

Influence of Facebook in Pakistani Pedagogy

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This study grounds itself in the communication, information sharing, discussion and co-creation potential of ICTs with reference to social media-Facebook. Taking a qualitative approach, it explores the above as building blocks of new educational paradigms of learner autonomy; learner-centered education and co-creation of knowledge through discussion and collaboration, by exploring the various ways and reasons teachers use Facebook as part of pedagogy in Pakistan. It suggests that, in order to understand fully the potential of Facebook as a pedagogical tool, being egalitarian, autonomous and emancipatory, there is a need to review the ways in which learning is viewed and evaluated.

Keywords: Facebook, social media, pedagogy, student-centered learning, constructivist learning

The educational sector all over the world, including Pakistan, is pervaded by tech utopianism. Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) are providing new spaces for learning, alongside the traditional academic institutions. New virtual forums can be accessed from homes, workplaces and used for learning, according to the preference and convenience of the learner. In this way, ICTs can facilitate the participatory and egalitarian ideals of a learner centric environment. ICTs are also being touted as the harbingers of a new and transformative age in education—an age of interactive communication and information dissemination as well as more personalized and flexible forms of learning than ever before (Selwyn, 2007). There is also a pervasive belief that ICTs can facilitate a more equitable distribution of education in the world, including Pakistan (Richards, 2004; Said, 2006).

Among the measures taken by higher education sector are provision of Internet infrastructure to institutions and introduction of ICT relevant educational content in curricula as well as teacher training in ICTs and a consequent uptake of technology for pedagogical purposes in the sector world over (Hunter, 1998; Mumtaz, 2004; Richards, 2004; Selwyn, 2007). There is rising trend amongst teachers and students to use Facebook, a social network site (SNS), in an educational context (Buchanan, et al., 2013; Madge et al., 2013; Rambe & Ng'ambi, 2011). This exploratory study seeks to investigate the various reasons teachers in Pakistan are using Facebook. This will in turn give an insight as to whether Higher Education Commission's¹ (HEC) measures and policies to synch educational sector with technological advancements, will have the desired effects, and also provide an assessment of the ground reality as against the potential of what ICTs have to offer pedagogy.

Pakistani Context

In the Pakistani context the turn towards technology in education is underwritten by an increase in the awareness of research and technological innovation to drive development and economic growth. Medium Term Development Framework (2010-2015) by HEC echoes Ito (2009), Richards (2004) and

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Selwyn (2007) in expressing concern of disconnect between education provisions and needs of the industry and youth. Further, issues are lack of resources, technological infrastructure, reliability, technologically trained human resource, culture of research as well as increased costs, etc.

Pakistani educational landscape is still grounded in traditional models of teacher-centered learning. However, there is some evidence to suggest that motivated Pakistani learners might have moved away to a more learner-centered and autonomous learning environment (Siddiqui, 2006). A study by Zia et al. (2012) reports the perceived educational benefits of social media (YouTube) use by students in Lahore, Pakistan. Ahmed et al. (2013) report Facebook being used for information retrieval among other uses. A study by Zaidi (2011) explores the inroads made by digital media in the lifestyles of professionals in Pakistan. However, a study by Mehmood (2013) shows an inclination of public sector university teachers towards more traditional forms—newspapers as information sources.

Lack of resources and library services marks the educational landscape of Pakistan (Said, 2006). The study exploring Pakistan's digital library resources reveals the following. The University Computerization and Networking Program is responsible for providing public sector universities with funds for the building of infrastructure, and provision of Intranet, Internet and PERN facilities through LAN/WAN network. There is a primacy given to science subjects and resources. More than 75 per cent funding has been utilized for accessing electronic journals, with no audio-visual resources. The funding available for training is comparatively low. The main benefits of ICT are seen as "solid foundation for dissemination of information", which is believed to revolutionize indigenous scientific inquiry and capacity building (p. 11).

