

**PRACTICE AND POLITICS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY  
IMPLEMENTATION: A CASE STUDY OF 2009 MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION  
POLICY SHIFT IN THE NORTH EASTERN REGION OF PAKISTAN**

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **PRACTICE AND POLITICS OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION: A CASE STUDY OF 2009 MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION POLICY SHIFT IN THE NORTH EASTERN REGION OF PAKISTAN**

By

Batool Atta

Language policies in education are contested domains. Language selection for instruction in schools across the world is even more complicated, particularly with the introduction of globalization, the concept of the nation-state, and the diverse choices of languages. The 2009 Pakistan National Education Policy (2009 PNEP) officialized the English Language Policy (ELP) for the first time for public schools in Pakistan, providing a complex venue for the research of language policy given the diverse number of languages spoken in the country and the Pakistani fascination with privately run “English medium” schools. This bottom up vertical case study of English Language Policy (ELP) implementation in the Northeast region of Pakistan (Muzaffarabad, AJ&K) explores multiple layers of the policy at the national, state, and local levels, and learns from the multiple stakeholders involved. Overall, findings showed a lack of coherence in the policy’s stated actions related to ELP and actual functionality of the policy; an absence of achievable timed sub-goals for subsequent levels of implementation; a lack of awareness of actual classroom practices and contextual factors on behalf of ambitious policy makers and State level administrators; and a lack of teachers’ and learners’ preparation for the policy. Policy recommendations include the development of appropriate policy scheduling, realistic and practice based implementation strategies, the introduction of practice-based policy reforms for future policies, and the involvement of policy implementers and local leadership in active policy implementation based in classroom practices. Implications for research include the

development of more horizontal studies of ELP implementation and practice in other regions of Pakistan and also in countries which share the same language policy practices as Pakistan.

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This work is dedicated to two most important men in my life – Atta Mohammad Awan, my father and Malik Muhammad Kashif, my husband – without one I would not have been able to dream and without the other, I would not be able to achieve!

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## **PREFACE**

Because this study involved human beings, this study required approval from The Michigan State University's Institutional Review Board (MSU-IRB).

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## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

AJ&K	Azad Jammu & Kashmir
EFA	Education for All
ELP	English Language Policy
FGD	Focus group discussion
FI	Follow up Interview
KAT	Kashmir Achievement Testing
KEP	Kashmir Education Policy
LP	Language Policy
LPP	Language Policy and Planning
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NEP	National Education Policy
PNEP	Pakistan National Education Policy
PPP	Public Private Partnership
RHS	Rural High School
RMS	Rural Middle School
SES	Socio-Economics Indicators
UES	Urban Elementary School
UHS	Urban High School

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

Language and language policies are contested domains in all contexts, irrespective of the language makeup of a society and whether it is multilingual or monolingual. The primary reason for this contestation is that we all speak and take pride in our languages and they serve as an important part of our identity; an aspect that we would like to pass on to our children. In the current globalized world, where we wear French clothes and Italian shoes, eat Mexican burritos, and drink American Coca Cola, we nevertheless feel threatened if our children start using different languages that deviate from our language of primary identification. Of course, this sense of appropriation depends on where we are and who we are. We “own” language and, in turn, it “owns” us. Language policy begins in the home, with an initial decision about the language our children will speak, what languages they will learn in school, and in many contexts, what language he will learn into. This constant negotiation on multiple fronts makes language policy and planning a hotbed of research where language wars are fought. This realization about the importance of language instruction derived from two aspects of my personal and scholarly endeavors: as a mother and as a graduate student.

My personal realization of the importance of this struggle to make the choice between languages of instruction came very late, only after I had children that I sent to school in Pakistan. It was an “English medium” private school that I chose to send my children. The journey began again in the US, when two of my children enrolled in an elementary public school and were set to participate in an English Language Learners’ (ELL) program. Their transformation from ELL students to grade level readers was amazing to witness, and provided me an opportunity to observe how good language programs work and how important these could be for children with varied language backgrounds, especially at elementary school levels.

My initial realization was enhanced by my scholarly journey here in the US as a graduate student. My practicum project played a particular role because it was focused on “home and community language practices” in Muzaffarabad across multiple generations. During the field work and in the later stages of writing, I felt that the likely next step was to see how schools treat children who come from diverse households with unique language practices and attitudes. The influence of these personal and scholarly experiences ultimately culminated in this dissertation.

This dissertation is a vertical case study of English Language Policy (ELP) implementation in the Northeast region of Pakistan. Based on the bottom up approach, the study explores the multiple layers and levels of ELP development, implementation, and practice in connection with the different actors and receptors involved. The 2009 Pakistan National Education Policy (2009 PNEP) is unique as it marks a departure from the earlier national education policies in Pakistan because it uses the term ‘language policy’ for the first time in an official education document and officializes the use of English in all language policies in public schools in Pakistan.

The application of ELP in the public sector in Pakistan offers complex venues for the research of language policy where, on one hand, the community does not use English beyond limited academic purposes or for limited official correspondence in federal offices in Pakistan, while on the other, the community’s fascination with privately run “English medium” schools is reflected through the widespread use of English in schools in all areas of Pakistan. This policy also deviates from section 251 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973), as well as the common language practices of people in their everyday lives. Section 251 of the Constitution of Pakistan (1973) suggests the development of Urdu, which is the national language of Pakistan, and recommends making “arrangements for its being used for official and other purposes within

fifteen years from the commencing day” (Section 251, Constitution of Pakistan, 1973). It has been more than forty years since this constitution was passed and implemented, although this clause still remains unaddressed. Overall, the Constitution of Pakistan 1973’s guidelines, community language practices, and the current policy shift provide an important venue for research undertaken in this dissertation.

From an international perspective, Pakistan has already defaulted on its international commitments, such as Education for All (EFA) and the Dakar framework (UNESCO, 2000), to achieve universal primary education by 2015. In a country where a significant portion of the population of primary school age children are not enrolled in school, and in a society that speaks at least two or three languages in most parts, important questions arise about the new language policy implementation in public schools. This dissertation studies the processes involved in ELP implementation in the local settings of six public schools in Muzaffarabad, AJ&K, Pakistan, the way these policies are appropriated, and the functionality of these schools and associated policy actors during policy practice. In doing so, the current study also explores multiple layers of the policy at the national, state, and local levels, and learns from the multiple stakeholders involved.

### **Study Design**

This study’s design aligns with vertical case studies as proposed by Vavrus and Bartlett (2006, 2009), and also with the multilevel analysis proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995). These proposals posit that research should be characterized by a comprehensive and comparative model, carried out along three dimensions – geographical/location, demographic, and societal. This design was selected because the current study aims to explore two of the three layers of the policy life cycle, which are development, implementation, and practice, with a focus on implementation and practice using a bottom-up approach based in the local settings of six

selected schools. The study is consistent with vertical case studies as discussed by Vavrus and Bartlett (2006, 2009) because it is grounded in local settings of selected public schools in Districts Muzaffarabad (AJ&K) and *situates local action* of the teaching practices of public school teachers. The study uses the terms *layers* and *levels*: layers are associated with the policy life cycle, whereas the term levels is used to describe the different stages of the research study. Keeping in view the scope of the study, three levels are identified for the data collection and analysis purposes to explore the three suggested layers of the policy life cycle (i.e. micro, meso, and macro). For the purposes of this study, levels are identified in a bottom-up fashion, while layers are arranged in a top-down manner.

### **Venues Of Research**

Research was based in the District of Muzaffarabad, Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K), which is located in the northeast region of Pakistan. The research venues include six public schools located in the rural and urban areas of District Muzaffarabad and the State Directorate of Education, which is located in the city of Muzaffarabad. The study participants were selected based on their location and the nature of their work in these public schools. Data collection was conducted through multiple sources, such as surveys, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, and documents. Data was collected in two rounds – the first round began with surveys and focus group discussions with a selected group of teachers, and semi-structured interviews with their school principals (1<sup>st</sup> level of study). The 2<sup>nd</sup> level of the study involved interviewing state level education policy officials. The 3<sup>rd</sup> level of the study concluded with the collection of documents and policy papers to fulfill the top-most layer of policy development. A follow-up round of data collection was also conducted, while following the same bottom-to-top approach followed in the 1<sup>st</sup> round. For the second round, follow-up interviews were held with

selected school teachers within three school sites. Principals and policy administrators were also interviewed for this round.

### **Overarching Research Questions**

The dissertation explores the answers to the following overarching research question:  
how does the process involved in ELP implementation shape policy application in the northeastern region of Pakistan?

The sub-questions of this overarching question include:

1<sup>st</sup> Research question: What are the reported perceptions of different policy stakeholders regarding ELP implementation in public schools in AJ&K?

2<sup>nd</sup> Research question: How do these reported perceptions shape ELP practice in selected public schools of AJ&K?

3<sup>rd</sup> Research question: What are the major challenges in the implementation of ELP in AJ&K, Pakistan?

### **Organization of the Dissertation**

This dissertation is comprised of seven chapters:

**Chapter 1** presents an overview of the study in terms of background and lays some initial groundwork for the design of the study, research questions, and research methods of the study.

**Chapter 2** is comprised of two main sections. The first section draws upon current policy debates and rhetoric related to theoretical and research perspectives of language policy (LP) and language policy and planning (LPP) in international and national contexts. Concerns and perspectives from researchers are also discussed in this section to develop the research questions and conceptual framework of the study. The second section presents the conceptual framework of policy appropriation and sense making, which informed this study.

**Chapter 3** sets the context of the study by providing the policy, practice, and politics of language in Pakistan. The first section explains the background of the study by discussing the venue for the research – Muzaffarabad, AJ&K. The second section presents the languages and policy landscape of Pakistan. The third section explores the politics involved in the practice of the language policy in Pakistan, while the fourth section explains the structures of policy practice in Pakistan and AJ&K.

**Chapter 4** provides an overview of the research methodology, details of the research site, participants' information, data sources, and mode of analysis for the study.

**Chapter 5** presents the data related to state policy officials and school principals. This chapter presents the perspectives and current practices of state and school level policy administrators in the implementation of the English Language Policy (ELP) in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) public schools.

**Chapter 6** presents the data findings related to teachers' role in the implementation and practice of ELP in selected public schools of Muzaffarabad and provides significant insights into the practice of ELP in classrooms of selected public schools.

**Chapter 7** explores the role of multiple factors involved in shaping the implementation of the English Language Policy (ELP) in the northeastern part of Pakistan. This chapter also discusses and delineates the challenges these factors present in the different communities in which selected public schools are located (e.g. rural and urban). Overall, the objective of this chapter is to explore and understand the connection between the community contexts and their influence on ELP implementation.

**Chapter 8** presents a discussion on the study findings, while connecting across the levels and layers of policy. The last section of this chapter summarizes and concludes with study implications.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

This chapter reviews the current literature on language policy (LP) and language policy and planning (LPP) in both the international research context and in Pakistan, specifically. This literature review examines the various thematic and research approaches, both historical and current, on LPP to situate this study in the wider context. The chapter will also present the conceptual framework of the study. The following are the two main sections of this chapter:

- i) Situating the ELP implementation in research and academic discourse - insights from national and international contexts
- ii) Conceptual Framework of the study.

#### **Section I**

#### **Situating the ELP Implementation in Research and Academic Discourse - Insights from National and International Contexts**

This section will draw upon the literature related to the development and implementation of the English language policy (ELP) in the international context as well as in the national context of Pakistan. This review will situate this study in the broader academic and research discourse of language policy and planning (LPP).

#### **Language Education Policies in the World – The International Context**

English Language Policy (ELP) is a comparatively newer area of research, but is still under great contestation. Language policy (LP), whether officially declared in a country or not, has always been a source of interest and controversy among the general public, educators, policymakers, and implementers. Countries like the U.S. and Canada, which are comprised of huge immigrant populations, face different kinds of challenges in terms of language education policies compared to countries such as India, Pakistan or Bangladesh, whose populations are geographically or ethnically homogenous and where multilingualism is the norm. The famous

language wars of California is one example from the U.S. context where the role of majority or minority languages in education was contested on political and academic fronts. On the other hand, LP in education in those countries which were once colonies of different western empires usually have official language policies in education. Pakistan, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Uganda are a few such examples.

LP is an interdisciplinary field with its roots in socio-linguistics. It initially focused on the goals of the one nation, one language policy. Different researchers have provided varied definitions of language policy. For example, Spolsky (2004) broadly defines language policy as “language practices, beliefs and management of a community or polity” (p. 9), while Ricento and Hornberger (1996) term language policy as a “multilayered onion”. LP and LPP have been quite prominent, even in their infancy (Hornberger, 2005), because of the post-colonial focus on language issues. Conference presentations, projects, and publications highlight this focus with titles such as “language problems of developing nations” (Fishman, Ferguson & Gupta, 1968), “can language be planned” (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971), and “language planning processes” (Shackle, 1977).

Ricento (2000, 2006) argues that an “overarching” theory of language policy is absent “in large part because of the complexity of the issues which involve use of language in a society” (2006, p. 10). Ricento (2000) mentioned that the field of LPP is shaped by three main factors: namely, macro-sociopolitical, epistemological, and strategic. According to the author, these three factors have greatly shaped the research orientation, paradigms, and approaches for this field since World War II. Likewise, the author also divides the history of LPP research into three phases – first, the macro socio-political era primarily, characterized by de-colonialization, structuralism and pragmatism; the second phase, characterized by the failure of modernization,

critical sociolinguistic and access; and third, a time period that witnessed a new world order, post modernism, and linguistic human rights.

The purpose of LPP research has also been defined in various ways, depending on the era. Research on LPP began with an initial focus on recording the one nation, one language goal, and later shifted to focusing on language issues for new nations in post- colonial eras.

Researchers like Ricento argue that LP research does not take place in a vacuum or merely as a philosophical discussion, but aims to record *how the world works* to suggest *how to make it function efficiently* (2000, 2006). According to Ricento, the objective of LP research is to look for remedies; a goal which closely aligns with the goal of this research. The aim and scope of LP research is to contribute to the understanding of “how such differences are experienced in varied contexts, and how policies – explicit or implicit – may reinforce, or oppose, social and economic inequalities related to gendered, ethnic, racial, tribal, religious, cultural, regional, and political differences” (2005, p. 21). Because this study is set in the rural and urban contexts of the northeastern region of Pakistan, the context and differences of in-school and out-of-school factors play an important role in shaping the practice and implementation of ELP.

Several scholars point to the importance of political dimensions in language policy, including the associated tensions in different contexts and the politicization of the language policy itself. For example, Fishman’s (2006) and Canagarajah’s (2005b, 2005c) work illustrates LPP as a complex field of study which demands the development of a holistic approach by considering the complexity of the language and its usability for multiple purposes and actors. This process is marked with political agendas and heightened tension in all contexts.

Fishman (2006) provides an important contribution to the language policy rhetoric by highlighting the issue of the politicization of language policies. Fishman connects the intended

and unintended consequences of modern language planning on education and its reciprocal effects on competing languages. In his view, language planning is generally linked with political motives through the involvement of groups of authorities with titles such as ‘language committees’, ‘language boards’ and ‘language academies’. According to Fishman, such an involvement suggests the role of power relations in the development of particular language policies. To support his argument, the author draws upon the establishment of English as a primary language in the US, and the way that immigrant languages were treated, which clearly signified a particular political agenda in regards to language. Overall, this study suggests that an analysis of language policy must inevitably explore the political aspects of the process.

Language shifts are generally influenced by political and authoritative agendas, but are also affected by intra-polity actions such as industrial, agricultural and commercial revolutions. These intera-polity actions involve the process of ‘officializing’ particular languages, or the ‘semi-official’ uses of languages such as English in different parts of the world. Fishman (2006) also notes that pro-English ‘conspiracy’ has suggestive and economic power involved in its promotion. Aside from this conspiracy theory, Fishman also argues that unplanned language shifts that result in an informal one world, one language policy are likely the outcome of globalization and technological connectivity, to the loss of local community languages.

Ideologies play an important role in language planning and policy in many contexts. Ricento (2006) relates the linguistic phenomenon with the ‘extra-linguistic factors’ that constitute the social good. The author also explores the role of power relations and socio-economic and political agendas, which are often played out in language policies.

Ricento’s (2006) work provides a broader framework to approach and study LP in terms of its conceptualization, planning, and practices. Ricento identifies that the way LPP researchers

define language and policy related terms also affects their analysis and application. Hornberger (2005) provides a collection of different frameworks and models for LPP research and suggests an integrative framework to summarize these various approaches. Specifically, Hornberger suggests separating research on LPP into three main divisions: types, policy planning approaches, and cultivation planning approaches. Under the types of LPP, the author provides further sub-divisions regarding language, its uses, and users. She also delineates between the professed theory and practice of language by suggesting that theoretically all languages are equal, but that social practices suggest the otherwise.

The context of language planning is an important theme in LPP, which, according to Hornberger (2006), plays a particularly significant role in multicultural, multilingual areas where such planning usually affects co-existing languages and cultures. This is particularly relevant in the context of post-colonial countries such as India and Pakistan, where academic or official languages significantly differ from those spoken in the community and household of common people. In Pakistan, school languages are Urdu and English, neither of which is the first language for the majority of the population in Pakistan. This affects the academic performance of students who come from other language backgrounds.

Hornberger (2000, 2005) also presents the themes of ideology, ecology, and agency, which play important roles in the development, implementation, and negotiation of language policy in a society. She also argues that such planning aids in the development of the notions of the nation-state, economics, culture, and other important factors in terms of state controlled language policies. The theoretical makeup of language policy can also be a source of conflict, as this affects LPP in general through the popular notions of ‘identity politics’ whereby languages are used and promoted as symbols of identity, nationhood, and equality and inequality (where

certain language backgrounds make assimilation and success in society easier for some compared to others).

Another important concern of the current LPP scholarship concerns the research approaches and frameworks to study LP and LPP in different contexts. Ricento (2006) notes some important research issues in current language policy research such as relative coherence and clarity of different conceptual frameworks and approaches; the quality, representativeness, and depth of data; the logical connection between the data and conclusion and the theoretical assumptions and hypotheses; and the relevance of these findings for particular LP goals.

Hornberger (2005, 2006, 2007) also records the challenges for LP researchers, which range from clear understanding of the variety of languages and process of change, to realization of power issues inherent within different language policies at various social and structural levels in a society. Other challenges involve the positionality of a researcher, clear articulation of research assumptions, and maintenance of high standards of research (particularly in regards to data issues).

There have been enthusiastic debates about the theoretical and practical grounds surrounding the need for LP in a society. Theories of discussion have included linguistic imperialism and linguistic human rights, where different languages are reviewed comparatively to understand how they are planned and promoted in different contexts. These theories are also concerned with the bigger power plays involved in the development and implementation of language policies, which has particularly caused a growth in LP research.

Ricento's use of the term *language industry* is particularly helpful in understanding LP research. According to Ricento, the language industry, especially in Western or Westernized countries, contributes to the gatekeeping function of social institutions, especially schools.

Gatekeepers are persons who dictate the ‘standard’ form of the national language and have a social advantage over those who speak ‘non-standard’ varieties. In fact, the role of the language industry is very similar across the world, especially in education policies employed in the West, where languages are used to support the gatekeeping role. This makes LPP studies and research even more compelling and complicated in post-colonial contexts, where colonial languages and educational policies are still practiced or maintained in different forms. Pakistan and India provide good examples of the gatekeeping role of the language industry in post-colonial contexts.

