The study findings also indicate that the English-Urdu medium divide prevents the less affluent sections of society from gaining proficiency in English- the linguistic capital required for social and economic progress in Pakistan (Shamim, 2011; Mahboob, 2002). This has several implications for future language policies and related practices as well as for the overall economic and societal development in Pakistan. Few recommendations proposed are:

- There should be one system of education with similar facilities and opportunities for learning through the mother tongue (or Urdu) in early years followed by learning of English in subsequent years (Coleman, 2010).

- Teachers need to play a wider role in developing learners' self-concept, which may then lead to learners making a greater investment in learning both English and Urdu.

- The focus of ELT in Pakistan should be widened from improving pedagogy (issues of grammar, structure and style) to wider issues of language policy and practices and their impact on learners' self-concept, achievement and more important their investment in language learning.

- English language practitioners need to engage with policy makers on broader issues in education such as teaching of literacy skills in both Urdu and English for transferability of across regional/local languages.

References

Ahmed, N. (2016). *An exploration of Urdu medium students' perceptions of the English and Urdu languages in Pakistan* (M.A ELT dissertation). Institute of Education, University of London, UK.

Ayre, J. (2012). *Cultural and linguistic capital, standardized tests and the perpetuation of educational inequities* (Doctoral dissertation). University of British Columbia, Canada.

Bashir, S., & Batool, F. (2017). English as medium of instruction in Punjab: The 2009 experiment. *Lahore Journal of Policy Studies, 7(1),* 13-45.

Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. C. (1977) *Reproduction in education, society and culture.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and

developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, *26*(2), 120-123.

Coleman, H. (2010). *Teaching and learning in Pakistan: The role of language in education*. Islamabad: British Council.

Simons, G. F. & Charles D. (2018). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world.* Retrieved from http://www.ethnologue.com

Fareed, M., Jawed, S., & Awan, S. (2018). Teaching English language at SSC level in private non-elite schools in Pakistan: Practices and problems. *Journal of Education and Educational Development*, *5*(1), 80-95.

Gee, J. P. (2000). Identity as an analytic lens for research in education. *Review of Research in Education*, *25*(1), 99-125.

Government of Pakistan, (2009). *National Education Policy*. Islamabad: Ministry of Education.

Government of Pakistan, (1973). *The constitution of Pakistan.* Retrieved from http://www.na.gov.pk/uploads/documents/1333523681_951.pdf.

Harlech-Jones, B., Baig, M., & Sajid, S. (2005). Private schooling in the northern areas of Pakistan: A decade of rapid expansion. *International Journal of Educational Development*, *25*(5), 557-568.

Jalal, Z. (2004). Language policy in Pakistan. In S. Mansoor (Ed.), *Language policy, planning, & practice: A South Asian perspective* (pp. 23-26). Karachi. Oxford university Press.

Jafri, I. H., Zai, S. Y., Arain, A. A., & Soomro, K. A. (2013). English background as the predictors for students' speaking skills in Pakistan. *Journal of Education and Practice*, *4*(20), 30-35.

Khattak, S. G. (2014). A comparative analysis of the elite–English-medium schools, state Urdu-medium schools, and Dini-madaris in Pakistan. *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Comparative Studies*, *1*(1), 92-107.

Mahboob, A. (2002). No English, no future: Language policy in Pakistan. In S. Obeng & B. Hartford (Eds.), *Political independence with linguistic servitude: The politics about languages in the developing world* (pp. 15–40). New York: NOVA Science.

Manan, S. A., David, M. K., & Dumanig, F. P. (2016). English language teaching in Pakistan: Language policies, delusions and solutions. In *English language education policy in Asia* (pp. 219-244). New York: Springer

Manan, S. A., Dumanig, F. P., & David, M. K. (2015). The English-medium fever in Pakistan: Analyzing policy, perceptions and practices through additive bi/multilingual education lens. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *20*(6), 736-752.

Manan, S. A., & David, M. K. (2014). Mapping ecology of literacies in educational setting: The case of local mother tongues vis-à-vis Urdu and English languages in Pakistan. *Language and Education*, *28*(3), 203-222.

Mansoor, S. (2005). *Language planning in higher education: A case study*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Mustafa, Z. (2015). *The tyranny of language in education: The problem and its solution*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Peirce, B. N. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, *29*(1), 9-31.

Norton, B. (1997). Language, identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, *31*(3), 409-429.

Norton, B. (2013). Identity, literacy, and the multilingual classroom. *The multilingual turn* (pp. 113-132). New York: Routledge.

Pavlenko, A. B. (2001). Negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 5*(3), 243-257.

Pavlenko, A., & Norton, B. (2007). Imagined communities, identity, and English language learning. *International handbook of English language teaching* (pp. 669-680). Boston: Springer.

Rahman, T. (1999). *Language, education and culture*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Rahman, T. (2006). Language policy, multilingualism and language vitality in Pakistan. *Lesser- Known Languages of South Asia Status and Policies, Case Studies and Applications of Information Technology Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, 175*, 71-84. doi:10.1515/9783110197785.1.73

Rahman, T. (2004). *Denizens of alien worlds: A study of education, inequality and polarization in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Shamim, F. (2008). Trends, issues and challenges in English language education in Pakistan. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, *28*(3), 235-249.

Shamim, F. (2011). English as the language for development in Pakistan: Issues, challenges and possible solutions (pp. 2-20). In H. Coleman, (Ed.), *Dreams and realities: English in development*. London: The British Council.

Vaish, V., & Tan, T. K. (2008). Language and social class: Linguistic capital in Singapore. Retrieved from http://hdl.handle.net/10497/3339

Warwick, P. & Reimers, F. (2005). *Hope or despair? Learning in Pakistan's primary schools*. Westport: Praeger.

Waseem, F., & Asadullah, S. (2013). Linguistic domination and critical language awareness. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *70*, 799-820.