Changing Society—Changing Educational Needs

Selwyn (2007) points out that the conception of a learning society underwrites the widespread interest and use of ICTs for education. The term learning society has its roots in the shift of economic policies from the industrial economy to the information economy with education charged with the role of fulfilling the needs of human capital in societies and economies. Transition of developed countries from industrial economies to information economies has marked a subsequent change in the kind of professionals required for fulfilling the human capital needs of society (McQuail, 2010). The top-down models of organization of industrial societies are seen as redundant and there is a growing awareness for a need to replace the old models with new models in synch with ideals of knowledge societies. These models are based on principles of participation and stress involvement and ownership of activities undertaken by individuals. Participatory models enable many-to-many communication, interactivity, creativity and autonomy in information seeking and sharing as opposed to the traditional models. In education, this has affected various areas of policy, institutional structures, ideology and pedagogy.

Buckingham (1998) highlights the social dimensions of pedagogy by insisting upon a "focus on the theories of teaching and learning which inform classroom practice and more specifically on the *social relationships* between teachers and students to which they give rise," (p. 3). He identifies the two pedagogical approaches 'traditional' and 'progressive' as corresponding with the industrial and participatory models. The former, "in which children are drilled and intimidated into acquiring arbitrary disembodied fragments of information," (Buckingham, 1998: p. 3) and latter, being more learner-centric, building on concepts of learning 'readiness' and 'discovery learning'. The progressive approach sits well with the participatory and interactive

features of new media and the information economy.

Education now stresses the development of two skills, the skill of information retrieval and synthesis as well as the skill of creative problem solving (Selwyn, 2007). Educators are thus faced with the challenge of developing these skills in their students, empowering them with information literacy. Information literacy can be described as the ability to identify access and retrieve information and to further apply it in critical thinking and problem solving. It also includes ability to develop strategies for information gathering and skill of integrating new information with existing knowledge. Educators have to instill the practice as part of the learning process and make students familiar and comfortable with the tools. The second task of educators is promoting creativity in students as being an integral life skill in a society, which is under constant and swift change, helping them in solving problems, self-expression and making informed individual choices (Selwyn, 2007). Enabling through creativity thus becomes a crucial concept underlying all educational practice. Ulmer (1989) points to a new approach focusing on "discursive and conceptual" understanding building on and integrating "orality, literacy and videocy" (cited in Green 1998, p. 192). It has also been pointed out there has been a shift to more interactive approach to learning in the students of the present generation, who are often referred to as 'net-geners' and 'digital natives'.

Education and ICT

ICT adoption in education is marked by two major trends, the first being ideological, with reasons stemming from socio-cultural ideas of what education is and the ways it should be delivered. The other, grounded in the industrial model of organization, which breaks down education to age-grade relation (Cuban, 1993 cited in Mumtaz, 2006). He predicted three scenarios of classrooms: the technophiles, the preservationists and the cautious optimists. In the first, the role of a teacher would be relegated to the sidelines, where students would depend on technology and their own network to steer learning. In the second the teacher would integrate technology into existing methods and structures, using technology as a tool to help students learn better, and in the third there would be a slow but definite movement towards making fundamental changes to education.

Collaboration and Cognitive Learning

ICT use is believed to develop cognitive processes and support constructivist learning (Siddiqui, 2006; Ulmer, 1994, as cited in Green 1998). Rheingold's notions of virtual communities have been particularly influential in driving educators to envision education as collaborative learning (McQuail, 2010). The approach builds upon concepts of collaboration and support and places learning within social context. It also stresses student preferences and self-direction as key to effective learning. Constructivist models of learning view teachers, books, Internet and other learners as potential sources of information and support. Students use ICT tools to access these sources, direct their own learning and construct their own ideas, thus expanding their existing knowledge (Siddiqui, 2006).

For teachers ICTs offer a limitless source of learning and teaching resources and tools. Teachers can now deliver content via many different mediums and forms including audio/ visual, thus catering to varied preferences of students (Ulmer, 1994). Teachers can also research content outside the sources available, therefore delivering new and exciting content as well as link with other teachers around the world opening up areas of potential collaboration (Said, 2006). There is also evidence of a change in perception about evaluation of student learning as seen in Perkel's (2006) study exploring the practice of copy/paste on MySpace as a form of literacy involving social

and technical skills.