Research approaches have been another important concern of LP and LPP research in recent years. Researchers have promoted research approaches from the field of anthropology, including the context-embedded and locally informed approaches (Canagarajah, 2005b, 2005c, 2006, 2009, 2013). These approaches present important insights about the over-use of positivistic and rationalistic approaches in LPP, which may obscure the important role of social settings and contexts in understanding the context-embedded challenges of language policy. Canagarajah therefore argues for the comparative and contrastive aims and perspectives of the top-down and bottom-up approaches of language policy and context-embedded approaches to study LPP. He argues that the context-embedded approach in research, which is more concerned about the local settings and grass-root operations of one language, can be very helpful in developing a better understanding of the language issues and other concerns in different social settings. He justifies the need for context-specific methods of research in LP on the grounds that the predominant rationalist or positivist tradition is flawed, although he acknowledges that this approach has some benefits. He also notes the research contribution of context related studies in LP, which range from the assessment of the unintended consequences of resistance policies, to the overt and

covert language policies that suggest tensions between policy and practice. This particularly informed the current study's approach, which was based in the local settings of schools in AJ&K to understand and learn from the context-embedded realities of ELP implementation.

However, this study does not follow Canagarajah's suggested research methodology (i.e. ethnography), but follows his rationale regarding the importance of social settings and contexts to explore the challenges of the different aspects of practice and implementation of LPP. This approach can be very helpful in providing crucial information at different stages and phases of language planning and policy making. In addition, the different forms of language planning and language relationships can be addressed comprehensively through the context-specific research approach.

The themes of the current research range from individual identity and experiences of educators as guideposts, to educational policy and social, contextual, and situational case studies in multiple contexts. A large body of research exists in LP and LPP research which discusses policy stakeholders and teachers as policymakers. Notable contributors are Ofelia Garcia (2010), Fazal Rizvi (2009), Kate Menken (2008, 2010). A large body of primarily qualitative research emerged in recent years and shifted the discussion of language policy from a focus on macro level complexities to micro-level ideological discussions. Teachers' voices and agency are mainly, although not exclusively, used to understand their role as policymakers. According to researchers such as Rizvi (2009) and Menken (2008, 2010), teachers' voices and agency are richly textured and provide nuanced evidence of policy complexity involved in language planning.

The current scholarship in the field of LP and LPP is focused on the ideological and implementation context of local practices of language policy in classrooms. Maken and Garcia



(2010) explore micropolitical ideologies and implementation spaces of teachers, administrators, and parents, who (re)construct language education policy for their students at the level of practice. Menken and Garcia adapted the famous “multilayered onion” term posited by Ricento and Hornberger (1996) to ‘stir the onion’ and propagate a dynamic, nonlinear conception of policy rather than the proverbial, and otherwise more linearly conceived metaphors, of ‘ground up’ or ‘bottom-up’ policy and practice processes. Indeed, Menken and Garcia argued that language policy should be moved into an ideological space characterized by educators’ dynamic, adaptive, nonlinear, multidimensional behaviors, thereby ‘stirring the onion’ across the world.

Creese and Blackledge’s (2010) and Creese’s (2011) work focuses on pedagogy for learning and teaching. Creese (2011) analyzes the way teachers negotiate shared implementation and ideological spaces in a UK classroom and how, during this negotiation, they (re)construct two policies. The first policy involves addressing the needs of individual learners and the second policy involves the integration of special-needs learners, including language minority students, in one classroom. Creese identifies hegemonic dynamics among these teachers when they go to great lengths to balance their positioning. Creese (2011) also noticed that although teachers attempted to integrate language minority learners, these students still remained outsiders for other students.

A study conducted by Bloch, Guzula, and Nkence (2010) explores the reflective practices of three South African teachers to change their teaching practices, as well as their schools in order to more fully embrace the mother tongue language, literacy education, and a balanced approach to reading instruction for their learners. Shortages of materials and a lack of government professional support, repositioning personal beliefs, and subordinating English to the mother tongue during a reading lesson are clear challenges that these teachers face daily.

Zhang and Hu (2010) study the efforts of three teachers of English in China as they implement a task-based language teaching reform and a communicative and interactive approach to learning. Study findings reveal that teachers' prior experience and beliefs about the reform agenda and their perceptions of learner needs has a great influence on their work, resulting in widely differing teaching quality. School level support also plays a role in deciding the quality of the work they perform in the classroom.

Mohanty, Panda, and Pal (2010) examine the implementation spaces of teachers and administrators from two school districts in India: Orissa and Delhi. India has between 300–400 indigenous languages, but only 22 of them are granted official status despite the fact that India's constitution states that every child has the right to be educated in the mother tongue. In each district, three languages are mandated for use in the schools: the regional language, Hindi, and English. However, because of the large number of children who do not have any knowledge of these three languages, language teachers and administrators create policies, which in practice, resist top-down mandates. In doing so, they modify and re-interpret policy through their practice to reach out to greater numbers of children.

Galdames and Gaete (2010) illustrate how an innovative approach to balanced literacy, combined with professional development for teachers, fails to help teachers to transition to a new approach. Analysis results indicate that the top-down nature of the implementation, while mediated by practitioners in many ways, does not provide space for teachers to construct a working understanding of the approach. Consequently, teachers reshape the approach to accommodate their teaching styles and the learning styles of their students in traditional phonics-based patterns, and the original initiative is resisted.

Sheng and colleagues (2011) attempt to evaluate the reasons for school dropout among ELL Students. The authors identified limited English proficiency, disadvantaged socioeconomic status, and different cultural backgrounds as the leading factors that contribute to ELL students' school outcomes. They also suggest a focus on language training, better understanding of the second-language acquisition process, teacher training to understand cultural differences, and allocation of funds toward teacher training to overcome these issues.

### **ELP Research Context in Pakistan**

Most of the current research in Pakistan conducted on LPP and ELP focuses on the socio-cultural and political impacts of the English language in shaping or restructuring social hierarchies and social and cultural structures. This reassessment and re-evaluation of the medium of instruction policy in different educational setups in Pakistan is an extension of the language policy debate in Pakistan initiated by Rahman (1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c & 2010) and others (such as Jabeen et al, 2010; Mansoor, 2005). There is a small body of research available on this subject in Pakistan, which identifies the problem as being related to the co-existence of multiple media of instruction for different learners within different schools at the elementary level. However, this debate does not provide adequate insights regarding the disconnect between policy and practice that has led to variations in media of instruction within the same level (e.g. Fayyazuddin, Jillani, & Jillani, 1998; Rahman, 1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2010, 2011).

Before proceeding to a review of the literature on educational policy in Pakistan, there are a few important facts about educational research in Pakistan that are important to mention. Education policies in general, and language policy in particular, are understudied in Pakistan. There is no extensive research literature or scholarly data available on education and educational

policies in Pakistan, except for international or government reports or a few internationally-based scholars who, being based in international settings, are familiar with the research procedures, trends, and debates in the social sciences and the resources needed for carrying out research and having it published. Rahman (1997a, 1997b, 1997c, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2010) may be the first scholar who initiated research and publication in education and language related issues a couple of decades earlier in Pakistan. There are a few other scholars such as Mansoor (2004), Fayazuddin and colleagues (1998), and Siddiqui (2011), who made contributions to the field. It is important to mention that along with research funding and other issues, research publication is also a huge challenge in Pakistan. Until recently, English newspapers were used to publish research and scholarly articles, but now these articles are collected and published in the form of a book. Examples include Rahman and Siddiqui's articles, which were published in different English newspapers. Lack of good research journals in the country, combined with the lack of knowledge and access to international publishing bodies, contribute to this trend. Thus, it is not unlikely to find most of the scholarly articles in newspapers such as *The Dawn* and *The News*, especially those written on the latest academic issues. The quality of research published in newspapers is questionable itself, but in the context of the research related challenges in Pakistan, it is quite explainable, although not justifiable.

Most of the existing research on language and policy in Pakistan deals with language practices as the only means to address the language policy. Rahman (2010), for example, stated:

The major point to understand is that a policy needs not to be announced; need not be in the form of written documents; and yet it has effects of a profound kind on identity formation, socio-economic mobility, class, education, the construction of knowledge and other variables which are contingent upon it or loosely associated with it. On the other

hand, a policy may very much be announced and be on paper (even in the constitution itself) and yet it may be nothing but a propaganda point, an ideological necessity or merely a wish...In short, it is in language practices that one finds the real language policies. (p. 2)

An abundance of research in Pakistan follows descriptive and theoretical perspectives. Rahman's (2010) collection mostly falls into this category: his articles range from descriptive overviews of the languages spoken in Pakistan and their respective statuses in society, school and language shifts, and language deaths in Pakistan. Some of his other books touch upon the status and operation of English in Pakistan, with his main argument against English as the medium of instruction to "reverse the long years of the injustice of placing elitist children much ahead in the race for jobs, power and prestige as compared to the underprivileged" (p. 87). In another collection of articles, Rahman presents an overview of the language policies of different Pakistani governments until the Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988) era, in connection with the Urdu-English controversy. The author argues that Urdu can only be promoted by disempowering the English-using elite in Pakistan. In one of his articles, "The Medium of Instruction Controversy", Rahman recapitulated the history of the media of instruction in the region (pre-and post-partition) and argued that it is a part of the power struggle between different groups, which he deems elites and proto-elites, in Pakistan. His multiple articles address the theoretical and descriptive issues relating to language, LP, and LPP in Pakistan with respect to multiple media of instruction. He also touches on the political role of different languages in policymaking in Pakistan, which he summarizes under three headings: (i) hegemonic and counter hegemonic struggles; (ii) identity and nationality formation; and (iii) modernism and postmodernism.

The aforementioned studies on ELP in Pakistan have focused on the cultural and social contexts of language learning and teaching. However, a small body of research on issues related to the implementation of ELP on different levels, such as state and school levels, also exists. An understanding of this aspect of ELP implementation is critically important as the 2009 PNEP identifies policy to be a “living document” that should go through an ongoing evaluation, especially during the initial phases of implementation. The current study will help to inform the current discourse of ELP change by providing empirical and context-embedded perspectives. Furthermore, this study is an important initial step to be taken towards the evaluation of the medium of instruction policy, which is long overdue for reassessment, given the post-colonial needs and settings of Pakistan in connection with the local settings of practice.

## **Section II**

### **Conceptual Framework**

This research employs two conceptual lenses to explore the process of appropriation and sense-making of ELP at different levels of policy implementation by different actors in AJ&K public schools. In doing so, I will be looking into the different aspects of policy actors’ and agents’ perceptions and understandings of the policy. More specifically, I am interested in gaining knowledge of their perceptions and understandings of how they choose to implement and practice the policy in the classroom. The current study is primarily informed by the conceptual framework of policy appropriation in order to understand how different actors “take-in” a policy and “make” it their own through a process of adaptation of the policy. Sense-making is used as an added lens to understand the perceptions of actors regarding ELP in different phases of policy appropriation. Two theoretical lens were used for policy analysis, namely, policy appropriation and sense making theory.

The conceptual framework serves as a lens which aids in the evaluation and analysis of an issue, or in this case, a research question. Specifically, the conceptual framework used in this analysis aids in understanding how the process of ELP implementation shapes practice, with specific focus on the multiple actors and receptors of this policy, operating at different levels of public education. This bottom-up multilevel case study aims to evaluate the objectives, impacts, and challenges related to the medium of instruction policy change in Pakistani public schools for different actors and receptors operating at the elementary level through interviews and focus group discussions. The research methodology is based on the experiences of these participants operating at different levels of policy and practice; both of these theoretical lenses and justification for the study is described in the subsequent section.

### **Policy as Practice**

Sutton and Levinson (2001) define policy as “a complex social practice, an ongoing process of normative cultural production constituted by diverse actors across diverse social and institutional contexts” (p. 1). They explicate *policy as a practice of power*, able to interrogate the “*meaning of policy in practice*” (p. 1). This study is guided by their work on policy appropriation and sense making theory.

**Policy appropriation.** To explore policy as practice framework, I am using Sutton and Levinson’s preferred term ‘policy appropriation’ for the process of “policy formation and implementation” (2001, p. 2). Policy appropriation is defined as a process through which different policy actors adapt the parts of policy and develop and reshape these elements of policy according to their own areas of “interest, motivation and action” (2001, p. 3). Policy appropriation involves a combination of policy analyses procedures and levels such as “researching the powerful” (Walford, 2011), “examining the social arenas where the language and interests of governing policies are negotiated” (Sutton and Levinson 2001, p. 2), studying the

circulation of policy text across the various institutional contexts, where it is “applied, interpreted, and contested” (Sutton and Levinson 2001, p. 2) by multiple local actors (Mantilla, 2002; Quiroz, 2001; Sutton and Levinson, 2001). Thus, policy appropriation involves policymakers’ and practitioners’ interpretation and self-understanding of a policy.

Levinson and colleagues (2009) define policy appropriation as a “form of creative interpretive practice necessarily engaged in by different people involved in the policy process” (p. 768). They make the distinction between “authorized policy and unauthorized, or informal policy, and argue that when non-authorized policy actors—typically teachers and students, appropriate policy, they are in effect making new policy in situated locales and communities of practice” (Levinson, Sutton & Winstead, 2009, p. 768). For them, appropriation takes place when the policy, which is developed within one community of practice, meets a different community of practice with different contextual realities (Levinson, Sutton & Winstead, 2009, p. 782).

Holland and colleagues (1998) see policy appropriation as a policy process which occurs when “authorized text” which they also term as “policy signal” circulates across different institutional contexts and the way creative agents “interpret and take in elements of policy” into their own schemes of interest, motivation, and action, according to their own “figured worlds” (p. 40, 41) .

Koyama (2010) states that “policy is applied in particular ways in specific situations, and there is a ceaseless interaction in which the social actors, policy, and situations inform one another. In this way, the policy, the practices, the social actors, and the present definition of a situation in a certain setting mutually constitute the situation, the cultural phenomenon to be studied” (p. 3). Koyama specifically mentions school policy as practice and states that analyzing



school policy “link[s] the discursive practices of normative control” of the educational institution with the discursive practices of the larger collective and lays bare the ways in which “individuals and groups engage in situated behaviors that are both constrained and enabled by existing structures [while continuing to] exercise agency in emerging situations” (p. 404).

In order to understand how different actors appropriate or understand the different stages of policy appropriation, it is important to see how different actors make sense of the policy. Connecting this conceptual framework with the research literature in LPP, it is clear that context-embedded approaches are important, and that the metaphorical onion of language policy and the top-down and bottom-up approaches fit well within the policy appropriation framework domain.

**Sense-making theory.** The second lens which I used is sense-making. Coburn (2001) discusses the model of collective sense-making to examine the manner in which teachers construct the meaning of new policy messages through conversations with their colleagues within formal and informal settings. Social interactions among teachers are at the foundation of collective sense-making processes, which is in turn, guided by teachers’ worldviews and ideas about teaching and learning. Collective sense-making influences the way in which teachers understand, shape, or adapt policies in the course of their implementation.

Levinson and colleagues (2009) and Spillane and colleagues (2002) also bring in the significantly important role of local actors’ “sense-making” in the implementation of policy. However, Levinson and colleagues (2009) favor policy appropriation because, according to them, it “goes one step further than Spillane and colleagues’ recognition of local sense-making” and also involves “possible recursive influence of local actors on the formation of authorized policy, even as it recognizes and valorizes rather more local, unofficial types of policy formation that are the outcome of these actors’ “encounter” with authorized policy” (p. 19 & 20).

For this research, the policy appropriation approach will be used to analyze the different actors and policy implementers' understanding, interpretation, and practice of ELP in the different stages of policy implementation. As previously explained, appropriation involves the taking of policy and making it one's own (p. 3). Hornberger and Johnson (2007) also state that "research [which] could, metaphorically speaking, slice through the layers of the LPP [i.e language policy and practice] onion to reveal varying local interpretations, implementations, and perhaps resistance" (p. 510).

My study is a vertical research study on policy implementation and appropriation of the 2009 education policy in Pakistan. As the study is based on a bottom-up design, and learns from teachers' perceptions and experiences with the policy change and thus relies on teachers' voices, the use of the sense-making lens helps in the exploration of the complexity of the policy process. These complexities include ELP implementation at multiple levels and by different actors including teachers, principals, and state implementers. By combining both lenses – policy appropriation and sense-making – I am able to garner these different actors' perceptions about ELP and its implementation at different levels and how different actors handle the change. In other words, a policy in practice framework aids in uncovering the different assumptions actors hold about policy at different levels and then compares these with teachers' understandings of the policy and its practice in the field with the help of the sense-making lens.

Overall, the objectives of the study are to explore/examine how ELP is appropriated at different levels. To accomplish this goal it is important to know/understand the perceptions of those who are key actors in its practice. Therefore, the first challenge of this study is to see how teachers and administrators define /understand policy, either implicitly or explicitly. This will help to understand the link between key actors' understanding and policy appropriation and to

spot implementation challenges and connect these challenges with the causes, whether these occur because of the deficient understanding of policy actors and receptors at different levels or because of logistic and capacity building issues. Sense making provides a suitable conceptual framework for this study because according to Coburn (2005) sense making involves a process of social interaction to develop a sense of a policy and has both individual and social dimensions. This study seeks to explore the ways different policy stakeholders (such as administrators, teachers, and principals) make sense of the ELP at different levels of policy negotiation. A particular emphasis is on how teachers (rural and urban) make sense of this policy, their stance, and challenges during practice.

Policy appropriation theory is a suitable combination with sense making theory because policy appropriation seeks to identify the larger domain of policy application in different layers, while sense making involves taking individual layers of policy actors into consideration. Since this study examines both--that is, how different policy implementers make sense of the English language policy and the ways they appropriate it for their unique situation--a combination of the two theories provides a befitting conceptual framework for this study.

### **CHAPTER 3**

#### **CONTEXT OF POLICY, AND PRACTICE OF LANGUAGE POLITICS IN PAKISTAN**

This research was based in the northeastern region of Pakistan. Every region in Pakistan offers particular contextual aspects related to regional, political, and educational setups; this chapter therefore provides the context of the study. The chapter is divided into four sections. Section I presents an introduction of the setting of the study, which is Muzaffarabad, Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K). Section II explains the language and the policy landscape of Pakistan. Section III discusses the structures of practice through which education policy is implemented on the national and provincial levels in Pakistan, and the last section summarizes and connects across place, policy, and the structures of practice as they are discussed in the chapter.

The following part is a brief introduction of the research venue, which is District Muzaffarabad in the state of Azad Jammu & Kashmir.

#### **Section I**

##### **Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Muzaffarabad at a Glance**

The state of Azad Jammu and Kashmir, abbreviated as AJ&K (literal translation Free Kashmir) lies in the Northeastern region of Pakistan. AJ&K is currently a semi-autonomous state, but historically was part of the princely state of Jammu and Kashmir (J&K). This state is currently divided into Indian Administered Kashmir (as referred to by the United Nations Organization), Gilgit and Baltistan and state of AJ&K (Pakistani Administered Kashmir as referred to by the UNO), and Aksai Chan (Chinese Administered Kashmir). The state of Jammu and Kashmir was a Muslim majority state ruled by a Hindu maharaja and was one of 562 princely states of the British subcontinent ruled by different *maharajas*, *rajas*, and *nawaabs* during British rule in the Indian subcontinent. After independence in 1947, the British

subcontinent was divided into India and Pakistan and all princely states were given a choice to accede to India or Pakistan or remain independent, while taking into account the wishes of its inhabitants. AJ&K is the part of the princely state of Jammu & Kashmir, which was freed after the rebellion by the local population of J&K against its maharaja, who allegedly annexed the state of Jammu & Kashmir with India against the wishes of the people of the state. India claims Kashmir to be its integral part based on the same annexation document signed by the maharaja, while Pakistan claims it on the basis that people of Jammu & Kashmir's right of choice to decide their future was violated by both the maharaja and India.

Kashmir is considered to be a point of contention between India and Pakistan, with four wars fought between the two nations over the region. Pakistan's official stance on the issue of Jammu & Kashmir is that it is a part of an incomplete Indian agenda for division and should be solved through a vote and according to the wishes of the people of J&K. Pakistan considers and terms the Indian administered area as Occupied Kashmir. India, on the other hand, officially considers Kashmir as its integral part, and also claims the Pakistani and Chinese administered areas as occupied. China does not claim either of the parts and settled its border issues with Pakistan in 1962, which India does not accept to this day.

Politically and constitutionally, AJ&K is a unique entity in Pakistan in comparison to its other provinces. Pakistan's 1974 constitution gives a special status to AJ&K and the same is the case with Indian administered Kashmir in the Indian constitution, where article 371 of the Indian Constitution Act gives a special status to India's portion of Jammu and Kashmir. Currently, AJ&K is a semi-autonomous state with an independent legislative assembly, prime minister, president, flag, and a supreme court of its own, while currency, defense and foreign policy are handled by Pakistan.

Geographically, the state of AJ&K is mostly mountainous with valleys and plains. Climatically, the region is sub-tropical highland with an elevation range from sea level ranging from 360 meters in the south to 6325 meters in the north. AJ&K had an estimated population of 3.5 million in 2006 with a rural to urban population ratio of 88:12. The literacy rate is 60%. AJ&K is administratively very similar to the rest of Pakistan except for the political and constitutional status of the state in comparison with the other provinces of Pakistan. Most of the systems and processes are similar to those in Pakistan. Education and educational setups are quite similar as well. Education is considered a “fundamental human right” by the AJ&K State Department of Education, as maintained by their webpage.

Education is a government responsibility in Pakistan and under the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment Act of 2010 in the Pakistan Constitution of 1974, education has now *devolved* (to use the term in this particular amendment) into partly a provincial responsibility. This Act declared education to be the state’s responsibility and to “provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of five to sixteen years”, while making “curriculum, syllabus, planning, policy, centers of excellence, standard of education & Islamic Education” a provincial responsibility (Article 25A). However, there seems to be a discrepancy between the stated and actual functions of this amendment in the constitution since education policy is still functioning as a federal responsibility, and not as a provincial one as stated by the amendment. The 2009 PNEP was devised for a ten year period and will remain in effect until 2019. However, there was public outcry in the public and academic fractions of Pakistani society after this “devolution of curriculum and education standards to the provinces”. Most of the critics were concerned about the development of a curriculum and had their doubts about maintaining common minimum standards of education in all the provinces and regions of Pakistan (Ali, 2011; Zaidi, 2005).

There have been concerns ranging from the “capability-deficit” of provinces in handling the challenge to develop a curriculum, to issues of ensuring national identity and coherence during a power shift to the provinces. Thus, this outcry might be a reason that education policy is still functioning as a federal subject and not as a provincial one.

## **Section II**

### **Language and the Policy Landscape of Pakistan**

Pakistan presents an interesting case to study language policy, planning, and practice for researchers. To validate this claim, I discuss the history of language policy in Pakistan under three main headings:

- i. Language and policy landscape in Pakistan – an overview
- ii. Language policy in education – politics of practice
- iii. ELP on paper and practice – national and local contexts

#### **i. Language and Policy Landscape in Pakistan – an Overview**

Pakistan’s national language is Urdu, while English is defined as the “official language” of the country by the Constitution of Pakistan. An estimated number of 72 living languages other than English are spoken in Pakistan, with a range of 150-200 speakers of the Aer and Gowro languages to nearly 61 million speakers of Western Panjabi, which represents 38% of the population (Lewis et. al., 2013). Table 1 reveals that 85% of the population speaks at least one of 14 languages, with a remaining 15% of the population speaking 58 other languages (Coleman, 2009; Lewis et. al., 2013). Urdu, the current national language of Pakistan, has the fourth largest number of speakers, and it is estimated that it is the first language for nearly 7% of the total population in Pakistan.

**Table 1: Individual Languages with Over 1,000,000 First Language Speakers in Pakistan**

No	Languages	Percentage of speakers
1	Panjabi, Western	38.3
2	Sindhi	11.7
3	Saraiki*	8.7
4	<b>Urdu</b>	<b>6.8</b>
5	Pashto, Northern	6.1
6	Pashto, Central	5.0
7	Balochi, Southern	1.8
8	Brahui	1.3
9	Hindko, Northern	1.2
10	Balochi, Eastern	1.1
11	Pashto, Southern	0.9
12	Balochi, Western	0.7
13	Farsi, Eastern	0.6
14	Panjabi, Mirpur	0.6
	Sub---total	84.8
	58 other languages	15.2
	Total	100.0

\* Also sometimes spelled Seraiki and Siraiki.

Table source: Coleman (p.13: 2009)

The linguistic picture of Pakistan at the time of independence was very similar to the one presented above, and thus gave rise to the infamous “language controversy” in Pakistan’s history. Britain left in 1947, but their language could not be transported back to their country with them because of the requirement of using English in an independent Pakistan for a number of reasons, ranging from official to structural and political to constitutional (Atta, 2005). The status quo which existed in Pakistan at the time of independence actively strengthened English as an official and business language. English, although not a new language for the dwellers of the Indian subcontinent, and being the language of the colonizers of this area, posed very different challenges when it was adopted as an official language of the country and for education in the post-colonial context of Pakistan after independence, resulting in concerns in different factions of Pakistani society. None of the five provinces of Pakistan were monolingual, and languages such as Bengali (the East-Pakistan 1947-1971, currently Bangladesh), Sylheti, Pushto, Hindku,



Siraiki, Sindhi, Balochi, Brohi, Punjabi and Urdu were spoken by significant numbers of the population. Thus, great controversy sprung up over the selection of the national language for the newly formed country immediately after independence because of the linguistic plurality of Pakistanis. The issue did not only include Urdu or English, but also Bengali, which was the language of 54.3% of the total population of Pakistan at the time of independence. Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, settled the issue by declaring Urdu the national language of Pakistan in March, 1948; however, he also identified the functional importance of the regional and provincial languages in his speech,

Let me restate my views on the question of a state language for Pakistan. For official use in any province, the people of the province can choose any language they wish. The question will be decided solely in accordance of the wishes of the people of the province alone, as freely expressed through their accredited representation at the appropriate time and after full and dispassionate consideration. There can, however, be only one lingua franca, that is the language for intercommunication between the various provinces of the state, and that language should be Urdu and cannot be any other.

The English language, on the other hand, could not be denounced along with foreign rule in an independent Pakistan because of its role as a "universal second language" (to use the term of Kachru, 1992). English remained the official language, irrespective of policy and practice discourse in the country. The reasons for this can be summarized as follows:

1. The governmental machinery was trained in the colonial era to work in English only, so it was argued that switching to Urdu was difficult to accomplish in a short time.

2. The government of Pakistan had enormous and immense problems to address immediately after independence, other than planning for an official language switch. Thus, English remained the official language of Pakistan.

The constitutions of 1956, 1962, and 1973 were written in English. All these constitutions establish that English shall remain the official language of Pakistan until arrangements are made to replace it. Section 251, Constitution of Pakistan, 1973, declared:

251. National language.

(1) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.

(2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.

(3) Without prejudice to the status of the National Language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measure for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language. (p. 112, 113)

Thus, English continued to be used as official language of Pakistan, up to the writing of this dissertation. Also, the separation between national and official languages persists, irrespective of the policy and the political affirmation of uniting both languages on the part of multiple governments who served during different time periods. On the other hand, AJ&K's official language at the state level is Urdu.

Interestingly, Pakistan and India who share their colonial heritage, also shared the same language controversy. India's stance was much stronger compared to Pakistan; they considered English a "language of compulsion" which affected the "efficiency of the people and bred a sense of inferiority among them" (Zaman, 1984, p. 1). The government machinery in Pakistan,

apart from the language controversy, continued to work in the same language as it did during the colonial age. India, where a great enthusiasm was expressed over replacing English with Hindi, also faced severe consequences because of this vernacular-English controversy. Shastri's government was severely shaken in 1965 when Hindi was declared the sole language. Students rigorously revolted against this decision by burning themselves to death and creating riots and anarchy throughout the country. Zaman (1984), as quoted from the Language Commission Report of India:

We entirely agree that a language is not the property of any particular nation and obviously it belongs to all who can speak it. Moreover, in any solution of the linguistic problem in order that academic and scientific standards do not sufficiently project, we will have to ensure a sufficient command of English (p.10, 11).

This discussion provides a clear view of the language scenario and factors, which contributed to the continued usage of English in Pakistan after independence. The next subsection discusses the language policy in education in Pakistan.

## **ii. Language Policy in Education – Politics of Practice**

The issues of language/s used in teaching and teaching in particular language/s in education have also been a highly debated and controversial topic since Pakistan's establishment in 1947 (Fayyazuddin, Jillani, & Jillani, 1998; Rahman, 1997c, 2005b, 2005c, 2010). The persistence of the issue and the change in the government's stance on the subject has been a part of Pakistan's educational policy discourses since 1947. India, as already described, also experienced the same tension as to the question of the medium of instruction and language policy

in education. Ghandi, the founding leader of India, was also strongly opposed to English as a medium of instruction and stated:

The foreign medium has caused brain fag, put an undue strain upon the nerves of our children, made them crammers and imitators unfitted them for original work and thought, disabled them for infiltrating their learning to the family or the masses. The foreign medium has made our children practically foreigners in their own land. It is the greatest tragedy of the existing system. The foreign medium has prevented the growth of our vernaculars. If I had the power of a despot, I would today stop the tuition of our boys and girls through a foreign medium (Zaman, 1984, p. 4).

Irrespective of Gandhi's strong rejection of English as a foreign hindrance in the progress of his people, Nehru, another important leader of India, identified English as an important need for India. Being "the major window to the outside world", he argued that "we dare not close that window and if we do, it will spell peril for the future" (Zaman, 1984, p. 14). It is interesting to note that unlike Gandhi, Quaid-e-Azam never indicated any inclination towards discarding English as a medium of instruction in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, the first educational conference, which was held in 1947, set two important objectives related to the language policy in education in Pakistan. The first was the declaration of Urdu as a national language and the second was the gradual elimination of English as a medium of instruction, which in fact, could never be achieved in Pakistan. National policy also changed its stance on the issue of the elimination of English in education. The National Commission on Education (1959), commonly known as the Sharif Report, recommended that "English being the language of scientific terminology should be kept in use to create modern consciousness" (pp. 295-296). The Sharif Commission also recommended that "English should be taught as a

compulsory language from class 6th to 12th in schools and at the graduate level. But it should be taught as a functional language rather than as a literature except for those who wish to specialize in English language and literature” (pp. 228-229).

Language/s spoken while teaching and their use as media of instruction have never been persistent in Pakistan. There has been constant switching from Urdu to English and English to Urdu in the public educational history of Pakistan during different eras. However, none of the education policies that came after the Sharif report addressed the issue of language teaching or teaching language/s, except for the Education Policy of 2009. Most of the policies generally did not address the topic, and thus the official policy for language teaching in public education has remained the same since 1959 in Pakistan – i.e., English to be taught as a compulsory subject from grade VI. This official stance, however, was used more as a minimal standard in Pakistan than as a uniform and static goal to apply across the whole country.

Public education in Pakistan has had stark variations in quality, curriculum, teachers’ qualifications, and the medium of instruction. Along with other factors, the medium of instruction has continued changing in public schools, depending on the orientations of the rulers of the country. In 1980, for example, all schools, including English medium schools, were ordered to adopt Urdu as a medium of instruction. After just a year, the orders were reversed. This condition badly affected students’ development and achievement in their studies. The official policy from 1959 to 2009 remained the same regarding teaching English as a subject and using it as a medium of instruction in schools; however, adoption of the policy has been heavily dependent on the locations and context of individual schools. For example, a public school in an urban context was more likely to teach English from grade 1 and might have adopted English as the medium of instruction, as compared to another public school operating in a rural context.

As 63% of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas (World Bank, 2010), the majority of schools in the public sector taught in the Urdu medium because of the context.

Another aspect of the Pakistani education system is that as the level of education increases, the medium of education and instruction also shifts from Urdu to English. Even at the Masters' level, except for a few subjects like Islamic studies, Urdu, or other national and international languages, which imply the same language as the medium of examination and instruction, all other subjects, such as sciences, social sciences, and others, use English for teaching, examinations, and course materials. Students who receive their education in the Urdu medium were reported to face fundamental problems in their later stages of education (Humaira, 2012; Rahman, 2010). The elite, who are usually entrusted with the responsibility of government and bureaucratic services, most of the time belong to the "English medium strata". This situation, combined with the persistent low performance of public schools, caused a tremendous growth of English medium schools in the private sector because of the zeal for quality education among the common people for their children, and the equating of quality education with English language use (Mansoor, 2005; Rehman, 2004, 2010).

The rise of the private sector is considered an important change in the educational context of Pakistan. Since 1990, the number of private schools in Pakistan has grown substantially. Before 1990, private schools were growing only in the urban part of Pakistan, but after 1990, a substantial growth in low cost private schools was also observed in rural areas. Recent reports indicate that, between 2000 and 2008, a 69% increase was observed in the number of private schools, whereas the increase in the numbers of public schools was only 8% (I-SAPS, 2010). Furthermore, these studies report that between the time frame of 2000 and 2008, the increase in the percentage of private schools in rural and urban areas was 87.76% and 54.44%, respectively.

It is clear from the discussion above that two education systems were running simultaneously in Pakistan until 2009: one in the English medium, used mainly by private schools and also in many urban public schools; and the other in the Urdu medium, which was in practiced in the public schools primarily located in rural areas.

However, bearing a title of a private school too does not signify the same kind of education in all of such schools. In fact, there are least similarities in all these privately run schools beyond the slogan of English medium, which all these schools carry everywhere in Pakistan. 2009 PNEP too identifies this variation in private schools as another reason to question their claim of providing the quality education. Thus private schools are categorized under two types of private schools, low cost private schools and elite private schools (2009, PNEP, p. 9)

This situation is also not unique to Pakistan, especially in the context of this region where other countries with a multilingual population also follow this practice of switching between different languages for teaching. India, for example, created a “three language formula” with an acclaimed effort to “facilitate the communication between different linguistic regions” (Ladousa, 2009); India also followed a subsequent switch between regional to national and then to international language, i.e., English, at different levels and contexts of education (Ramanathan, 2005; Zaman, 1984).

### **iii. ELP in Paper and Practice – National and Local Contexts**

This next section reviews the ELP as is mandated by the 2009 PNEP with reference to its current implementation status in AJ&K.

The latest national education policy in Pakistan was launched in 2009, with yet another shift in the medium of instruction and language subjects to be taught at the elementary level. The policy proposed to introduce English as a subject from grade 1, and to use English as a medium

of instruction for science and math from grade 4 in all public schools. The 2009 PNEP is the first in the series of national education policies conventionally released for a ten year period in Pakistan to use the term “English language policy”. In fact, none of the earlier policies note or refer to a ‘language policy’ in education for Pakistan. Only two of the earlier policy documents before 2009 mentioned the need to develop the national language through education in public school.

Based on the 2009 PNEP instructions, AJ&K changed the language policy for public schools through a notification in 2013, an executive public order titled as “NEP 2009/Kashmir Education Policy – Implementation Status” This state policy document is dated 2013 and presents a review to keep track of the current implementation status of multiple goals of the 2009 education policy in AJ&K (Please see appendix B for reference). This document was prepared as a part of the implementation framework suggested by the 2009 PNEP.

Table 2 presents a comparative perspective of the 2009 PNEP suggested policy actions regarding the ELP with that of its current implementation status in AJ&K. Column “A” presents actions regarding the ELP in PNEP, while column “B” presents the current implementation status of these suggested policy actions in AJ&K. The blank box shows that no current implementation plan exists in relation to that clause.

**Table 2: AJ&K Education Policy Implementation Status**

<b>Column “A” PNEP 2009 – ELP</b>	<b>Column “B” NEP2009/Kashmir Education Policy - Implementation Status</b>
1. Ministry of Education, in consultation with provincial and area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and less developed regions.	



Table 2 (Cont'd)

2. The curriculum from Class I onward shall be comprised of English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language and mathematics, along with an integrated subject.	Implemented but without special English teachers at primary level (creating new post)
3. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.	
4. English shall be used as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.	Notified, from next year (2014)
5. For the first five years provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language; but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.	
6. Opportunities shall be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English language.	
7. A comprehensive school language policy shall be developed in consultation with provincial and area governments and other stakeholders” (2009 PNEP).	

The policy actions regarding the ELP have been quite interesting in regards to 2009 PNEP. Clause 1 in column “A” urges a list of stakeholders in policy planning, implementation and practice to develop “a comprehensive plan of action” in implementing the ELP in Pakistan, including the professional bodies and “wider public.” This represents an action that was never actually put into action other than on paper.

Also, the second clause of these policy actions enlists three languages to be taught as a part of grade 1 curriculum including English, Urdu and one regional language. None of the regional languages, however, were ever taught or planned to teach in the state of AJ&K in its post-independence era after 1947. Currently, the curriculum of 1<sup>st</sup> grade in AJ&K has only two languages, Urdu and English, while Arabic is taught at the middle school level.

This document presents insights into the implementation status of ELP in AJ&K; English language teaching from the 1<sup>st</sup> grade level is implemented “but without special English teachers at the primary level” (Implementation Status of NEP/KEP 2009; Dec. 2013). State policy administrators revealed that the allocation and appointment of special English teachers to carry out the new language policy is pending because of the absence of new posts in public schools, which require funds and political and administrative commitment.

The third clause of the stated policy actions presents another complicated situation – the clause gave autonomy to the provincial and area education departments for the selection of the medium of instruction until grade 5. Other data sources, such as the state implementation policy documents, interviews, and discussions with state policy administrators, do not attest to this and no implementation action shows that the state is aware of this clause of the policy which gives them the choice in terms of making a selection for the medium of instruction for primary education. It appears to be a suspended clause as clause 4 and 5 override the stated autonomy of the selection of the medium of instruction until grade 5 and makes it mandatory to switch to the English medium of instruction policy by 2013 at the latest, on all conditions. Thus, it is paradoxical in nature.

As per policy action clause 4 quoted above, it can be seen that 2014 was the last of the five years where provinces were given “an option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/ official regional language.” Thus, AJ&K used the whole of its cushion time given by the national policy. Second, the use of English medium for science and math subjects for class 4 onwards is “notified”. ‘Notification’ is an executive order to implement an administrative order in public institutions in Pakistan. Teachers at the elementary level are primary or elementary teachers, which is the designated teachers’ cadre to teach at the primary level in Pakistan and is

still responsible for teaching science and math in the English medium. In most cases, these teachers do not have the qualification to teach in the English medium of instruction.

Implementation status documents, however, do not identify a recommendation or policy about the provisions of special teachers to teach science and math subjects using the English medium.

Clause 1 and 6 identify ‘disadvantaged groups’, ‘less developed regions’ and ‘low socio-economic strata’ that will be in need of the most assistance to cope with the new ELP in the public schools. There is, however, no stated action plan or suggestions about ‘how’ to address their needs described in the policy and there is also no activity currently at the implementation level about these stated policy actions, which can be seen from the empty boxes across these stated plans.

2009 PNEP also identifies teachers’ role in the policy implementation and suggests policy actions for quality teaching and teachers in connection with the suggested policy changes in the document, which are as follows:

**Table 3: Policy Actions Related to Teachers’ and ELP**

<b>ELP Related to Teachers</b>	<b>NEP 2009/Kashmir Education Policy - Implementation Status</b>
1. <u>Professional Development</u> In-service teachers training in mathematics shall be provided, with due attention to developing conceptual understanding, procedural knowledge, problem solving and practical reasoning skills.	To some extent it is continued by Directorate of Education Extension and CIDA Debt For Education Conversion (DFEC) Project but not at large scale due to lack of resources. Five Teacher professional Development Centers at district level are being established.
2. In-service teacher training in science shall be based on real life situations, use of science kits and provision of science kits to all primary and middle schools.	
3. Institutionalized and standardized in-service teacher training regime shall be established in those provinces where it has not already been done.	It requires policy initiatives and finance. A continuous professional development (CPD) mechanism is being developed

Table 3 (Cont'd)

4. In-service training shall cover a wide range of areas: pedagogy and pedagogical content knowledge; subject content knowledge; testing and assessment practices; multi-grade teaching, monitoring and evaluation; and programmes to cater to emerging needs like trainings in languages and ICT.	
<b><u>Rural areas:</u></b>	
1. Special short term courses for improvement of language skills for rural area teachers shall be designed.	
2. Incentives shall be given to teachers in rural or other hard areas, at least to compensate for loss in salary through reduction of various allowances given for urban but not for rural postings.	