ICTs also seem particularly useful for supporting 'informal learning'. Anyone who is interested in a topic can now access and retrieve information allowing for greater learner autonomy and encouraging a participatory attitude. Whether under guidance of a teacher or without, this type of learning is free from structural constraints of a set curriculum and therefore more driven by interest and love for learning. Supported by the many forms and resources available via Internet, this type of learning can help overcome language barriers posed by the limitation of text based learning (Livingstone, 2002) and help overcome socio-economic barriers (Watkins, 2009). This marks a departure from the teacher-centered and print-based models of learning typical of education (Livingstone, 2002).

Social Network Sites and ICT

What SNS, offer education is best understood in terms of difference—an approach that highlights the limitations of the traditional media. SNS are part of the new media. Lievrouw and Livingstone (2006) identify new media as set of communication technologies used for primarily linking information, marked by their multiple uses in varying social contexts. Thus, new media can be described as an amalgamation of technological devices and artifacts, activities and uses centered around them as well as the "social arrangements and organisations that form around these devices and practices" (McQuail, 2010: p. 39). Their key features are their interlinking capabilities, their capability of two-way communication, their ease of accessibility for individual users, interactivity, multiplicity of use, their ubiquity and their ability to transcend space and time.

Beer and Burrows (2007) point out they also have the potential to reconfigure hierarchies and social relations (cited in Madge et al., 2009). New media thus makes the various forms of media, sound, text, image and moving image available through one medium, facilitate storage and retrieval of information and link public and private communication blurring boundaries between them. In education, this opens up a world of possibilities in terms of pedagogy and also has the potential to change existing social relations between teachers and students (Harris, 2005; Selwyn, 2009). Wang et al. (2012) explore the potential of Facebook as a tool for management of learning. Facebook use is also explored in the particular contexts of student motivation and informal learning, as well as learning beyond the classroom and as part of everyday life by Madge et al. (2009) and Selwyn (2009).

SNS use in education is increasingly coming under scrutiny with studies on student views about teachers using Facebook (Hewitt & Forte, 2006), affects of teacher participation in Facebook on teacher student relations (Mazer et al., 2007) and teacher intentions versus student use of Facebook as information sharing platforms (Rambe & Ng'ambi, 2011). Watkins (2009) and Charnigo et al. (2007) found that librarians are proponents of SNS use for information retrieval purposes and are opposed to the US government's legislations against SNS use in libraries.

With regards to SNS in particular, access, interchangeability and visibility are the key features, which effect traditional hierarchies of information sharing in educational structures. Birdsall (2009) points out that one of the desirable features of information science networks is the ability of the information seeker to also inform (cited in Rambe & Ng'ambi, 2011). In Facebook enabled networks, information sharing becomes less hierarchical and is fed by multiple voices, thus making for a richer pool of information. Perhaps the most important aspect is that the conversation, discussion and critique between all informers and information seekers, is grounded in a social context. This allows for a meaning making process, which mirrors real life in the construction, and deconstruction of meaning. This process enables both the information seeker

and information giver to be transformed through new understanding and command over subjects-students and teachers and knowledge-content.

Teachers, ICT and SNS

Despite widespread deployment of technology in education, access inequalities still continue to be a problem world over (Ito, 2009; Livingstone, 2002). Research identifies that factors such as age, income, socio-economic status and gender play an important role in the 'digital divide' (Watkins, 2009). In the developing world factors such as historical influences like apartheid and colonial past also plays a role in sustaining the divide with dynamics such as language and race being important causes (Rambe & Ng'ambi, 2011).

A 20 year review of ICT use by teachers undertaken by Mumtaz (2006), identifies various factors affecting adoption of ICTs by teachers including age, easy access to resources, ease of use and design of software, personal interest, commitment to profession and learning and familiarity. Elys (1970) and Holloway (1984) differentiate between the physical aspects—the hardware and their relation to processes of learning and the behavioral—the psychological and pedagogical aspects. As Elys further elaborates it is an examination of its implementation and use that enables an evaluation of its benefits in pedagogy (cited in Hunter, 1998).