Table 3 also indicates the neglect of ELP-related subject training in 2009 PNEP on one hand, while on the other, the implementation scenario in AJ&K also indicates that there is nothing being done beyond the establishment of five professional development centers to assist with teacher training. Other data sources indicate that these centers are still in the process of establishment and there is not much available beyond the “official notification” of these centers in AJ&K. Thus, policy and implementation both ignore the subject based language development of current or future teachers, which is actually the most important part of ensuring successful ELP implementation in schools.

### **Section III** **Education Policy Implementation – Structures of Practice**

This section discusses the educational policy setups in Pakistan in its current geo-political and linguistic contexts, in order to provide essential connections between policy development, implementation, and practice at different levels.

## **Political Administrative Units in Pakistan**

Pakistan is currently divided into seven political administrative regions: there are four provinces – Baluchistan, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK), Punjab and Sind, FATA (federally administrated tribal areas), FANA (federally administrated northern areas) and the State of Azad Jammu & Kashmir (AJ&K). All of these regions have separate governments, except for FATA and FANA.

## **Educational Policy Development**

Education was a part of a concurrent list in Pakistan before 2009, which means that the federal government was primarily responsible for policy development. There are three layers which contribute to policy development, implementation and strategy planning, and practice in the case of educational planning. The first layer is federal or national, where the Planning Commission of Pakistan develops a national education policy in collaboration with the Federal Ministry of Education. This document is then sent to the provincial level (or other independent political regions) for strategy and implementation development of the national policy. This was done by the Planning and Development Departments (P&DD) provincial Departments of Education through the implementation plan defined and delineated by the provinces. Educational institutions, especially schools operating in both public and private sectors, are supposed to abide by this policy in terms of their goals and curriculum, as suggested by the policy. This "official curriculum is meant to be taught and learned" (Forquin, 1995; Vazir, 2003) and is imposed with a "top down approach for its adoption and Implementation" (Memon, 1997). Text books are published according to this curriculum by the approved state/provincial textbook boards, and then these books are available to students according to their grade level. Punjab was the first province which started providing free textbooks to students in schools only a few years ago. It is

important to mention here that cultural and linguistic practices vary in all these provinces, which significantly impacts the process of translation and implementation of educational policy at all these regional and local levels of practice.

#### **Section IV**

##### **Connecting across Place, Policy, and Structures of Practice: Discussion**

The context and setting of the study indicate that AJ&K is a geographically challenging area, and also plays a central role in the political contestation between the two neighboring countries of the region. As an administrative part of Pakistan, systems and structures are very much like Pakistan as whole, and thus the region faces the same types of challenges. Significantly, policy studies and educational practices are very important for this region, similar to the rest of subcontinent, but this area is also multilingual. This policy change is very important to study, along with the multiple language backgrounds of learners, because it involves at least two literacy practices and a shift in the medium of instruction at different stages of education. Pakistan and AJ&K present a complex scenario of policy and practice for multiple avenues, such as policy administrators, teacher educators, and teachers.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

This study is an exploration of the ELP implementation across multiple levels of policy implementation and practice in the north eastern region of Pakistan. The study used a qualitative dominant mixed method approach (Johnson et al, 2007) to learn about ELP policy implementation and practice. This chapter provides a description of the study design and research approaches used, including a description of the selection of the research site and participants, data collection and analysis procedures, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study.

#### **Section I: Research Design**

The study is designed as a vertical research study, as proposed by Vavrus and Bartlett, (2006, 2009), and also as a multilevel analysis, as proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995). This section is thus sub-divided into two categories:

- i. Vertical case study, and,
- ii. Multilevel case study.

#### **i. Vertical Case Study**

A vertical case study, as Vavrus and Bartlett (2006) explain, “strives to situate local action and interpretation within a broader cultural, historical, and political investigation...The vertical case should be grounded in a principal site – e.g., a school, a community, an institution, or a government ministry – and should fully attend to the ways in which historical trends, social structures and national and international forces shape local processes at this site” (p. 96).

The current study fits well with the vertical case studies that Vavrus and Bartlett discuss (2006; 2009) because it is “grounded” in a local setting of selected public schools in

Muzaffarabad (AJ&K) and “situates local action” in the teaching practices of STEM and English teachers within public schools.

## **ii. Multilevel Case Study**

The design of the study also closely aligns with the multilevel analysis proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995), as a comprehensive model of comparative research, which suggests that all comparative research should be carried along three dimensions – geographical/location, demographic, and societal.

The first dimension of the multilevel analysis was carried out by collecting data from individual teachers and principals working in selected public schools of District Muzaffarabad for the first level; for the second level of study, the State Department of AJ&K was selected in order to interview policy implementers. The third level of the study was national, whereby educational policy is formulated, and national policy documents were collected to complete the process.

The second dimension of the multilevel analysis proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995) is demographical (i.e., ethnic, gender, or other group). This study also included this dimension because it selected a particular group of teachers who are involved in STEM and English language teaching in public schools operating in two different contexts of rural and urban areas. The third dimension that Bray and Thomas named was “aspects of education and of society”, which is comprised of curriculum, teaching method, and/or management structures. This level was also taken into consideration, because the study involved policy management. Thus, the proposed study used all three dimensions of comparative studies as proposed by Bray and Thomas (1995).



### Definition of Levels and Layers

The research study makes use of the terms *layers* and *levels* to explain the study design and data collection techniques. *Layers* are used to refer to the traditional life cycle of policy – commonly known as macro, meso, and micro; while *levels* refer to the stages of data collection. Thus, policy life cycle layers are used in a traditional top-down fashion (i.e. macro or national is layer 1, the meso or state level is layer 2, and the micro or local level is layer 3); while study collection levels are referred to in a bottom-up fashion (i.e. school is at level 3, state administrators are at level 2, and policy is at level 1). For example, state policy administrators' data was collected at the second level of data collection to understand the meso layer of the policy life cycle.

This division between *layers* and *levels* is maintained particularly for this study, as it is also suggestive of the way in which policies are developed and implemented (top-down), while the way that they actually function is at the ground level and connect with the real world (bottom-up).

Given is the description of layers and levels as used in the study.

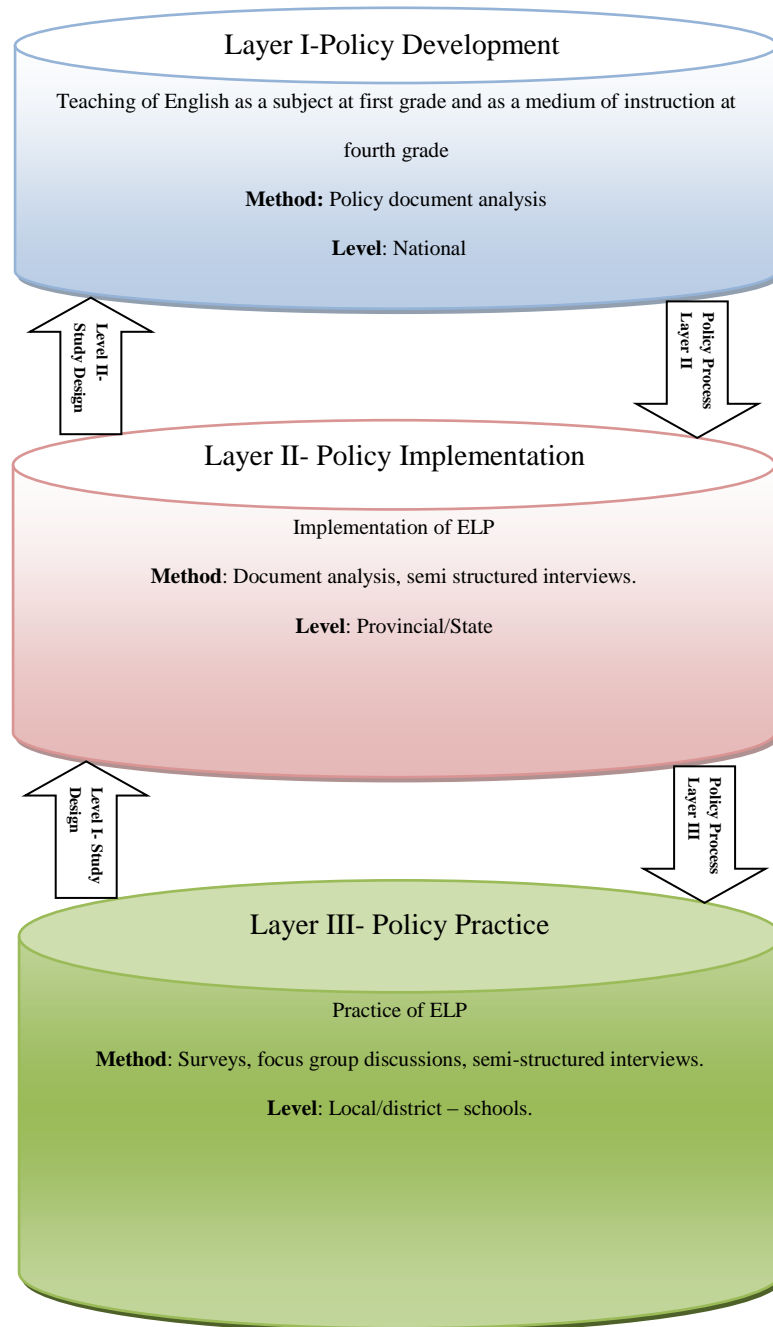
**Table 4: Comparative Description of Terms –Layers and Levels in the Study**

<b>Layers of the Policy</b>	<b>Levels of the Study</b>
Layer 1	Level 3
Layer 2	Level 2
Layer 3	Level 1

This multilevel and multidimensional analysis helped in developing a comparative understanding of the different layers of policy, implementation, and practice related to the medium of instruction and language teaching, with reference to its translation at the local level of application in selected public schools in the northeastern region of Pakistan.

This is further explained through the diagram presented below of the conceptual levels and layers of data collection used for the study.

**Figure 1: Conceptual Study Design**



## **Section II**

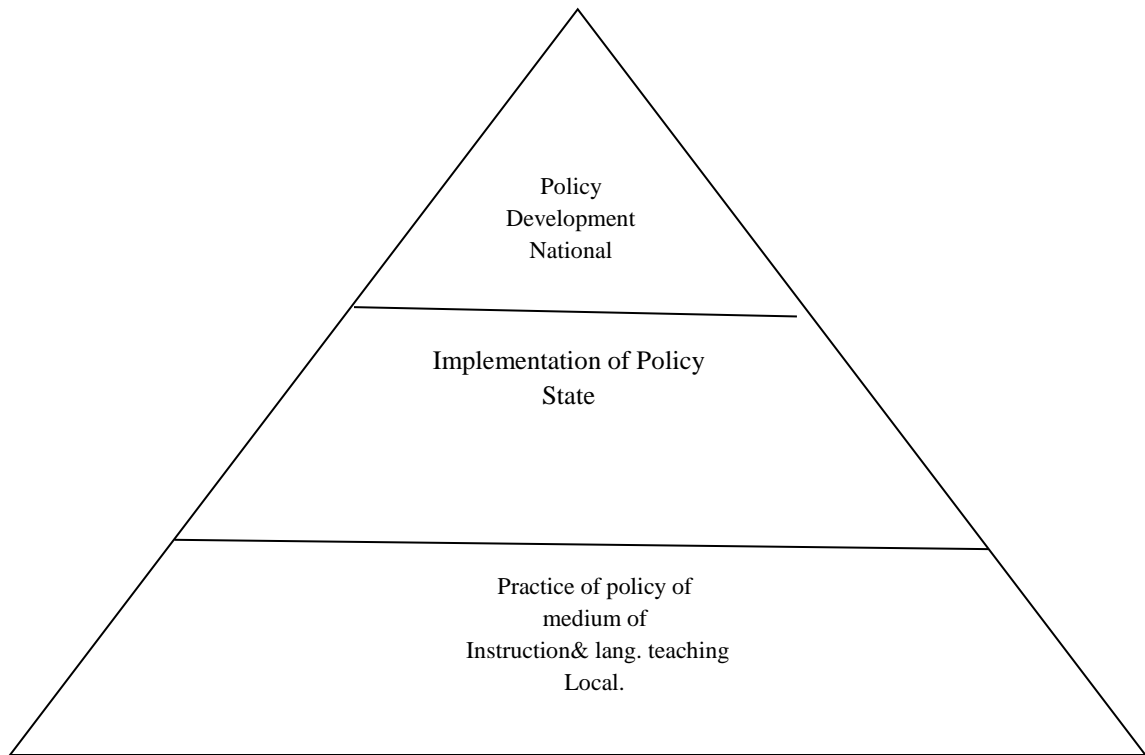
### **Research Procedures**

Multiple data collection techniques were used such as surveys, focus group discussions (FGDs), semi-structured interviews, observation, and document analysis to collect data for this qualitative dominant mixed methods study.

#### **Qualitatively Dominant Mixed Method Approach**

The intent of this study is to understand different aspects of ELP implementation and practice in AJ&K public schools and thus a combination of methods was used to collect rich data. Combinations of methods (i.e., quantitative + qualitative procedures) were used to collect data from teachers, who were located in the base of policy implementation and practice (please see figure 2 for reference). For the remaining levels of the study, primarily qualitative research methods were used. The justification of using two methods for the practice level of policy is twofold - the study was designed as a bottom-up vertical and multilevel and multi-layered case study and thus required a better understanding of the applications of policy at the practice level; second, practice itself is complicated enough to require more than one research procedure and also requires triangulation, as is done in this policy. Please notice the bigger data collection base of the following pyramid for reference to the study design.

**Figure 2: Study Design**



Here is the description of data collection techniques used during the study:

- a) Documents – the study collected and analyzed both national and state level policy and other documents related to policy, implementation, and teachers. These include 2009 PNEP, National Plan of Action 2013-16 Achieving Universal Primary Education in Pakistan MDG Acceleration Framework, National Professional Standards for Teachers in Pakistan, Implementation Status of PNEP/KEP (Kashmir education policy) 2009, the Kashmir Achievement Testing – 2013 (KAT – 2013), and Azad Jammu & Kashmir Teacher Education Strategy 2013-2018.
- b) Surveys – this study developed and used surveys to collect demographic and other quantitative data from teachers.

- c) Focus Group Discussions – one conducted in every selected school.
- d) Interviews – interviews were conducted with teachers, principals, and state policy administrators. Teachers’ interviews were followed up after the focus group discussions, while more than one interview was conducted with other participants.
- e) Observations – observation sheets were maintained and field notes were taken during every data collection visit to all sites.

## **Research Procedures**

This section is sub-categorized under three headings:

- i. Participants and selection of research site
- ii. Data collection, and,
- iii. Data analysis

**i. Participants and selection of research site.** Schools were selected based on two factors: their location in a rural or urban setting, and a recommendation by the State Department of Education, Muzaffarabad, AJ&K. Location plays a significant role for schools in Pakistan because of the types of communities these schools serve in different locations and contexts, in a rural or urban area; data thus incorporated three schools from each location for the first round of data collection. Additionally, the Department of Education recommendations were based on schools’ reputation as “good schools” in both contexts to maintain the similar nature of schools in both contexts. Preliminary data findings from the first round of data collection were used to make additional selections of schools for the second round of data collection; one large urban school and two medium-sized rural schools were selected.

Participant selection was also done in two rounds of data collection. Twenty seven STEM and English teachers at six selected schools were chosen to participate in six focus group

discussions in their respective schools. Six school principals were also interviewed for this round of data collection in all these schools. Four state level policy administrators were also selected based on their role as policy planners and implementers.

A total of thirty three interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with individual and group participants for 60-120 minutes. Six of these sessions involved focus group discussions in six schools with teachers and school administrators during the first round of data collection, while nineteen were individual interviews with teachers and local administrators in public schools. Furthermore, three other middle and high level policy administrators were interviewed. Observation notes were also maintained during all the visits to these schools.

**ii. Data collection.** Based on the nature and design of the study, I collected data in two rounds. The first round of data collection was comprised of filling out surveys and focus group discussions by twenty seven STEM and English teachers in the six selected schools and the principals of the respective schools in AJ&K for the first level of policy practice (i.e. schools) and semi-structured interviews of four selected state policy administrators for the second level of policy implementation (i.e. state/provincial level). State and federal policy documents were also collected during this round of data collection. The first round of data collection was completed at this point.

After reviewing the data collected during the first round, follow-up data collection was conducted. Three schools were identified as primary research sites for the second round of data collection and ten teachers were interviewed individually for a maximum of 60 minutes in a semi-structured format. Follow up interviews were also conducted with the principals of these three schools and state level policy administrators during this second round of data collection.

**Table 5: Participant and Methodology Description of the Study**

Round of Data Collection	Method	Description of Participants	Research Site
Round I	Surveys	27 STEM and English subject teachers	Six Public Schools – 3 rural, 3 urban.
	Focused group discussions	25 STEM and English subject teachers	
	Semi-structured interviews	School principals	Six Public Schools – 3 rural, 3 urban.
		State level policy administrators.	State education directorate of schools Muzaffarabad, AJ&K
Round II	Semi-structured interviews	Ten STEM and English subject teachers	3 public schools – 1 urban school and 2 rural schools.
	Semi-structured interviews	Three school principals	3 public schools – 1 urban school and 2 rural schools.
	Semi-structured interviews	State level policy administrators.	State education directorate of schools Muzaffarabad, AJ&K

**iii. Data Analysis.** A combination of data collection methods were used, such as interviews, focus group discussions, a survey, and documents and two different approaches to analyze the data were also used. LeCompte and Schensul (1999) argue that all data analysis is a combination of inductive and deductive thinking. Therefore, a combination of a priori and grounded theory techniques were used to code the data. The documents and survey data were coded using a priori coding, while the interviews and focus group discussions were examined using a grounded theory approach by identifying codes from the datasets themselves (Charmaz, 2009).

**Table 6: Data Collection Method and Coding Approach**

S.#	Data Collection Method	Suggested Coding Approach
1.	Documents	<i>A priori</i> coding
2.	Surveys	
3.	Interviews	Grounded Coding
4.	Focused group discussions	

I used this combination of coding to juxtapose the findings generated from each approach, and to learn from the comparison for the final data analysis. Also, all these data instruments were developed to answer different questions; thus, a different analytical approach worked better to develop rich and insightful results.

Because data collection took place in two rounds, preliminary data analysis was done at the end of the first round of data collection. A detailed analysis of data was conducted after the completion of data collection during both rounds. Both approaches to data analysis were used side by side for preliminary analysis, as surveys and interviews both took place during the first round of data collection.

Two sets of thematic categories were used for surveys and document analysis based on the research questions for a *priori* coding. These were as follows:

***A priori coding.*** Thematic categories used for survey data:

1. Teachers' context
  - i. Linguistic background
  - ii. Educational and professional level
  - iii. Teachers' experience with ELP
  - iv. Teachers' needs and challenges
2. Learners' context
  - i. Linguistic background
  - ii. Parental educational and support level
  - iii. Students learning challenges and needs with ELP
  - iv. Teachers' understanding of students' needs



Categories used for document analysis were:

- i. Policy and action statements regarding English language policy
- ii. Justification and provisions for ELP in public schools.
- iii. Policy and action statements regarding teachers' responsibilities for practice of ELP in public schools.
- iv. Implementation status of different policy actions in AJ&K suggested by 2009 PNEP.

Analysis procedures used for these two rounds of data collection were also supported by the purpose of selecting mixed method approach, categories for quantitative approach were fairly narrow and focused on the definitions, demographic information, and status of the categories identified above (Hatch, 2002).

***Grounded coding.*** Qualitative data was coded by using the grounded theory (Charmaz, 2009). The multilevel and multilayered study design, along with the two rounds of data collected, also supported grounded coding for this research. Thus, the interview and focus group discussion data were coded inductively, and codes and categories were generated through grounded coding. These codes were then used to identify the topic domains (borrowing from Spradley, 1979) within each dataset. Interviews and focus group discussions were considered two separate datasets, and one interview and one focus group discussion were considered as one unit of one dataset. All domains generated through inductive coding of all units of both datasets were first used to compare and contrast the themes within and across all the units of the datasets, and afterwards across both datasets, to identify any relationships between them (Charmaz, 2009; Hatch, 2002). Here is a list of major themes that emerged from the grounded theory coding of qualitative data:

- i. Perceptions
- ii. Practices
- iii. Challenges
- iv. Strategies.

***Analysis across quantitative & qualitative data.*** The last stage of data analysis involved comparison and contrast of the domains and relationships generated through grounded coding, with the typological categories developed from data analyses.

### **Section III Challenges**

I confronted many challenges during the study, both in my physical capacity as a researcher during the process of research, and also in connection with the way this study was conducted and its relevance to other contexts. These challenges are discussed below.

#### **Positionality**

My positionality as a researcher in the field was as complicated as the language policy in practice in the schools I visited. My biggest challenge came from having the perspective of being an *insider* in the system, culture, and academia of this region. Being a local resident to the region of AJ&K provided me an edge that enabled me to understand the cultural and language practices of the region. Also, my background in education and involvement in higher education for some time in this region also helped in developing easier access to my research sites. However, these benefits were where the benefits of being an insider ceased. All levels of data collection involved complexities of their own, springing from my positionality in this region and research. While coming from a higher education institute in an area where there is no history of collaborative interaction between the higher and lower institutions, participants showed interest in my research, but with varied feelings. Some were enthusiastic that it would bring a change in schools

and others expressed doubts that it would prove to be another ‘short lived’ interest of the upper levels of academia.

Also, because I have no experience of being involved with these schools as a graduate student, other than as a public school student, this made it difficult for me to understand schools’ and teachers’ experiences. My personal “urban” context came into play within the context of the study as well. Many contextual issues in the rural schools presented critical insights as to my own positionality as a researcher. For example, these schools tended to view me as an “urban woman from a university”, and I found that my knowledge of regional dialects, my marital status, and children to be very useful in developing rapport with my participants. This also helped in lessening their perception of me as “coming from a highly developed world”.

### **Ethical Considerations**

The study was approved by the Michigan State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) as exempt before starting the data collection procedures in the field. Appropriate procedures were followed to ensure participants’ consent for their voluntary participation in the study. The study used pseudonyms for all the participants and schools involved in the study to protect confidentiality. Special arrangements were made to keep the research data safe in print and soft copy. All the printed data was kept under lock and key and the entire computer data was stored with pseudonyms on a password protected laptop by the researcher, to which only I have access.

### **Limitations**

This study had several limitations. The study was focused on a limited area and limited population of teachers, especially for the upper levels of policy development. The federal level was incorporated through documents only and no participant was included from that level to

develop insights beyond what the policy explains. Because the study was based in only six schools of only one district of AJ&K, the findings cannot be generalized to all of Pakistan. The very nature of a vertical case study also suggests that developing multiple studies of the same nature and design in horizontal contexts helps to triangulate findings. In addition, the study does not include gender as an indicator at the school level to identify the language policy implementation in the context of girls' and boys' schools in AJ&K, or male or female teachers.

Methodologically, the quantitative dataset was very small and used descriptively to validate or triangulate the qualitative data in the study.

#### **Section IV**

#### **Connecting across Method & Design: Summing Up**

This chapter presented the design, study approach, and research challenges for this study. This vertical, multilevel and multilayered case study was developed using a qualitatively dominant mixed method approach to explore the different layers and levels of ELP in AJ&K. The study makes use of multiple research areas to develop a holistic picture of language policy through practice.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **LOOKING BEYOND THE POLICY DOCUMENTS– PERSPECTIVES AND PRACTICES OF STATE AND SCHOOL LEVEL ADMINISTRATORS**

This chapter presents the perspectives and current practices of state and school level policy administrators in the implementation of the English Language Policy (ELP) in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K) public schools in Pakistan. Specifically, this chapter explores the roles, understandings, and stances of state level policy administrators and local school leadership with reference to the current status of implementation of ELP in public schools in Muzaffarabad, AJ&K. An understanding of the state and school level implementation challenges will help to explore the policy gaps in the practice of ELP.

The chapter is comprised of three main sections – the first section discusses the perspectives, stances, and roles of selected state policy administrators regarding the implementation and translation of ELP for local schools. The second section of the chapter focuses on local school leadership and presents the data findings in connection with their role in the ELPs implementation. This section also identifies the challenges faced during the implementation of ELP in schools. The third section of the chapter connects the first two sections in order to develop a comprehensive picture of the different aspects of ELP implementation at the state and local levels.

This chapter discusses the implementation scenario of ELP and presents the perspectives of state level policy administrators and local school principals regarding policy implementation in public schools. Specifically, this chapter presents the local and state administrators' perspectives regarding ELP, with reference to its implementation status, strategies, plans to

translate this policy into practice at the school level, and the challenges or limitations experienced during the process of implementation.

This chapter presents the findings from two groups of policy implementers who participated in the study:

- i. State policy administrators, and
- ii. Local school principals.

State policy administrators selected for the study are the first and middle rank policy administrators who are responsible for the development, planning, and implementation of the 2009 PNEP at the state level. The participants were selected based on their role in the 2009 PNEP, and they were part of the 2009 state policy review team – an officially designated group who looked into the different aspects of the 2009 PNEP in AJ&K. Two of these policy administrators were part of the team responsible for the monitoring and evaluation of the current status of 2009 PNEP implementation in the public schools of AJ&K. The participating local school leaders are the school principals who served as administrative heads of the selected public schools for the study. These principals serve a very important function in the process of policy implementation, by providing an administrative link between school teachers and state policy administrators. School principals are directly involved with teachers, and thus they provide rich insights into the policy practice and implementation in the schools. All six participating principals were interviewed once for the first round of data collection, while follow-up interviews were conducted with three of these principals whose schools were selected for the second round of data collection, based on the preliminary data findings of the first round. Table 7 presents the details of the participants of the study

**Table 7: Details of the Participants of the Study**

<b>Description of Participants</b>	<b>No of Participants</b>	<b>Data sources</b>	<b>Total Interactions</b>	<b>Research Site</b>
Public school principals	6	Semi-structured interviews	9	3 urban and 3 rural public schools in Muzaffarabad.
State policy administrators and implementers	4	Semi-structured interviews	9	State Education Directorate Muzaffarabad, AJ&K

There were six principals and four state policy administrators who were purposefully selected for the study based on the nature of their job and location (please see chapter 4 for reference). Selection of four state policy administrators was made based on the nature of their job and placement in the State Education Directorate of schools related to the 2009 policy implementation and work. The interview protocols for all semi-structured interviews were informed by the preliminary analysis of data collected from public school teachers conducted in the earlier phases of both rounds of data collection. All interviews were audio taped, coded, and then analyzed. Data results are presented under the headings of state policy administrators and school principals.

### **Section I**

#### **State Level Policy Administrators**

Four state policy administrators were interviewed to gather data from state level policy administration in order to understand the processes and procedures followed during ELP development and implementation in public schools. Two of these participants were middle level state policy administrators – named as mid-level administrator-1 and mid-level administrator-2 and two of them were high level state policy officials – named as high level official-1 and high level official-2. The middle level policy administrators were selected based on the nature of their job, which is most concerned with the planning and implementation of the 2009 PNEP in the

state of AJ&K. the high level policy officials were selected based on their role in the policy and decision making processes at the state level. It is important to mention that the titles used for administrators and officials are only used for the sake of naming and identifying these state level policy administrators for my study. They have nothing to do with their official job titles.

Generally, “state level policy administrators” is used to refer to all administrators and officials.

The findings in relation to the state level administrators are discussed under two headings:

- i. Administrators’ Stance and Perspective on ELP, and
- ii. Types and Nature of Implementation Challenges and the Role of the State Education Department in ELP Implementation in Public Schools.

### **Administrators’ Stances and Perspectives on ELP**

In this section, the perspective and stance of state level policy administrators is discussed in relation to the ELP in public schools. In doing so, I explore the probable factors that contributed and led to the policy changes regarding the medium of instruction in public schools.

**Need of ELP in public schools.** The interview data reveals that the state policy administrators favored ELP implementation in public schools, based on the official status of the English language in Pakistan, and also on the use of English as a language of science and technology. Mid-level administrator-1 identified the need for English to be taught in schools during his interview: “English is needed; it is OUR official language and also is the language of science and math.”

These mid-level administrators also commented on the issue of using Urdu as a parallel or as the only medium of instruction in schools. Mid-level administrator-1 said,



We [State of AJ&K] couldn't do it [Urdu instruction in education for all levels].

Translation is a huge issue, and it [translation] is also a needed area to be worked on [along with many other things] and it [work on translation] could be done, but you know, there is not much done in that area [ever] to cover the language gap. So we needed to switch to the English medium to address this gap in knowledge.

This argument, however, arises another question – whether developing certain institutes to handle the translations from English to Urdu could have been an easier process for the State Department of Education to manage, or to change the policy and medium of instruction, which happened in 2009. Another important fact to mention here is that English is not the official language of the state of AJ&K, unlike Pakistan, is Urdu. Thus, the claim made here by the state policy administrators is true at the federal level of Pakistan, where English is the official language, but not for the state of AJ&K.

**Role of private schools in the education language policy shift in Pakistan.** All four policy administrators mentioned the perceived role of private schools in Pakistan, which they viewed as playing a role in developing community acceptance and public demand for ELP in education across Pakistan. Mid-level administrator-2 explained, “Look, if all kids are going to private schools for English education, this is what people want and we have no options if we have to serve the public, we will have to take care of what they want and they want English medium schools.”

Developing acceptance and demand for English medium instruction is not the only aspect for which policy administrators referred to private schools as a motivating force; they also drew other comparisons between private and public schools in terms of private schools' better management and school enrollment, compared to public schools in AJ&K. For example, high

level policy official-2 said, “Public schools are performing very poorly. The only solution to get public schools to work better is to put them under private management.” Mid-level policy administrator-1 also stated that management is better in private schools, as is better teaching at the beginning of the school year:

Private schools usually start their school year in a very rigorous manner. These [schools] work very hard in the beginning of the school year to do their best. They have to capture the students’ attention and maximize their enrollment in the beginning of the year, so they have no other option. On the other hand, public schools are very lazy and begin their year very slow (MLPA-1, interview2)

This policy administrator also said that public schools generally use students’ low school attendance and lack of availability of textbooks to justify their lower teaching activities and efforts at the beginning of the school year.

This argument is very interesting when it is compared with this administrator’s position in an earlier interview, in which he stated, “Textbooks were not published in the first year after the [ELP] notification in public schools” (MLPA-1, interview1). “Notification” is an official order generally issued by the concerned department for an official change or switch to happen through an administrative order. The lack of availability of textbooks at the beginning of the school year is a real and recurrent issue, as confirmed by other data sources and participants during the study. Thus, the unavailability of textbooks does not appear to be an ‘excuse’ in this context. It is important to mention here that all public schools in Pakistan follow a federally approved textbook policy. For example, the 2009 PNEP now gives a mandate to states and provinces to maintain their own boards to manage textbooks.

The other argument of mid-level policy administrator-1 regarding the low attendance of students at the start of the school year contains some truth. During my observations, which took place at the start of the school year, all schools appeared to have low student attendance. In fact, teachers mentioned during these visits that they [teachers] could be more available to participate in the study because students are usually absent in the earlier weeks of the school year. However, these teachers also did not provide a reason for students' absence during this time period. Other data sources and discussions with principals and policy officials revealed that increased student absence at the beginning of the school year is based on a mutual/shared perception of both students and teachers in public schools. Teachers stated that teaching is slow because students are absent, and students stated that they do not come to school at the beginning of the year due to the lack of teaching.

All four policy administrators shared the belief that ELP will not only improve public schools, but will also lead to the improvement of private schools in the region. They argued that private schools now have to compete against the public sector, and that this will lead to a healthy competition between public and private schools. High level policy official-2 stated, "Now private schools have to prove and justify their worth as they are not the only one to teach using the English medium."

### **Role of the State Education Department in the Implementation of ELP**

The state level administrators reported that the AJ&K Department of Education played a passive role in both the planning and implementation stages of 2009 PNEP. Both mid-level policy administrators-1 and 2 explained that the Department of Education was a part of the 2009 policy development with the federal government. The interview data suggests that the Department of Education played a passive role in the policy planning, conceptualization, and

implementation phases, by overlooking the needs and requirements for a pre-assessment to determine institutional capacity. Consequently, this led to delayed implementation of ELP for five years because of poor institutional capacity at the school level, which hindered the effective implementation of the policy. Based on these reported state level development and implementation issues, the following factors were identified that created implementation challenges for ELP in public schools:

- i. Obscure role of State Department of Education in policy development
- ii. Poor planning and absence of pre-assessment of existing institutional capacity
- iii. Lack of commitment and resistance in teachers
- iv. Political and bureaucratic management structures at the elementary level

**i. Obscure Role of state level administrators in policy making.** Data reveals that state level policy administrators were part of the 2009 PNEP. However, the likely implementation challenges of this education policy, such as lack of institutional capacity and limitation of planning and implementation management skills, were either not clearly explained to the federal department or were used to the benefit of the state of AJ&K during the policy development stages. Mid-level policy persons explained their role in the development of the 2009 PNEP. Mid-level policy administrator-2 said, “We were part of the process through which the initial draft of the national education policy was shaped in Pakistan. The Department of Education of AJ&K also provided feedback during different phases of this policy development” (Interview 1). None of the policy administrators specified the type and nature of the feedback that they provided to the federal government of Pakistan. However, their responses seemed to suggest that they did not feel a great need to provide their opinion about needs assessment prior to policy implementation

and budget allocation, by the federal government, because “the federal government knows [already], because this is how it is everywhere in Pakistan” (MLPA-1, interview2).

- ii. **Poor planning and absence of pre-assessment of existing institutional capacity in connection with the ELP implementation.** The review of policy documents (see chapter 3) indicates that ELP implementation was recommended in the 2009 PNEP, and a maximum period of five years was given to the provinces and to the state of AJ&K to implement the policy across all public schools. However, this study shows that while the state of AJ&K notified schools of the required policy implementation in 2013, the actual shift took another year to fully implement because of the lack of availability of textbooks by the state of AJ&K. As reported by middle-level policy administrator-1, “The state of AJ&K was part of the assessment and development process for this policy and then it was finally adopted in December 2012, but it was only on paper as we are still in the process of working out the details of its application.”

In relation to the delayed implementation of ELP in public schools, state administrators identified that no pre-implementation assessment was carried out by the Department of Education. This lack of pre-implementation assessment created issues of poor institutional capacity and resource misalignment in terms of hiring qualified teachers, professional development, and printing textbooks in the proper time. The details of these factors are provided below.

***No prior assessment of teaching staff done before ELP implementation.*** Policy officials confirmed that no assessment was performed to learn about the current qualifications of teachers currently employed in public schools before the policy was officially implemented in the schools. Additionally, no training or professional development was planned or provided to teachers prior to the policy change in the schools. One policy official said, “It was notified in a

separate notification to the schools that medium of instruction will be English for grade four and onwards and it changed the medium for school.” He also stated:

Urdu: *humari sab se bari deficiency jo thi wo ye thi ke hume schoolon ke under teachers ko wo training nahi thi ya iss se pehley hum nay ye workout bhi nahi kea tha ka teachers ki qualification kea he.*

Translation: Our biggest deficiency was that teachers inside the schools did not have that training (that was needed to apply the policy inside the classrooms) and neither did we assess/map out/workout the current qualifications of teachers.

Thus, no prior assessment of teachers’ qualifications was preformed, nor was training provided prior to “notifying” them of the change in policy. In this case, officials identified the gaps in the implementation of the policy; specifically, the need for an assessment of teachers’ qualifications, which needed to be completed before the policy change, or parallel to its implementation. Middle level administrators also identified the gaps which needed to be addressed prior to policy implementation. These included an assessment of the qualifications of teachers in order to define and develop new teaching qualification criteria with reference to the new policy for English and STEM (science, technology, English, and math) subject qualified teachers, and whether the current teaching force was able to implement the ELP. Mid-level state policy administrator-1 identified that, “We never run any assessments before nor during transition and the current issues in implementation are all springing from this lack of assessment, which should have been done prior to the change.”

***Delayed instructional material printing and availability.*** Policy administrators confirmed the delayed availability of textbooks in public schools after the policy change, but no reasons were provided for this delay. One policy official also said that even after schools were

notified of the new AJ&K textbook requirement, books were not printed for almost one half of the first academic year. Thus, the Department of Education made provisions for this situation and allowed schools to use whichever books were available, such as the Punjab textbook or the Oxford and Gaba publication.

Both mid-level policy administrators said that changes in old textbooks were needed because of the ELP, and also because textbooks had not been updated since 1992. Both of these administrators also mentioned that new books “are very challenging for teachers.” Mid-level policy administrator-2, who was involved in the field review of these textbooks, in which the Department of Education conducted surveys with teachers and students about their opinions of the textbooks, said that textbooks were “intentionally” prepared in a challenging way. The administrator stated that teachers would have to work harder to learn how to teach using these books, or “this [lack of ability to teach using these books] would lead to teachers' humiliation inside the classroom. This social pressure inside the classroom makes teachers strive harder to change and to also work harder, which otherwise they are not willing to do” (MLPA-2, interview 2). This policy administrator also shared his experience during the survey administration to teachers and students regarding textbooks. He specifically shared his experience in a difficult geographical area to reach, in which, teachers shared their difficulties related to the books and the policy change in the public schools: “Now teachers are entrapped with the change and they need to work hard” (MLPA-2, interview2).

While reflecting on the lack of availability of books and students' low attendance in the beginning of every academic year, it is apparent from multiple data sources that both schools and department administration are aware of the recurrent nature of these issues. However, it seems that no schools or administrators had constructed plans to address these issues, with strategies to

avoid them in the future. Schools and department administration apparently lacked the will and capacity to address these implementation challenges. Having no strategic plan or study of past issues leads to the same crisis every year.

- iii. **Lack of commitment and resistance in teachers.** Both high- and mid-level policy administrators mentioned that there is a significant lack of commitment from many teachers, which is an issue impeding successful ELP implementation. They stated that the lack of professional commitment from teachers leads to resistance to any new policy changes, and ELP is no exception. High-level policy official-1 commented, “It is a shame to see that teachers are now paid 100,000 rupees in salaries per month by the government, but they are not willing to work for an additional few hours to learn anything new.” Mid-level policy administrator-2 also mentioned this resistance of teachers to ELP and said, “Resistance is not new, teachers traditionally resist any new changes in the schools. This is stronger and more visible in rural and hard to reach areas and in older generation of teachers.”

Although administrators used teacher resistance as one reason for the difficulty of implementing the policy change, such resistance was only expressed by two of the 27 teacher participants (see *older generation of teachers* in chapter 6).

- iv. **Political and bureaucratic management structures at the elementary level.** Mid-level state policy administrators also highlighted the issue of lack of accountability as one of the major factors for the poor monitoring of ELP implementation in AJ&K public schools. These administrators identified contradictory political and bureaucratic monitoring structures currently working at the elementary level as an important issue in the successful implementation of ELP in AJ&K.