A study by Cox et al. (1999) shows teachers use of ICTs center around two major areas: student-centered learning and self and identity. Reasons for the former vary between making study more interesting and fun for students, to motivating students to learn, to bringing diversity to content as well as more personal use, like improving presentations of materials, easing administrative tasks, extending support via Internet. Another important factor in adoption of ICTs by teachers is familiarity and use of ICTs by them in non-education context. Such teachers accept and use technology as a means of taking education beyond the walls of the classrooms. Becker (1994) found peer use of technology and smaller class sizes also affecting ICT use (cited in Mumtaz, 2006). Another impediment to the widespread adoption of technology has also been the very real structural constraints of educational practices; classroom structures, curriculums and timetables being some of them (Rambe & Ng'ambi, 2011; Wang et al., 2011).

Method

The study aimed to explore the practice of Facebook usage by teachers in Pakistan to communicate with students and to identify and explore the various reasons why it was being used. Research on the subject in general is sparse and does not reveal teacher's ideology and understanding of learning as reflected in their communication practice. Existing research is dominated by North American studies (Madge et al., 2009) and in Pakistan the area is relatively unexplored. Thus the aim of this study can be termed as an exploratory research (Vaughn, 1996).

Universe for this research was identified as teachers belonging to Art, Design and Media degree awarding undergraduate institutions in the city of Karachi, Pakistan, using Facebook to communicate with students. The teachers belonged to Indus Valley School of Art and Architecture (IVS), Media Sciences at Shaheed Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology (Szabist), Department of Visual Studies, at University of Karachi (VS), Textile Design Technology at Textile Institute of Pakistan (TIP) and Department of Fashion and Design at Iqra University (IU). Research findings, identify age 18-24 as being Facebook users in studies by Bosch (2009), Ellison et al. (2011), Harris (2005), Madge et al. (2009), Miller (2013), Selwyn (2009), Wang Woo et al. (2012), Zia, Sajjad et al.(2012). This also corresponds with the figures published by Pakistan Advertising Society-PAS (A Snapshot of Pakistan's Social Media Analytics, 2014) which shows the highest Facebook users in Pakistan, 49.6 per cent being the in age bracket 18-24.

A survey served to screen out a purposive sample of teachers for a more in-depth

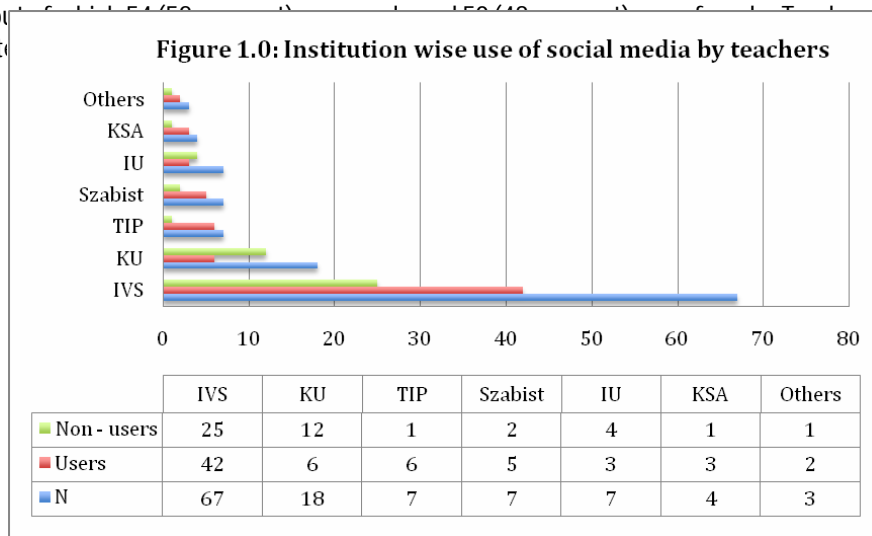
investigation of Facebook use by teachers in art and design institutes in Karachi, Pakistan through focus groups.

Results

Survey

In keeping with the objective of the study –that is, exploring the potential of social media-Facebook, to enable sharing, discussion and co-creation, the questionnaire asked teachers to identify ways in which they used Facebook as part of pedagogy. A total of 104 respondents filled out the survey, N=104 out of which 54 (52%) were from IVS (48% of total sample) and 50 (48%) were from other institutions.

dominated



* part-time teachers were teaching at more than 1 institute so they multiple entries for institutions

Most of the respondents were aged between 30-39 (38 per cent) followed by 25-29 (30 per cent). Most of the respondents were from a high-income bracket, 76K and above. Education level of population was high, 48 per cent of the teachers had Bachelor degrees and 38 per cent Masters. Keeping in mind the practical nature of studio in art and design, teachers were asked whether they were teaching studio or theory.

The survey showed a dominant part of the sample was teaching studio courses. Facebook use was prevalent amongst teachers, 94 per cent, but not as prevalent for educational or pedagogical purposes, 60 per cent. The data revealed Facebook use for pedagogical purpose more prevalent among private sector teachers- IVS, TIP, Szabist, KSA, than public sector teachers, VS. These findings are echoed in Ito (2010) and Watkins (2009). However, sample from IU, being a private sector institution differed from this trend with 4 out of 7 teachers being non-users. Data collected from the survey was not analyzed to reveal co-relations between age, income, size of class, number of courses being taught, status of teacher whether part-time or fulltime and Facebook use as part of pedagogy. Of those surveyed 80 (65 per cent) were studio teachers and 40 (35 per cent) were teaching theory. 64 (62 per cent) were part time teachers and 38 (37 per cent) were fulltime. There was also a variation in the number of courses being taught.

From those surveyed 102 (94 per cent) replied positively to being Facebook users, while 73 (68 per cent) were using it to communicate with students and even lower, 63 (66 per cent) for communicating with students for purpose of education.

Of those communicating with students via Facebook 45 per cent were active and regular users with majority accessing Internet through mobile devices-laptop, 45 per cent and mobile phones, 34 per cent. Studies by Bosch (2013) and Rambani and Ng'ambi (2013) also echo this trend

suggesting a correlation between mobility and Facebook access as opposed to other institutional learning management systems: example Blackboard. Most also reported having institutional access to Internet, thus showing a supportive environment for Facebook or other internet enabled forums for use as part of pedagogy. Survey data regarding responses to teachers' use of Facebook was coded and grouped according to frequency distribution.

Focus Groups

The focus groups revealed diverse factors such as ideology, socio-cultural influences, personal preferences, institutional factors and functional and technological factors as influencing teachers' use of Facebook. Discussion seemed to go back and forth between the benefits and shortcomings of social media and illustration of pedagogical use with practice based anecdotes. What was unearthed was how teachers' personal ideology influenced the way they structured their relations with their students and defined communication via Facebook.

It was seen some teachers who whole-heartedly believed in the potential of social media and for them the component of social media was a firm part of their pedagogical practice. Then there were those who were using it but had adapted the media to their own ideology and approach towards teaching rather than exploiting its full participatory potential. And then there were those, who had tried and revoked their media use due to various reasons. These findings validated the findings of survey data. Another category that came forward was that of teachers who regarded Facebook as a pedagogical tool not just restricted to a particular group of students but rather a means to reach out to wider group of interested people or students connected via Facebook.

It was noticed that teachers own educational experience and the role technology played in their relationship with their teachers influenced their pedagogy. A teacher described his own teacher's practice of sharing tips and notes via blogs and his own preference of using Twitter for information dissemination. Another factor found influencing teachers' Facebook practice was their use and ease with technology. "One of the reasons I don't use Facebook much is because I run away from technology...."

It also came to light that factors such as collegiality made a difference. And lastly but the most influential factor was the teachers personal ideologies, how they perceived education and their own identity as teachers within the field of education and society at large. "All education is not assignments, life experience and other things that you share also." A difference was also observed between the practices of teachers belonging to various institutions.