It is important to explain these monitoring structures before discussing the findings related to this aspect of implementation. Currently, dual administrative positions, which include cluster in-charges and assistant education officers (AEO), exist at the district level in AJ&K. These district level management personnel are responsible for managing and monitoring elementary schools' performance, allocation of the school budget, and matters related to teachers, such as their attendance, disbursement of their salaries, promotions, and transfers. A cluster is defined as a group of five to six elementary schools located within a specified area, which is overseen by a neighborhood high school principal, who is referred to as the cluster in-charge. The responsibility of the cluster in-charge is to monitor the elementary schools working in his neighborhood. On the other hand, AEOs are appointed among the senior teachers working in different high schools, and they are also responsible for monitoring elementary schools. However, the difference lies in the administrative authority and fiscal power that these two designations hold. An AEO has the power to disburse or withhold salaries of elementary teachers, while a cluster in-charge has no actual authority over financial or other matters of elementary schools, thus making the nature of their job more symbolic than administrative. Both mid-level state administrators identified the issues of political interference and poor accountability because of the roles of both AEOs and cluster in-charges. Because these positions hold similar responsibilities, the existence of both weakens the process of monitoring at the elementary level. This muddles the process of monitoring, which is needed to ensure the effective implementation of ELP.

Both mid-level policy administrators identified the problematic and political nature of AEO. They explained that AEO positions are political in nature and are used as a political incentive for chosen teachers, which make these teachers' jobs political, rather than academic or

educational, in nature. Mid-level policy administrator-2 mentioned that the very nature of an AEO's job (monitoring and payment authority), along with the political nature of the position encourages corruption, and many elementary teachers "never get what they are entitled to." In response to a question regarding why elementary teachers who are deprived of their salaries by AEOs do not lodge complaints, one policy administrator responded,

In some cases, either these teachers do not know how to launch the complaint or they do not have access to the right persons. But in most cases, there is a possibility that these teachers might not be living in an area where a school is functioning and may not be performing their duty properly by being absent from school for prolonged period of time. Thus, they corrupt them to cover their own corruption.

In order to ensure better management of ELP implementation, mid-level policy administrator-1 suggested that cluster in-charges of elementary schools should be given more administrative authority to perform their jobs. They also stressed the need to de-politicize the district level monitoring structures by strengthening the system of accountability and ensuring transparency. Thus, according to these mid-level state administrators, these layers of administrative complexity also contribute to the ineffective implementation of ELP in elementary schools.

Multiple sources of data suggest that a number of issues present in the implementation of ELP are not new. Lack of responsiveness from the AJ&K Department of Education to address the pre-existing and pre-defined challenges related to institutional capacity and resource misalignment that was already identified by the 2009 PNEP further added to these challenges, thereby making the implementation of ELP complicated for local actors. It is apparent from the data above that there is still a lack of assessment to ensure successful ELP implementation at

every level, from schools to the Department of Education. According to state level policy administrators, some of the challenges were created because of the passive role of the Department of Education during the process of development and implementation of ELP. Other issues that they identified lie in the inherent structures and practices of the education system in AJ&K, such as lack of commitment from teachers to the process of change and the political nature of monitoring structures at the district level.

## **Section II**

### **School Principals**

This section presents school principals' perspectives on ELP in their schools. My goals for interviewing the school principals were 1) to identify and voice the challenges that they face during the implementation of ELP in their schools, and 2) to identify their role and understanding as an institutional head in the policy implementation process.

Before discussing the findings, I provide the demographics of the schools' principals, because this information provides an overview of the participants and the work context in relation to policy implementation.

#### **Demographics of School Principals**

All of the participating school principals had a range of 20-30 years of combined administrative and teaching experience in various schools, both in rural and urban settings. Public school principals in Pakistan generally begin their professional career as teachers in schools, and they are then appointed as principals after a certain number of years of experience. Initial appointments of all principals in this analysis were as teachers in different public schools; after a certain number of years as senior teachers, they were appointed as principals in different schools. Two of the principals shared that their first appointment as a principal was in a smaller rural school, and after some job experience they were able to get a chance to head a larger urban

school. One school principal who is currently heading a rural school (Rural High school-1 – RHS-1) served in a state training institute for in-service teachers for many years. Thus, the principals' experiences of working as teachers, working with teachers as principals, and working with the state Department of Education help them understand the teachers' and Department of Education's challenges.

In the following sections, the findings fall into three areas: principals' perspectives on the change in the language policy; the role and positionality of the principals in the emerging ELP discourse; and the challenges of change.

### **Principals' Perspective of Change in the Language Policy**

This section of the chapter presents the findings related to the principals' stances and their understandings of the ELP. In addition, this section also sheds light on their roles as institutional heads in the implementation of ELP in their respective schools.

**Principals' stance on ELP in public schools.** Although there was an agreement among all participant principals about the need and usability of ELP in the public schools in AJ&K, there was a slight difference of opinion about the appropriate grade level to switch as per recommendation by the 2009 PNEP.

The next subsection will present these two aspects of their stance regarding the implementation of ELP in their schools.

***Agreement on ELP as a strategic move to respond to public demand and to address the international commitments.*** Principals identified the absence of English medium teaching in public schools as one of the major factors responsible for low enrollment at the primary level. These principals reported that currently there is a general perception among the public that English education is equivalent to good education. Thus, parents prefer to send their children to

private schools, where English is used as the primary medium of instruction. On the other hand, Pakistan became a signatory of Education for All (EFA) in 1990, and it is committed to the achievement of the goals of universal enrollment at the primary level. To meet the pressures and needs of these international demands, the government decided to change the medium of instruction in all public schools. Participant principals argued that the community trend towards English medium private schools in AJ&K has caused low enrollment rates in public schools, especially at the primary level, which caused the medium of instruction policy to shift in the 2009 PNEP. The principal of Urban High School-3 mentioned that a large number of private schools working in every neighborhood is a good indicator of the existence of this pro-English medium attitude in the community. Another participant, the principal of Rural High School-2, said that more private schools are operating in every area, even in hard to reach regions of AJ&K. Referring to this pro-English and private school trend among the community, he stated, “These schools use an English medium slogan and a pant-shirt and tie as a [school] uniform, and you know, people buy these as symbols of good education and thus send their kids there”.

The interesting aspect of this perspective is that this opinion was also echoed by urban school principals, although they were not experiencing any enrollment challenges in their schools. All urban school principals reported that “unlike rural schools,” enrollment is not an issue in their schools. As reported by Urban High School-1 principal, “There is no issue with the enrollment in this school, we have more students than we can accommodate here.” To connect it with the earlier part of discussion, in which principals’ previous experience with the English medium is discussed, two of these urban schools were already running English medium classes even before the official ELP implementation for all public schools.

On the other hand, an increase in enrollment at the primary level is still a concern for rural schools, and they have devised strategies to increase enrollment in their schools as per instruction of the Department of Education. All rural principals shared that they motivate their teachers and make them responsible for increasing school enrollment. In fact, talks with these rural school principals revealed that many public schools experiencing lower enrollment have devised a policy for their teachers by making them responsible for bringing a certain number of students to their schools every year. For example, rural school-3 principal said, “Every teacher is supposed to bring at least five to ten children to school.”

***Difference of opinion about the appropriate grade level for medium change.*** This study also shows a difference of opinion among participant principals about the appropriate grade level to begin English medium instruction in schools. Four principals agreed with the suggested grade level of fourth grade to switch to the medium of instruction, as recommended by the policy. However, two of the principals mentioned that if the medium needs to be changed, it should be changed from the beginning of formal schooling or at grade one. The principal of Rural High School-2 said, “An earlier switch will be more helpful than wasting three more years with an Urdu medium when the students have to ultimately switch to an English medium starting in grade four.” On the other hand, the principal of Urban High school-2 agreed with the suggested grade level for the policy implementation. He said, “Fourth grade is a right grade to begin with [English medium], as children will be too young to start before that.” He further stated, “If we need to go lower than this, we should wait for some time and let people digest and adjust to this change first.”

Although a difference of opinion about the appropriate grade level for the medium change was observed, principals did not strongly contest or argue this point. Principals tended to

ultimately to say that if government has decided to start English medium instruction at grade four, there are likely some administrative or other factors involved in this choice.

**Experience with English medium.** There were variations in principals' experience with English medium teaching in their schools. Out of the six participating principals, two urban high school principals had prior experience teaching optional English medium classes from sixth grade onwards in their schools. In contrast, all three rural schools and one urban school had no prior experience of teaching in the English medium before the official policy switch for all public schools in AJ&K in 2013. All principals mentioned that English was already taught as a subject from first grade in all schools prior to ELP implementation. Thus, the medium shift for science and math was the actual policy change that took place for at least four of these schools.

The two urban high school principals had the English medium of instruction as an option in their schools for more than a decade. Having prolonged experience of teaching in English helped these principals with the transition to the mandatory medium shift for all students, including elementary students. These principals also had a sufficient and experienced teaching staff, which they utilized for teaching English medium classes at the elementary level after the ELP implementation in public schools. While sharing their experiences with English medium teaching, the principal of Urban High School-2 stated that he has four sections in his school for the tenth grade. Two of these four sections involved teaching science classes using English, while one section of the science classes was offered in Urdu. The fourth section of the tenth grade offered arts and technical education, which was taught in Urdu. This indicates that even before the policy shift in AJ&K, this school had a focus on English medium instruction, especially for science-related subjects, and was well prepared for the change.

The urban elementary school did not have optional English medium instruction available, but the other two urban schools with prior optional English medium instruction were high schools with a large number of students and staff. On the other hand, none of the rural school principals had prior experience with English medium classes in their schools. This lack of experience, coupled with a shortage of teaching staff in general, and trained staff to teach in English in particular, made the experience of transition quite challenging.

The next section illustrates the perceived role and positioning of the public school principals in the new ELP implementation discourse in relation to their teachers and state policy administrators in AJ&K public schools. This section provides an understanding of where these principals placed themselves in the implementation chain of policy. This section also helps in understanding their relationship with school teachers and state policy officials.

### **Role and Positionality of the Principals in the Emerging ELP Discourse**

Data reveals important insights about the role of these principals in the administrative hierarchy of policy implementation between the state and the schools. My data analysis revealed that the mediating role of the principals was connected to the way these principals identified and positioned themselves in the process of implementation. Part of this data came from observations of the principals' roles and the way they facilitated access to their schools and teachers. The other part of this data emerged from discussions with teachers about the role of the principal and their relationship with the principal in connection with the new ELP in their schools. Also, an important portion of data came from discussions with principals about the way they positioned themselves during the implementation of ELP in their schools. While interviewing the principals, their gestures, body language, and behaviors were also observed while they interacted with their



teaching staff, which provided interesting insights into the relationships of these principals with their teachers.

In relation to these principals' positionality, they appeared to position themselves with reference to teachers in three different patterns. Two of the principals physically positioned themselves in alignment with their teachers when I visited their schools for the initial data collection. Specifically, some principals left their chair to join the teachers on the other side of the table. Both of them responded and interacted more in a similar fashion with their teachers, and they discussed issues related to the policy change with their teachers. They also did not leave their teachers during the initial phase of data collection, and their attitude was more protective in nature since they did not hesitate in providing privacy for the individual interviewees when requested.

This first pattern of principals' positioning in relation to teachers was adopted by two principals, from the rural middle school and urban elementary school, who chose to stay during my visits to their schools for my initial interactions with their teachers. These principals left their traditional administrative chair and sat with their teachers during my visits to their schools and during our discussions. This physical relocation was highly noticeable, because none of the other participating principals relocated themselves or sat in the same type of chair as their teachers; and instead they kept their usual administrative place during the visit. It is important to mention that principals' chairs and tables have a distinct shape and position compared to other chairs present in the office for teachers or other visitors in AJ&K.

The second pattern of positioning was adopted by three principals from various high schools – urban high school-1, urban high school-2, and rural high school-2. Observation of and interaction with their principals revealed that they positioned themselves in a middle position

between teachers and policy officials. On the one hand, they demonstrated a sympathetic attitude regarding the challenges and issues their teaching staff face, while on the other hand they showed the administrative perspective of the state official by citing the political and other constraints that hinder smooth policy implementation. These principals apparently maintained a good working relationship with their teachers, and they provided me with privacy and space to talk with the teachers whenever it was requested. These principals, particularly those from both urban high schools, acknowledged the challenges for teachers in following the ELP in their schools. However, they did not express concern that the policy would fail in their schools, because of the presence of a large and diverse teaching staff. One exception to this observation was the principal of Rural High School-2, who was not as privileged in terms of staff availability or skills. This principal clearly positioned himself in the middle of the implementation process and showed great concern and understanding for his teachers, due to their lack of training to teach following the ELP guidelines, while also suggesting that official procedures took a long time in providing the necessary training to teachers. Thus, he personally arranged in-service workshops for his teachers prior to the beginning of the academic year, when the new language policy would be instituted in schools. His previous background of working with a state-run, in-service teacher professional development program helped him greatly in accomplishing this goal.

The third type of positionality in connection with teachers was demonstrated by the principal of Rural High school-1, who expressed an authoritative stance towards her teachers and appeared to align herself with the top administrative hierarchy in the ELP implementation. Specifically, she expressed a strict accountability stance towards her teachers, and she criticized them for their “failure of meeting the standards for state mandated tests” after the implementation of ELP in her school. This principal appeared to have a stricter accountability

stance for her teachers than any of the other principals interviewed. The discussion below is an example of the types of interactions I had with this principal, during which the principal of Rural High School-2 was also present.

Rural High School-1 principal: How did your school perform (in the recent fifth grade state mandated tests)?

Rural high School-2 principal: Ours was good.

Rural High School-1 principal: Ours was pretty bad; teachers didn't do well.

Teachers in this school also mentioned that they have felt alone during the implementation of ELP, and that their relationship with their principal is strained. A teacher from Rural High School-1 mentioned the communication which took place during staff meetings between teachers and the principal. This teacher characterized these conversations as mostly one way or top down, in which teachers must "listen and no questions are taken." This principal also did not provide private space to have discussions with teachers during the formal data collection process. Many discussions that occurred outside of this formal data collection process with teachers proved more fruitful. This principal insisted on having interviews conducted with teachers in her office while she was present for the first round of data collection. For the second round, I was able to obtain a separate space to hold individual interviews with the teachers. However, one of her office assistants or teachers remained in the room for all the individual interviews. The participating teachers talked more once the round of formal interviews was complete and the principal or her appointed teacher left during informal discussions.

Principals' perceived roles of themselves are important since these perspectives define their relationship with their teachers and with the upper hierarchy of state administrators. The way that principals position themselves in relation to both of these important levels of policy

implementing actors and practitioners can greatly impact the implementation of policy. The example quoted above, about the principal of Rural High School-2, provides great insights into the importance of finding a balanced position in the implementation of a policy. Such a stance and position can significantly increase the chances of successful policy implementation on the one hand, while on the other hand, it can address the limitations of a policy while in practice.

The next section explores the implementation challenges of ELP reported by the public school principals.

### **Principals' Identified Challenges in the Implementation of ELP in Public schools**

Participant principals identified a number of challenges in the implementation of ELP in their schools, which was aptly described by the principal of Rural High School-2 as “bumpy.”

These challenges are grouped under three categories:

- i. Context-related challenges, such as school location, community poverty, students' background, new learning and teaching demands inside the classroom, and pressure of private schools operating in the area;
- ii. Institutional capacity-related challenges, such as lack of required and qualified teaching staff, lack or delayed availability of instructional resources, lack of professional support to prepare the teachers for the change, or absence and lack of relevant professional development resources for teachers; and
- iii. Administrative challenges, such as political interference, and high stake testing.

#### **Context Related Challenges.**

Context related challenges are identified as school location in terms of rural/urban location, community poverty, students' background, new learning and teaching demands inside

the classroom, and the pressure of private schools operating in the area. Below is a description of each of these context related challenges.

***School location.*** Principals identified that the rural or urban setting in which a school operates plays a significant role in defining the implementation challenges for ELP. Rural communities tend to have a higher poverty ratio and lower education levels and resources available for children attending public schools. Furthermore, all principals, including those who are currently heading urban schools, attested that the English language policy brought particular challenges for rural communities, since rural children have the lowest interactions with English language compared to urban children. Extreme community poverty is characterized by the least provisions and resource allocation for rural schools as compared to urban schools, making the shift in the language policy even more challenging for these schools. Thus, the school context plays an important role in defining the implementation challenges for ELP.

***Community poverty.*** Community poverty was mentioned as the biggest challenge by principals in the process of policy implementation in the public schools. The principal of Rural High School-2 said,

Urdu: *rona aata he logon ki ghurbaat dekh ker, he hi nahi kuch logo kay paas wo kea kerien? Mujhay yahan aa ker undaza ho kay kitni ghurbaat he public school me aanien waly bucho me, kea kerien?*

Translation: One feels like crying when he sees the extreme poverty of the people who send their children to our [public] school. People literally have nothing, what can they do then? I only realized the extreme of poverty in public school children after getting placed in this rural school; we are helpless.

All school principals mentioned that no community support, financial or otherwise, exists for public schools in general.

***Students' background.*** Principals identified students' background as a significant challenge in the implementation of ELP in public schools. The principals identified “students' background” as the academic and educational level of parents and their orientation towards learning and school. Principals shared that elementary school children coming to the public school for the first time have extreme challenges in education, since they do not have a “supportive learning environment” and “resources available at their homes.” Lacking these two important factors to succeed in school in the “majority of public school learners” was challenging for schools, even with the Urdu medium of instruction policy; with the ELP now in place in public schools and no change in the background factors of current students, this has led to further complications.

***Impact of private schools in policy perception and implementation.*** Private schools present an interesting challenge for public school principals in the ELP implementation in public schools. Notably, all public school principals mentioned private schools in their discussions, and they compared the performance of the private schools operating in their area with the performance of the public schools. Private schools are the protagonists and forerunners of ELP in the Pakistani school system, and they have a definite edge compared to the public schools, since these schools are just beginning with English instruction as part of the mandatory national policy. In addition, at times only a few well performing private schools are used in public and political discourse, as examples of the better performance of all private schools compared to public schools, especially in terms of enrollment and academic performance of students on state mandated tests. It is easier to see why public school principals feel and appear defensive when

discussing private schools working in their neighborhood. For instance, Urban High School-1 principal remarked, “Private schools in our area are doing worse than the public schools.” He based his argument on his experience as a principal of a public school, where he was mandated to admit students coming from private schools and had to place many of these students in lower grades to improve their basic literacy skills. He said,

Urdu: *jitnay school he yahan per yakeen kerien unkay bucho ko likhna nahi aata. Hum dakhlay ko encourage kertay hen iss leya un ko le letay hen , lekin unhien lower grade me dalna perta he.*

Translation: Believe me, all the [private] schools we have in this area, their children cannot even write. We encourage enrollment in public schools; thus, we have to take them. But we always have to place them in lower grades than what they have come from.

Another example is the statement of a rural middle school principal, who said,

Not all private institutions are imparting quality education. These (schools) use fake results to make parents happy and thus give false hopes to them that their children are succeeding in schools. If there are ten students enrolled in a class, half of them will be declared to stand first in exam placement and the other half will be placed second to develop a false sense of achievement among parents about their children academic success. This is not true; thus, children usually dropout or do really bad in higher grades in private schools and then parents take them to us to get them into the public schools and expect us to overcome the years of damage that private schools have caused.”

It appears as if private schools place a great psychological pressure on the principals of public schools; and when ELP is mentioned, they consistently draw comparisons with the private schools operating in the region to make their case. However, it is important to mention that not all the comparisons and examples quoted by the principals about the low performance of private schools are unfounded. Other data sources, such as the policy documents and interviews with other policy actors, also attest to many of these issues. Apparently, there are both good and bad private schools, and this is true for public schools working in AJ&K as well.

***New learning and teaching demands.*** All principals attested to the fact that their teachers are generally confused by the new policy changes and are overwhelmed. According to the principals, their teachers' challenges have also increased with the current learning and teaching demands inside the classrooms, which have become very different from before in traditional public school classrooms, in less than a decade. The principals said that the new population of students in the classrooms is very active and demands better teaching.