Many-to-many communication

The new participatory models of education are based on many-to-many and interactive communication, stressing creativity and autonomy. Communication via Facebook for pedagogical purpose is a growing trend amongst teachers. Studies by Hewitt and Forte 2006; Mason 2006; Mazer, Murphy, and Simonds 2007 show this trend (cited in Madge et al., 2013). However this does not necessarily mean it is being used for a many-to-many or two-way communication, which is the basis of the participatory and egalitarian models. Some teachers are interested in utilizing the potential of such forums to support many-to-many communication and overcome time barriers to enable student engagement.

On the other hand, some teachers actively discouraged the practice of two-way communication via Facebook, preferring e-mail and classroom for the purpose. They reported using Facebook as a notice board for issuing "stern reminders", class timings, submission dates etc. However most teachers did allow two-way communication, but limited their interaction via Facebook. Among the reasons given were finding it infringing on their private time and inculcating

bad habits in students and the teachers themselves like one teacher reported that he found Facebook making him lazy and affecting students too. "I forgot something I will say it on Facebook...and the same thing started translating to students...so never mind if we don't go to class sir will put class notes on Facebook." For some teachers Facebook's ability to overcome time became a deterrent with students massaging late night seeking answers to queries.

Information sharing and retrieval

Information sharing and retrieval are key features of new media. Facebook can offer a non-hierarchical relationship, in which informers and informants, i.e., teachers and students, can interchange positions in a rich multi-voiced environment, and together give rise to a rich pool of information resources. They can be partners in the process of knowledge construction, by constantly interacting with information shared and retrieved, constructing and deconstructing meaning within the social and cultural contexts of the social media platform. Through this process the informer and informant both under go change as knowledge is gained. While teachers can manipulate the Facebook environment to meet varying needs of students and ensure outcomes a lack of information pedagogy can also serve to undermine the potential of the rich pool (Rambi & Ng'ambi, 2013). From the students' perspective the ability to search and share can also inculcate a sense of autonomy and confidence.

In terms of information seeking, some teachers felt Facebook sharing and information retrieval did contribute to autonomy and confidence in students, Availability of diverse of information resources and forms was also identified as an important feature with teachers and students taking advantage of the multimedia enabling environment with videos and visuals increasingly becoming part of teaching and learning, in other words what Buckingham (1998) describes as "democratizing the curriculum" (p. 9) by using resources from popular culture. Other factors such as lack of knowledge and facilities like digital archives and library resources, restrictions on access of digital library resources for part-time teachers also contributed to teachers' use of Facebook for information retrieval and sharing.

Student Engagement

Use of ICTs for student engagement is limited by ability and will of the teacher to incorporate it in exciting ways. Leavin and Arafeh (2002) point out that while incorporating Internet is common practice by teachers it is often not put to very creative use. It could be said that the practice of using Facebook for student engagement seems to reflect the conceptual dichotomy with regards to education and technology, with technology being synonymous with devices and their appropriation in learning processes as part of pedagogy (Hunter, 1998).

Teachers use of Facebook for student engagement had varying motivations including reaching out, ensuring exposure to information which is lacking difficult due to bad reading habits, countering shorter attention spans in students, and cognitive learning using discursive potential.

Though a teacher felt discussions via Facebook were rewarding, most did not agree. It could be said that the potential of Facebook to support discussion is overshadowed by the teachers need to control and mould discussion within existing academic conventions rather than embracing the free flowing nature of discussion enabled by it.

Technology is biased with regards to the way with which it supports interaction (Imel, 2001) and generally teachers felt that Facebook as a forum was not particularly supportive of moderated or serious discussion. "I feel because it is free, casual discussion is more happening. If you try to create a serious thing...that is not happening."

Visual icons and emoticons play an important role in discussion on Facebook, though some considered them a disturbance and not particularly suited for serious discussion. "Like something really serious going on...like the Kothari Parade being dug up....and all of a sudden you will have something like...a pastry, cupcake." However other felt that the icons helped in overcoming language barriers.

Imel (2001) argues, that introduction of new technologies has had little effect on existing student teacher power relations; rather than bringing about radical change technology has reinforced the existing structures. The role of the teacher in provoking discussion was still found to be an important factor. However, the topic of discussion made a difference. "I think it's like some times you hit the nail, you hit the right spot with...with the right kind of link...and it goes...and sometimes you are surprised that nobody has anything to say about something."

Leavin and Arafeh (2002) posit that for most students, educational use of Internet enabled forums occurs outside formal academic structures and settings, in more social contexts. This entails manipulating ideas learnt during class and relating them to what they already know (King, 1993). A teacher reported using her closed group to harness the potential of Facebook for learning and participate in the fun learning aspect beyond the classroom. "Assignments are given in class and discussions happen in class or after class. Facebook is just an extension of learning which happens after hours, whether it is related to an assignment or it is just a little joke." This enabled her to be an observer in the learning aspect but not necessarily a participant. "I might or might not jump in...because I could see they can grapple with it on their own, because I didn't want to monitor it at all times, because I don't think that's healthy...because again it is about facilitation and not teaching...and that was really useful for me and also because it had a fun aspect."

Teacher student relations

Another feature of social network sites is that they enable participants to have a social presence of each other (Rambi & Ng'ambi, 2013). Facebook has the capacity to allow teachers to build and nurture relationships with students (Mazer et al., 2009). A study of Facebook mediated teacher student interaction shows that teachers use of Facebook for self-disclosure is linked to teacher credibility, that is, "instructor's level of competence, trustworthiness, and caring. Competence refers to the extent to which a teacher is perceived to know what he or she is talking about, whereas trustworthiness is the degree to which the teacher is perceived as honest. Caring refers to the extent to which the teacher is perceived to have the students' best interests in mind" (McCroskey & Teven, 1999, as cited in Mazer et al., 2009: p.176). A study by Duboff (2007) reports Facebook being used by teachers to adopt more informal relations with students and inculcate a sense of shared community between teachers and students (cited in Bosch, 2013).

During the focus groups, teachers reported using Facebook as a medium for overcoming distances with students and showing them their human side. The practice of Facebook for communication was of two types. There were teachers who were friending¹ students thereby giving them access to their own walls. These were the teachers who believed in a more open relationship with students and allowed them access to their personal walls. The others were more concerned with maintaining a more formal teacher student relationship and were communicating only through closed groups established for study purpose, and therefore did not need to friend students. The latter were more common.

Virtuality of Facebook enabled interactions was the key aspect identified in encouraging use of Facebook with regards to teacher-student relations. "In a more formal space it's different. I don't want a student to say to me 'yo miss', he does the same 'yo' through Facebook its ok". For some it was a means of overcoming issues related to identity. "For me it is very important to know my students...you know they say that 'oh' this old religious man with a white beard, we can't discuss this in front of him. But in this way it's an open discussion so they don't hesitate at all." A teacher

in KU felt the virtual space helped shy students speak up. However another felt this was detrimental to development in real world situations.

Younger faculty reported problems related to blurring of boundaries between teachers and student leading to disciplinary issues. Others used the platform to acknowledge student work to encourage and motivate students and using the Facebook to introduce students to their own online community of professionals, with probable long-term benefits. Some teachers also reported using Facebook for surveillance of students. Others reported catching students for not meeting deadlines by tracking them via Facebook.

Only one teacher alluded Facebook being a mutually beneficial tool. "I can actually see the growth in terms of knowledge learning and confidence. So there I can see the communication through Facebook has improved and increased my ability to assess my students and their ability to engage with the content."

Teachers as role models

Facebook use by teachers was also rooted in questions of identity construction and behavior. Teachers revealed reasons varying from showcasing of professional work to sharing of personal ideologies. There were teachers whose practice of using Facebook became a part of their identity. Two junior teachers fondly recalled a senior teacher as "Facebook savvy".

Some teachers revealed their Facebook practice as being grounded in a much broader role, that of a teacher in society. For these teachers Facebook was the means to increase the scale and reach of their practice of sharing and teaching with one exception. A teacher reported an incident where she realised her Facebook practice with friends might be setting a bad example for her students on her friends list. But for another this was another aspect of social learning "Students see the way I am with them in class but how to I talk to friend and how to I talk to my teacher to a senior."