The principals believed that the current learners in public school classrooms “are smarter and bolder because of their better access to media and other digital media,” and they have the ability to pose difficult questions to their teachers. Based on my interactions with teachers, I believe that more than ability, it is a question of how students currently view themselves and their relationship with their teachers in the classrooms. In a traditional classroom, teaching used to be a one way activity, where the teacher had the right to ask most questions and learners were passive receptors. Currently, this dynamic has changed because of many factors, and access to technology is one of these factors. Interactions with the principals revealed how these rural and urban school children develop their access to technology, especially with limited resources. The principal of Rural High School-2 said, “All these children are smart in developing access to all



these resources [even though they do not have financial means to get them inside the homes] and may get it outside their homes and schools, through friends and other rental places; you know families and schools are not prepared to meet this challenge.”

Overall, teachers do not feel prepared to satisfy their students. The situation is critical for teachers in two ways – it poses new challenges for classroom teaching, for which teachers are not ready and were never prepared for; and second is the social challenge of this change for teachers, with the inability to respond well to their students’ questions and demands, leading to a lack of respect. This is a major challenge, because teachers traditionally enjoyed a high and exalted social position in Pakistani society. The principal of Rural High School-2 remarked, “Parents, home, teachers, school-- no one is prepared for the new learning challenges that children are now bringing to all of us with their new technological access to media and mobiles.”

When connecting the issue of new learning and teaching demands with the lack of prepared teachers, schools, and other segments of society who do not have the skill or willingness to deal with the educational situation and the challenges presented by ELP, it is not difficult to see what consequences this policy has for principals and other implementers in the future.

In general, school location, community poverty, students’ socio-economic background, pressures imposed by the wide growth of private schools, and changes in students’ learning orientation are a few of the important context specific factors that pose challenges in the effective implementation of ELP in selected public schools.

### **Institutional Capacity and Resource Alignment Challenges**

Institutional capacity and resource alignment are identified as important factors in the effective implementation of any educational policy and reform; however, school principals

reported that less attention has been paid to building institutional capacity and to ensuring resource alignment for the effective implementation of ELP. In this respect, principals identified the challenges related to the resources needed for the successful implementation of ELP in public schools, such as instructional resources and textbooks, and challenges related to the availability and preparedness of teachers needed for ELP. These challenges include a shortage of teachers, lack of qualified staff, resistance by teachers to following ELP guidelines, and an absence and lack of relevant professional development for teachers. Below is a description of each of these challenges.

**Lack of instructional resources and textbooks.** Lack of instructional resources and a delay in textbook availability were identified as the two major issues in ELP implementation by all participant principals. Principals mentioned that the government notified them of the policy change in 2013, but no Kashmir textbooks were available in the beginning of the school year, as required by the 2009 PNEP. Consequently, with the permission of the AJ&K Department of Education, the school principals delayed the implementation of ELP and made policy adoption optional for their schools for another year. With reference to the respondents selected for this study, two urban school principals allowed their teachers to continue using textbooks published by the textbook boards other than AJ&K for their optional English medium classes, which these schools were already conducting, while the rest of the schools delayed implementation for another year. Once the required textbooks were made available, optional or other use of Urdu medium instruction was stopped in public schools starting in 2014, and the only allowed medium of instruction to be used in AJ&K public schools since then has been English. The principal of Rural High School-1 attested to this issue by explaining that her school and teaching staff also struggled in the first year of the policy change. She stated that since no books were made

available, she also made ELP optional in her school for another year because there were “no provisions made available for the medium shift.”

Thus, the lack of availability of textbooks was identified as a contributing factor for the delayed implementation of ELP in the public schools.

**Shortage and lack of professionally qualified teachers.** All principals identified school capacity related issues, such as a lack of prepared teachers, particularly in STEM subjects, as the biggest challenge in ELP implementation in all schools, particularly rural schools. The principal of Rural School 2 identified the lack of well qualified and capable teachers to handle the new policy in his school as the primary implementation challenge. All principals attested to this perception that many schools do not have the required number of teachers, and if they do have them, many of these teachers are either not qualified or not prepared for ELP implementation and practice in their classes. All schools have either one form of this challenge or another, but it is more problematic for those schools operating in rural and hard to reach regions of AJ&K. Additionally, among all the issues related to the qualified and prepared teachers needed in public schools for English language implementation, the principals identified science and math issues, particularly a shortage of qualified science teachers, as their biggest concern.

High school principals explained that there are generally three cadres of teachers designated in public high schools – primary teachers, junior teachers, and senior teachers. According to the principal of Urban High School-2, primary teachers “cannot teach in the English medium,” so, “I am not assigning English medium STEM subjects to primary teachers in my school anymore.” He assigned these classes to junior and senior teachers who, according to him, had the capability to teach these subjects per the new policy, and therefore they were assigned to teach the primary section in his school after the shift in policy. He identified that he

has “these options available” of assigning the work to those teachers who can do it, only because he had a large and qualified staff available in his school. However, he recognized that his school is large and urban, and that “not every school principal has these kinds of options available to meet the challenge.” The principal of Urban High School-1 also attested to this notion and stated, “We (principals) need qualified science teachers to teach science in the English medium and there is a shortage of them, especially in the far flung [rural] areas.” This principal mentioned multiple times that she has not experienced any issue in terms of implementation in her school because she has “enough of a qualified teaching force.”

These two urban school principals also shared their interactions with the AJ&K Department of Education, in order to highlight the Department’s understanding of the new policy implementation challenges. They highlighted the lack of school capacity that complicated the process of policy implementation for all public schools, but especially for rural schools. The principal of Urban High School-1 said,

Translation: I talk with the Department of Education and know they have an understanding [of the issues we are facing in ELP implementation]. The Department [of Education] identifies that there are schools where there is no capacity to teach science and math in English. Schools simply don’t have teachers to teach the subjects [of science and math] in English. But what can they do? [The reason being that] elementary schools and also a few high schools were established in the 1990s for political reasons, which do not have appropriate budget or staff allocations to this day, so the policy brings special challenges for those institutions.

He mentioned that many new schools were opened for political reasons and without appropriate and needed planning and resource allocation, which caused actual challenges in the policy implementation. He compared himself with those schools and said,

Urdu: *I am fortunate enough kay meray paas koi problem nahi he- meray paas well qualified teachers hen or me nay good qualified teachers hi iss dafa lagay he new policy kay mutabiq perhany kay leya.*

Translation: I am fortunate to experience no problem [in policy implementation]. I have well qualified teachers and I'm using them to teach in the English medium as required by the policy.

Other urban high school principals (Urban High School-2) also mentioned that the Department of Education is aware of the teachers' current abilities and school capacity in terms of ELP implementation. He narrated his interaction with the state Secretary of Education after the policy change in the schools and said, "The Secretary of Education inquired whether a general line teacher can teach science in the English medium. I said, 'NO' and I told him that it is not possible since a general line teacher is not prepared to teach science in English."

Notably, urban school principals more forcefully voiced the challenges related to the lack of qualified and sufficient teaching staff, although they declared themselves "fortunate" to be able to have enough options available to meet these challenges, compared to rural schools. Rural principals who actually suffer from this shortage focused more on the Department of Education's understanding of the situation, and they challenged their own perceptions of the issues caused by teacher shortages and lack of qualifications.

**Absence and lack of relevant professional development for teachers.** Principals stated that there is no regular or relevant professional development provisions available for in-service

teachers in public schools in AJ&K provided by the government, and that they expect the implementation challenges for ELP to be prolonged/extended in the future because of this issue. Principals identified that the consistent and prolonged professional development of teachers can help them to cope with the challenges of change and can make ELP implementation smoother and more successful in future years. However, this proposal is not currently initiated at any designated state level.

Data indicates that out of these six principals, only one (Rural High School-2 principal) took an initiative at the personal level and arranged a three day in-service professional development workshop for his teachers. It is important to mention that professional development is the responsibility of state actors, and not local ones. The principal of Rural High School-2 said, “I knew my teachers were not prepared for the change (of medium) and would be overwhelmed in the absence of any such activity.” Thus, he planned a three-day preparation workshop for his school teachers, to prepare them to teach using the English language in general, and math and science in English in particular. His teachers shared that he personally handled the training related to teaching in the English language, since he had the expertise in ELT (English language teaching). For math and science, he arranged for specialists to prepare his teachers to teach these subjects using the English medium. Teachers at this school shared that the focus of this workshop was on the aims, skills, and objectives to teach these subjects in English, and also on how to teach these subjects in the classroom. This principal also said that he personally suggested measures for teachers to tackle the change, and he saw improvement in both students and teachers after the completion of the first year after the change. This principal had more than a decade of experience in working in a state run in-service teachers’ development program.

None of the other principals took such an initiative in their administrative or personal capacities. However, they all identified the need for such activities for successful policy implementation in public schools, and gave suggestions to implement professional development in schools in the future. They proposed different suggestions regarding the interval and structure of professional development workshops to prepare teachers. For example, the principal of Urban High School-2 suggested that there should be a 15-day professional development activity every three months for teachers in the initial few years of ELP implementation in public schools. Three of the principals mentioned that professional development workshops should be based in the schools where they are teaching. The principal of Rural High School-2 proposed that teacher education elementary colleges could be used to arrange such professional development workshops. The principal of Rural Middle School said, “Teachers’ professional development is important and can be strategically arranged during the school vacations, such as summer, winter, and spring.”

**Resistance by teachers.** Another important capacity-related issue mentioned by participant principals was “resistance by some teachers” to ELP in their classrooms. The Urban Elementary School principal mentioned, “Earlier (older) teachers do not want to change [the medium of instruction]; you know, previously there have been issues of lethargy and lack of commitment among many teachers, but now with the change [in expectations and administration] they have to think about strategies to handle the changes in their classroom, especially with ELP in their classrooms.”

Principals identified the older generation of teachers as a majorly resistant group to ELP in schools. The principal of Urban High School-1 explained that there have been teachers who were inducted some 15-20 years ago, when the Education Department’s induction requirements

and policies were different. Over the years, induction policies and requirements have been changed to a great extent, but there were no provisions issued by the Education Department or a requirement for teachers to comply with the new changes. The principals shared that there have always been options available for the teachers to stay in the system without updating their credentials, but now there are none. Therefore, the resistance coming from these teachers is understandable. However, with no provisions available, it is hard for these teachers to improve even if they wanted to. Both urban and rural school principals mentioned that most of these teachers are greater in number in rural schools, and therefore it is very hard to monitor whether they will implement ELP in their classes.

### **Administrative Challenges**

Administrative challenges are defined for this section as pressures and undue restraints caused by bureaucratic and political interference in school management by political and state administration. These topics are discussed under the two sub-headings of political interference and state mandated testing and accountability.

**Political interference.** Political interference was identified by all the principals as a significant hurdle in the successful implementation of the ELP in schools. As stated by the principal of Rural High School-2, “Political interference in education is so far the most damaging constraint in the successful policy implementation in public schools.” He also commented, “They (politicians) induct (teachers) on a political basis [give jobs to their voters] and then transfer them to urban and good schools based on whether they are voters in favor of a particular politician or not; this damages us (rural schools) badly.” The principal of Urban High School-2 also identified political interference as a big hurdle for school principals, but he stated that he never let his teachers get transferred because of political reasons. He said, “I won’t let it happen



to my teachers; nobody can transfer my teachers without my consent, especially if they are teaching well and the way I want them to. Teachers should be assessed for their teaching capabilities and not for their political affiliations.” This principal shared that teachers’ placements in schools are at the discretion of the Department of Education, but “if the head of the institution is strong and interested in working for his institution and *has a strong political back*, he can get good teachers for his institution and will not let them go.” However, he also identified that “having a political back sometimes backfires, too, because at times you need to pay for it instead of gain from it; sometimes you have to let your teachers go to other institutions.” Teachers identified this principal as politically strong and well resourced.

**State mandated tests and accountability.** All school principals expressed worries over the state mandated tests and their likely effects on their schools, teachers, and students after ELP implementation. They expressed concerns that schools are already overburdened with the current changes in the medium of instruction policy, and that the government and community do not help them facilitate the change in order to succeed. The principal of the Rural Middle School suggested that the Department of Education needs to be patient with the change and bear with the initial low performance of schools, and should not take it as a school or teacher failure. He stated that state policy implementers should be realistic about the change and they should not be very punitive from the very beginning, as they currently are. He was worried because his fifth grade students performed poorly on one of the recent state administered tests, and he was concerned with how to handle this with the Department of Education. The principal of the Urban Elementary School also mentioned, “It is the responsibility of everyone to make this change work. Parents, teachers, and administrators are all responsible for making this change work and not just the schools.”

The principal of Urban High School-1 mentioned in an elusive/subtle manner that the government of AJ&K is generally not very supportive of education and schools. She stated that this is evident from the fact that no needs assessment of the institutions, in terms of the size of a school or their particular needs, is ever conducted. She also stated that the government's stance on budgeting is unrealistic, since all institutions receive the same budget allocation, irrespective of their size. The principal of Urban High School-2 also mentioned his disillusionment with the AJ&K government:

Urdu: *meray school ko shebaz sharif kay sath laga den.*

Translation: Kindly affiliate my school with Shabaz Sharif.

Shabaz Sharif is the current chief minister of the province of Punjab, which is the most populated province in Pakistan, and he is famous for his political activism.

Thus, these principals reported that the state continues to pressure the schools to meet the pre-ELP performance standards, and it ignores the newly formed challenges of ELP in public schools.

### **Section III**

#### **Connecting Across the Data: Discussion**

Based on the findings presented above, the ELP policy appears to present an idealistic stance of ambitious policy makers. These policymakers considered the deplorable conditions of education in Pakistan, and they rightly assessed the probable causes of the current state of affairs and the failings of earlier policies. However, they did not provide any satisfactory rationale that argues for the success of current policy. In short, what is absent in the policy document is the answer to the question *why the 2009 PNEP will meet desired goals*, which the previous policies failed to accomplish. I am concerned about this question because the failure of past educational

policies has seriously deteriorated the trust of the Pakistani people in education in general, and in education policies in particular.

This chapter was particularly aimed at the exploration of state level policy administrators and school principals' understandings and practices in connection with the ELP policy in order to understand the degree of compliance/alignment of actual institutional practices with the suggested implementation action plans of the policy. This bottom up study was developed with the purpose of exploring the current institutional practices with reference to ELP and to identify the implementation status and challenges of this policy at different levels of the administration and application of this policy. This chapter concludes at the school level, at which principals play an important role in adapting and implementing the ELP in schools. However, they lack structural and logistical support from the state Department of Education.

The most important finding of this chapter is the lax role of the state Department of Education in the implementation of the policy. The state Department of Education appears to have failed to take practical steps/measures in the translation of policy during different stages of policy development and implementation. The findings specifically revealed that delayed policy implementation, the lack of availability of required textbooks in time, the shortage of qualified teaching staff, and provisions to prepare the current teaching force in the schools demonstrate the state Department of Education's inefficiency and lack of involvement in the policy implementation process. This hosted to poor school capacity and issues of poor resource alignment at the school level, thereby making the effective implementation of ELP challenging and ineffective.

On the other hand, the interviews with school principals reveal the will and motivation of local school leaders towards the acceptance and implementation of ELP in public schools.

However, their efforts were greatly constrained and affected by the poor institutional capacity of their respective institutions, as can be seen through the challenges of rural schools, such as resource constraint in the implementation of ELP. Nevertheless, it was encouraging to see that principals' own background in teaching and work in different contexts can help them to understand the complexity of the situation.

To conclude, both state level policy administrators and schools principals help in understanding the current status of ELP implementation in public schools in AJ&K and they largely agree on the implementation challenges in the way of the ELP change. The next chapter will discuss the role, perspectives, and practices of local actors of ELP – specifically teachers-- to explore the next practice level of this policy.

## CHAPTER 6

### **2009 PAKISTAN NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY – PRACTITIONERS/TEACHERS**

*I learned from previous experience and will learn more in the future, but only if the medium will continue to be the same.*

(Junior teacher 2, RHS-2).

The overarching question this chapter addresses is the role of teachers in the implementation of the ELP as recommended by the 2009 Pakistan National Education Policy (2009 PNEP). Teachers are the primary unit of this study, based on their primary role as practitioners of the ELP implementation. This chapter discusses the teachers' role in the implementation and practice of the ELP in selected public schools of Muzaffarabad, and it provides significant insights into the practice of the ELP in classrooms of selected public schools. Using a bottom-up, multilevel approach, this study is primarily based on teachers' perspectives on the ELP that led to the change in the medium of instruction for public schools. Because teachers are the actual practitioners of the ELP, it is critical to see how they perceive and make sense of this policy and the way they put it into practice. All of these aspects are vitally important to understanding the policy in practice and the factors contributing to the future success or failure of the policy.

The chapter is comprised of four main sections: 1) the first section presents an overview of the participants and their professional and academic profiles; 2) the second section discusses the perspectives and stances of the participating teachers regarding the ELP for local public schools; 3) the third section of the chapter explores the practice of the ELP inside classrooms. This section identifies the challenges and strategies developed and used by teachers while practicing the ELP inside their classrooms. Finally, 4) the fourth section of the chapter explores teachers' insights developed during their practice of the policy.

## Section I

### Overview and Profiles of the Participants

The role of teachers in the implementation of a policy is vital – they are the practitioners and primary actors in the implementation of any education policy. It is important to see these local actors translating the policy into action inside their classrooms. Thus, this chapter is aimed at incorporating the teachers’ voices through their practice of the policy and the challenges of its implementation in schools.

The public school teachers who participated at this level of the study were selected based on their work location and by the subjects they taught (for details about participant selection and other data instruments, please see chapter 4). A total of twenty-seven teachers participated in two rounds of data collection. The breakdown of teachers who participated in each data collection method/procedure is as follows

**Table 8: Participants - Teachers' Details**

Methodology	No of Participant Teachers	Location	Titles used for Schools
Survey	25	3 Urban & 3 Rural Schools	1. Urban High School-1 (UHS-1) 2. Urban High School-2 (UHS-2)
Focus Group Discussion (FGD)	27	3 Urban & 3 Rural Schools	3. Urban Elementary School (UES) 4. Rural High School-1 (RHS-1)
Follow up Interviews (FI)	10	1 Urban & 2 Rural Schools	5. Rural High School-2 (RHS-2) 6. Rural Middle School (RMS)

Surveys and focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in the first round of data collection, while semi structured follow-up interviews (FI) were conducted in the second round of data collection. Schools and teachers for the second round were selected based on the preliminary findings of the first round of data collection and location of the schools.

## **Teachers' Profiles**

This study paid special attention to teachers' demographic information which was collected through surveys and other data sources. This information was used to develop teachers' profiles with respect to their work context, academic and professional background, and the types of learners they have in their classrooms. Teachers' profiles were developed to understand the teachers' orientations towards the ELP and different aspects of its implementation in their classrooms. This helped in the triangulation process and in connecting across the qualitative data. Since this chapter is focused on the general nature of the ELP implementation and the participating teachers' backgrounds, a discussion of teachers' work context is discussed in the next chapter, under the heading of *context of policy implementation*. Understanding the contextual and demographic details of the teachers is vital to understanding their perspectives and policy views.