Public sphere/ private sphere

There were concerns regarding the public nature of Facebook. Some were related to socio-cultural norms of Pakistani society and some had to do with the technological features of Facebook and their implications in a nation beset by ethnic and political strife. However most were grounded in maintaining distance between private sphere and teaching sphere. For some it was also a way to inculcate a sense of responsibility and codes of conduct at various public forums.

Buckingham (1998) describes two types of defensive approaches affecting pedagogical practice, one is influenced by defending students against what is harmful and the other influenced by including a sociological context in teaching to make it more responsive to students out of school experiences. This can cause conflict with realities of classroom settings. Facebook's capacity to disturb socio-cultural norms was a concern amongst teachers. A faculty member was concerned with student practice of sharing all class happenings publically. However another felt that the non-institutional space that closed Facebook groups provided facilitated the sharing of certain content especially in Art History context, that would be a bit uncomfortable in institutional settings. Technological enabling of public sharing via Facebook could also be a problem. A teacher recalled an incident, which made her question her choice of social media when she posted a status in the wake of the Hazara killings² in 2013 that was publically shared by students.

Conclusions and Implications

To quote Steve Jobs "You're not going to solve the problems by putting all knowledge on to CD-ROMs. We can put a website in every school—none of this is bad. It's bad only if it lulls us into thinking we're doing something to solve the problem with education."

Pedagogical use of Facebook is beset by the same issues that characterize ICTs deployment in education- the use of technology as a tool and the harnessing of technology to enhance learning. Dominant use of Facebook is as a convenient forum that enables one-to-many communication whether in the form of a notice board or a forum to share resources and links. In this it functions more like a mobile LMS, accessed from anywhere anytime. It also serves to fill the lack of culturally relevant digital library resources and networks in Pakistan. A less common reason is that students prefer it, so it is learner-centric. Multiple forms of resource sharing including audio/video and visuals, helps students improve understanding of issues, particularly those with language barriers. As some teachers pointed out its 'virtuality' helps students who lack confidence in real world situations.

The virtual world reflects the real world teacher-student relationships and pedagogical approaches. Teachers' use of Facebook is affected by their own ideologies, which are in turn influenced by socio-cultural factors, especially with regards to conceptions of public and private spheres. Teachers own experience of education is seen to influence their practice as teachers as well they way they position Facebook as a pedagogical tool.

Winston (2007) points out that adoption of technology is a process linked to social necessity. As this study shows, changes in conception of education, efforts to bridge the gap between formal education practices, harnessing student attention are all influencing factors. However, it might be important to pay attention to the third step of technology diffusion- suppression of radical potential. As Facebook becomes appropriated for pedagogy, it is important to keep its voluntary, unstructured and informal aspects in mind. Efforts to integrate it within the existing academic practices might suppress its potential. As seen in the research it is perhaps best to use it alongside the formal spaces and practices of learning, being enriched by the students themselves. This approach will enable teachers to have an insight into the learning processes of students and will allow them to be a part of the student community and perhaps lead them to becoming more sensitive to student expectations as opposed to being led by personal ideology and institutional expectations.

As established by this limited and exploratory research pedagogical use of Facebook has the potential to be adapted to respond to needs of individuals (students and teachers) as well as institutions, be it to enable deeper learning, overcome lack of communication forums, effective LMS, or digital resources. Reiterating Ahmed et al.(2013), in context of Pakistan, beset by severe lack of resources and services, the effect can be emancipatory. However, in order for this emancipatory potential to be actualized we need to revisit our understanding of pedagogy and practice exploring and adapting it to online environments, keeping the changing preferences and needs of students in mind, and this perhaps can be the direction of future research.

Notes

²Document available at: <http://www.hec.gov.pk/MediaPublication/HECPublication/PublishingImages/MTDFII201015/mtdf2.htm>

²A Facebook specific practice of accepting people as friends enabling communication through profiles(wall feature) and access to others part of your social network.

³Hazara: a minority group in Pakistan under persecution and attack

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