The teachers' profiles are discussed under three headings:

- i. Teachers' professional background
- ii. Teachers' medium of instruction background as students
- iii. Teachers' professional and academic qualifications

### **Teachers' Professional Backgrounds**

Table 9 given below provides the details of the teachers' professional backgrounds (e.g., the subjects and grades they have taught and their years of work experience in public schools). Forty eight percent of teachers who participated in the study were teaching at the primary level, and 20% were middle school teachers, while 32% were high school teachers. Forty percent were English teachers, and 32% were teaching science and math, while 28% were teaching all subjects, including science, math, and English. It is common for a single teacher to teach all

subjects at the elementary level in Pakistan, while at the middle and high school level teachers usually teach one subject or two subjects to multiple grades

**Table 9: Teachers' Professional Profile**

Category		Respondents
Teaching Level	Primary	48%
	Middle	20%
	High	32%
Subject taught	STEM	32%
	All Subjects	28%
	English	40%
Experience	Up to Five Years	60%
	5-10 Years	12%
	More than 10 years	20%
	No Answer	4%

#### **Teachers' Medium of Instruction Background as Students**

The survey data indicates that most of the participating teachers had their academic and linguistic background in languages other than English. They studied in the following medium of instruction when they were students

**Table 10: Teachers Own Learning Background**

:

Languages	Teachers (%)
English	12%
Urdu	72%
Bilingual	12%
No Answer	4%



The survey data indicates that 84% teachers have a background in either Urdu (72%) or in a bilingual medium of instruction (12%) while they were students, while 12% of teachers studied in English as students. Knowledge of the media of instruction in which teachers' learned as students is important because it helps in understanding their own level of comfort and expertise in a particular language.

### Teachers' Professional and Academic Qualifications

Teachers' profiles also indicated that most possess a bachelor's degree (58%), with a professional qualification of B.Ed. (60%). Please see table 11 for further details

**Table 11: Teachers' Academic and Professional Background**

Qualification		Teachers %	Explanation of Qualifications
Academic	Matric	8%	Abbreviation of <i>Matriculation</i> – an academic certificate given at the completion of 10 <sup>th</sup> grade in Pakistan. Traditionally, 10 <sup>th</sup> grade is the highest grade of high school in Pakistan.
	Intermediate	8%	Abbreviation for the <i>certificate of Intermediate and secondary education</i> – given after the completion of 11 <sup>th</sup> and 12 <sup>th</sup> grades of education. Traditionally, these two are the first two years of college education in Pakistan and thus called <i>first year</i> and <i>second year</i> in public discourse.
	Bachelor's	52%	This is called graduation in Pakistan, and this is the first degree awarded by the universities after the 14 years of formal education – generally offered in colleges after two more years of study after intermediate schooling.
	Master's	32%	This is the second degree awarded by the Universities in Pakistan, but unlike graduation, a master's degree is generally offered and taught in a university too.
Professional	PTC	20%	Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) for primary teachers.
	CT	4%	Certificate in Teaching (CT), for middle school teachers.
	B.Ed	60%	Bachelor of Education (B. Ed.)
	M.Ed	8%	Master of Education (M. Ed.)

The 2009 PNEP policy actions suggest the “Bachelor’s degree with a B.Ed.” as a minimum qualification for teachers at the elementary level, while a Master’s degree with a B.Ed. for secondary and higher secondary levels of education is recommended to be achieved by 2018. This policy also recommends phasing out PTC and CT by encouraging the current teaching force to improve their qualifications (2009 PNEP, p. 33). For further information about teachers’ certifications in Pakistan, please see Chang, 2014 (table 10, p. 65).

The table indicates that there are still 16% of teachers with less than the required academic qualifications, with 24% possessing professional qualifications that are no longer identified as teacher certifications acceptable for elementary teachers. Interviews and other data sources indicate that there is no plan currently under discussion in AJ&K about how to help these teachers acquire the currently required level of certification or academic qualifications by 2018.

In general, the teachers’ profiles revealed that most had an Urdu or bilingual media background as students and this helps in developing an understanding of these teachers’ prior experiences with various languages in a learning setting. On the one hand, having personal experience with public school education provides these teachers with an ability to understand the dynamics of education and the experiences of students in the public school system. On the other hand, their experience of learning in public schools also indicates their limited to no exposure to the English medium of instruction since English is primarily used in private schools. Additionally, more teachers fulfilled the required academic and professional qualifications as outlined by the 2009 PNEP in these schools, which has been a challenge to achieve in the private sector.

## **Section II**

### **Teachers' Stance and Perspective on the ELP**

This section discusses the teachers' perspectives on the ELP and the way they translate this policy into practice inside their classrooms. This section discusses the three major aspects of the ELP practice inside their classrooms: 1) teachers' understanding of and stance on the medium shift in public schools; 2) their challenges in the practice and implementation of this policy in their classrooms; and 3) teachers' strategies to navigate the challenge of change.

#### **Teachers' Perspectives on the Change in Medium of Instruction Policy in Public Schools**

Teachers who participated in the study identified the need for English medium teaching in public schools, and they strongly agreed on the usability of the English medium of instruction in Pakistani public schools. Teachers generally identified the change in the medium of instruction in AJ&K public schools as being important and timely. Teachers found multiple needs for the ELP in public schools, such as the ability for students to connect and compete in the global world, to fulfill modern literacy and subject demands, to succeed in higher education, and as a response to community demand.

Teachers generally viewed the medium shift in AJ&K public schools as a required change but they also showed a deeper understanding of the multiple levels of complexity this change has presented for both teachers and students. Some teachers expressed favor for the ELP based on their personal experience as parents; as parents they chose an English medium of instruction for their own children, and they believed that this choice should be available to their public school students as well. In general, the study's results indicated that there is a common frustration among teachers with the procedures of change, but not with the change itself. Teachers identified four reasons why they favor the ELP implementation in public schools: 1) English language teaching is a product of community demand, based on the community

perception of it being an investment in their children; 2) The English medium of instruction increases students' chances to reach and succeed in higher education; 3) multiple language learning is needed in a multilingual community; and 4) English and Urdu mediums are social tags in Pakistani society. These perspectives are arranged in the order of how frequently teachers argued these points. Below is a description of each of these perspectives:

**English is an investment in children's future.** Teachers connected the need for the ELP in public schools based on community demand for English medium instruction in schools. These teachers explained that the community in which they live values education and treats it as an investment (*surmayakari* in Urdu) in children's futures. Teachers reported that parents want their children to attend English medium schools in order to get the most out of their investment. Thus, most parents who can afford to be sending their children to English medium private schools and only those parents who do not have the means send their children to public schools. UHS-1 primary teacher 1 said,

Urdu: *pesay kam hen ya zayada hen, wo surmayakari bacho pe he kerien ge, jo bhi wo ker saktay hen.*

Translation: Irrespective of the fact of whether they (parents) have more or less money, they would invest it solely in their kids [by educating them]; whatever they can afford to pay.

These teachers also argued that given the economic limitations of those who attend public schools, it is vital to change the medium of instruction to enable these learners to be at par with the rest of the community. One teacher also mentioned blue collar, working parents' concerns about the economic limitation of not being able to send their kids to English/private institutes.

Consequently, one parent came to thank him when he learned that the school would be teaching in English. Another elementary teacher at UES said,

The English medium is in community demand in this situation [when the English medium is considered equivalent to a good education] as most of the families who send their children to public schools, in fact, cannot afford to pay for even the cheapest private English medium schools. Although, you know what those schools charge? Maybe a couple of hundred rupees. But people don't even have that to pay...so, I was already talking about starting to use the English medium in the school, since people need it and demand it. I was making a case for it even before the [the ELP] policy was implemented. (Junior teacher1, UES: FGD)

**English medium of instruction increases students' chances to reach and succeed in higher education.** The second reason multiple teachers provided as justification for the ELP in public schools is an extension of the “investment argument” explained above. These teachers argued that the ELP is needed to increase students' chances and to ensure their success in higher education, especially in science subjects. They argued that the English language and its use as a medium of instruction is needed in AJ&K public schools because of the modern literacy and subject requirements of today. Junior science teacher-I at UHS-2, for example, said that subjects such as English and computer literacy are now important in order to connect and compete in the world. He said, “How you can you talk and learn about the world if you do not understand their language? Or you do not have skills to connect with them? You need computers and you need English to run with them” (UHS-2: FGD).

**Multiple language learning is needed to develop in a multilingual community.**

Another reason that a few teachers mentioned to justify the implementation of the ELP in public

schools is the need for Pakistani/AJ&K society to learn multiple languages in school. They connected this importance to the fact that AJ&K is a multilingual community, and even though English is not a native language in the region, it is by no means a foreign language to the residents of this area.

However, this argument is interesting considering that AJ&K has never been a British colony, unlike most of India. The state of Jammu and Kashmir was the largest of all the princely states of the Indian subcontinent to be ruled by *dogras* (please see chapter 3 for reference).

**English and Urdu media are social tags in Pakistani society.** Teachers mentioned that the media of instruction are considered a matter of honor or disrespect in Pakistani society, and people associate their social status with different modes of instruction. For example, the English medium is generally associated with better social status and better chances of learning at higher levels of education. The teachers also favor the change in the medium of instruction, since the English medium is currently considered “equivalent to better social status and this [switch] will eradicate the sense of inferiority in public school children who feel lower compared to private school children” (RMS primary teacher 1, FGD). Some teachers also mentioned that an English language education carries social cues, particularly in Pakistani society, because an English education increases students’ chances to be accepted into and to be successful in professional subjects, such as medicine and engineering. These careers pathways are generally attached to better social mobility in Pakistani society. Thus, having chances for better social mobility is translated into better social status. Students who are studying in the English medium are also considered smarter than those who are studying in the Urdu medium. Evidence of this dynamic was apparent in teachers’ responses from UHS-1 and UHS-2, where an optional English medium was used for many years prior to the ELP implementation. When teachers were asked how it was

decided who would attend English medium courses versus Urdu medium courses taught in these schools, they stated that the principals served as committees in schools to select students to attend either the English medium or Urdu schools, “based on their assessment of whether these students can succeed in English medium courses or not,” before the mandatory the ELP shift in these schools.

In general, there have been prolonged and enthusiastic discussions among teachers about the need for and usability of English as a language and medium of instruction in AJ&K public schools for the social and economic mobility of students. These discussions clearly indicate that preference for the English medium is not only about the language from teachers’ perspectives; it goes beyond that. This can be attested to by teachers’ responses to a change in uniform patterns/styles in public schools. The teachers viewed the uniform change as an important achievement in two of the public schools that I visited, because they associated it with English language education and therefore higher social status. This example clearly explains the social value placed on English education. It is important to note that uniforms are used in all schools in Pakistan, in both the public and the private sector. However, private and public schools use different colors and styles of uniforms for their students as a source of identification. Private schools were the first to use “western style uniforms” in their schools, especially for boys. This western style uniform is usually comprised of solid color pants and a lighter color collared shirt and tie. Public schools, on the other hand, tend to require traditional clothing (i.e. *shalwar*, *qameez*) in solid colors as uniforms. Two of the schools I visited mentioned that they changed their uniform style so that now it is no longer traditional, but modern, like the uniforms in private schools. RHS-2 primary teacher 1 shared that the change in the uniform greatly helped in boosting students’ confidence, since they were very pleased with this change. He connected the

change in school uniforms with students' self-respect, which he argued "plays vital role in their learning and academic performance." He said,

RHS-2 primary teacher 1: *izat-e-nafs, ek lafz hota he na shabash! Das bachay bethay hoay he or aap un me se ek ko kahen shabaash, tek he, baki no ko na kahen, koi thermometer ho na check kernay wala wo aap ko batay ga ke baki no bees darjay neechay chalay gai hen. Itna bara faraq perta he.*

Translation: Self-esteem; there is a word "good job." If there are ten kids sitting and you say "good job" to only one of them and do not say it to the other nine, if you had a thermometer to check the feelings of those nine kids, it would tell you that those nine kids are feeling twenty times lower. Praise or boosting affects kids' self-esteem so greatly.

Thus, RHS-2 primary teacher 1 connected the ELP with students' self-respect in public schools, because, according to this teacher, students compared themselves to other students studying in private English medium schools, and therefore felt low about themselves. He believed that the ELP in public schools will elevate the self-respect of public school children, and in doing so will help them to learn better.

Therefore, there was agreement among teachers about the need for and usability of the ELP in public schools. However, they expressed differences of opinion about the appropriate grade to start implementing English medium instruction for their students.

### **Different Perspectives: Gradual vs. Abrupt Change in the Medium of Instruction**

Although teachers did not oppose the ELP, they expressed concerns about the pace of this change. While sharing their perspectives about the change in medium of instruction in their classes, variations were observed in their perspectives regarding the current pace of change.



Mainly, teachers provided two different viewpoints about the pace and pattern of current the ELP implementation. One group argued in favor of a “gradual shift” in the medium of instruction, while the other opposed it.

It is important that these viewpoints did not follow a participant pattern based on teachers’ profiles. Both rural and urban teachers, young and old, complained about the abrupt policy shift, and the same was true for those opposed it. Similarly, teachers from various age groups and both genders expressed disagreement with the current grade level for the ELP implementation (i.e. 4<sup>th</sup> grade).

Teachers who favored a gradual shift in the ELP implementation in schools suggested that if the medium of instruction change happened gradually, this would make things easier for teachers and students. UHS-1 senior teacher 2 defined a gradual shift as follows:

Urdu: *Wo stepwise hona chaheya tha, maslan 4<sup>th</sup> ka change ho jata phir wohi class 5<sup>th</sup> me chali jati, iss terha to bohat muskil ho gea he, humary leya bhi or un ke leya bhi.*

Translation: This (medium change) should be done in a stepwise fashion. For example, the medium for 4<sup>th</sup> grade should be changed and then this class will be promoted to 5<sup>th</sup> grade and so on. The way that it (medium of instruction) has been changed now has made things very complicated for both us and our students.

These teachers said that the medium of instruction should have changed for only one grade (4<sup>th</sup>), and then this grade should have been promoted to the next grade in subsequent academic years. The 2009 PNEP applied the ELP for every grade starting from 4<sup>th</sup> grade until high school; thus the medium of instruction has changed for all students in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade and

above. This shift frustrated many teachers as they dealt with the challenge to handle the medium switch for all students enrolled in multiple grades.

An abrupt switch in the medium of instruction for all grades mainly affected science and math teachers, since English is already taught as a compulsory subject in all grades and in all six public schools. In contrast, the medium of instruction was switched for four of these schools in STEM subjects for the first time. This is true for most public schools in AJ&K, as confirmed by state level administrators. Data sources suggest that most of these teachers found this abrupt shift for all grades quite challenging for teachers and students alike, especially at higher grades and they also stated that most of their students struggle with the change in middle and high school.

The teachers who favored a gradual shift in the medium argued that this abrupt change posed more challenges than solutions for both teachers and students. This group of teachers believed that language is key in developing comprehension of learning content; thus simultaneously changing the language of instruction for all students at all grade levels would confuse students, and those who are starting high school might find the change in medium too hard to adjust to, and thus they might drop out. For example, UHS-2 senior teacher 2 argued, “We are putting more students at risk of dropping out by changing their medium of instruction at this stage when they are so near to completing their high school education than we ever had with the Urdu medium” (FGD). Some of these teachers mentioned that the Urdu medium option should remain available in public schools to such students “who can’t study in the English medium.”

On the other hand, there were teachers who disagreed with the “gradual medium shift view,” based on equality and equity for those students who are currently enrolled in middle and higher grades. These teachers rejected the “gradual shift view” based on the argument that “a

gradual shift would take another decade to get the ELP fully implemented in public schools, and also deprive a whole generation of learners from the benefits of the medium shift (for college education and job competition) and this was why we changed the policy in the first place” (Junior teacher 2, RHS-2, FI). According to the supporters of the abrupt policy change, there will be students “who will be left out of the ELP who will not have an equal chance of success at higher levels of education compared to other students who would have better chances to succeed when English is used the only language of instruction for science subjects in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grades in community colleges in AJ&K” (senior teacher 2, UHS-1, FI). Although, these teachers agreed with their colleagues that an immediate shift in the medium of instruction for all grades is challenging for teachers and students, they said that this will improve after the first few years of change. In general, they argued that “we [teachers] should not be afraid of change because of the challenges we face for the first few years” (primary teacher 1 at RHS-2).

The teachers who rejected the “gradual policy shift” also did not agree with the proposed optional teaching in the Urdu medium to ensure better learning and graduating options for students, especially at the high school level. RHS-2 primary teacher 3 asked, “Why offer the Urdu medium if you favor the English medium as a policy? Who will benefit from the Urdu medium? Do you want to track students on the basis of whether they are capable enough to study in English or not? Sorry, this is discrimination for me.”

Teachers also said that “it is teachers' inability to teach in English that prompts them to claim that not all students can study in the English medium” and “why not? Stuff should make sense for students in any language, if taught properly” (primary teacher 1, RHS-2). These teachers favored the change of medium for all students at all grades; this policy is currently enacted by the government, and the teachers argued that this change will ultimately be good for

students to succeed in higher education. Specifically, they argued that this abrupt change will create issues in the beginning for both students and teachers, but will become “smoother” with the passage of time.

Another variation was observed in teachers’ views about the appropriate grade for ELP implementation. All but two teachers favored an even earlier implementation of ELP starting from first grade. These teachers argued, “If there should be English medium use in public schools, then the government should begin with the public school to incorporate the English medium. It would save us and students from the issues of adjusting to two different mediums in just a few years.”

Two teachers said that the ELP should be implemented from middle school and not before then. For example, UHS-2 junior teacher 1 argued that “the medium should be switched after or at middle school since our child, especially the one who is coming to public school does not have basic language skills even in Urdu. How will he be able to learn in English?” In contrast, RHS-1 primary teacher 1 said, “Not everyone needs to be taught in the English medium; you only need to teach those who would study medicine or engineering at later stages, not everyone.” He also said that the ELP was not a well thought out plan, but was “inspired by foreign examples.” However, this view was not supported by any other teacher during this or other discussions held in all six schools.

Although teachers differed from each other as to the appropriate grade level for the medium shift as well as the mode of change for current learners in public schools, they all agreed that the medium change is relatively more challenging for students who do not have parental support to help them adjust to the change.

The subsequent section discusses the challenges that teachers currently experience because of the change in the policy and medium of instruction.

### **Section III**

#### **Policy Practice Inside the Classroom**

This section has two parts which present the challenges of putting the ELP into practice inside the classroom, and the strategies to navigate these challenges.

#### **Challenges in Policy Practice**

This section elaborates the challenges of the ELP implementation within the classroom. Teachers shared that the ELP policy in AJ&K public schools was inevitable, but that it posed complications for them because of multiple factors involved in the policy's development and implementation at the school level. They generally agreed that these challenges will take a significantly long time to get resolved. This part covers these challenges that the ELP presented for teachers. Teachers identified two types of challenges:

- i. New language, new textbooks, old tests – challenges related to classroom teaching;
- ii. New students, old teachers – challenges related to students in classrooms;
- iii. Policy is there, preparedness is not – challenges related to policy and teachers' preparedness for change.

These challenges are explained below.

#### **New language, new textbooks, old tests: Challenges related to classroom teaching.**

These challenges are related to teaching inside the classroom – such as change in subject and content demands, new textbooks, increase in instruction time, and students' preparation for state mandated tests.

*New subject and content demands inside the classroom.* Teachers mentioned that the ELP has brought new content and subject demands for them inside the classroom, especially for the subjects of science and math. They all agreed that math and science are more challenging to teach according to the new policy, compared to teaching English. However, they also identified that “better English teaching may improve the situation for science and math, too.” According to the teachers, the comprehension of content involves a high reading level skill, and it is very hard for students to attain the same level of reading proficiency in English as they currently have in Urdu in a short amount of time. UHS-2 senior teacher 1 said,

*Urdu: Her bacha English medium nahi per sakta, per sakta he agar shuru se ho to, dermeyan me se aa ke to bohat mushkil he. Language ne bohat problem ker di he. Wo us ka mafhoom samjhay ya spellings yaad kerien?*

Translation: Not every child can study in English medium; he could if it (medium) would have been started from the beginning of his education. Adjusting to the English medium in the middle (of high school) is very challenging.

Language has made education very problematic (for children), how would he make sense of the stuff or learn the spellings?

UHS-1 senior teacher 2 commented about the children studying in the English medium in Pakistan:

What is the purpose of teaching kids in the English medium? It is to enable them to read, write, and speak in English, but generally students who study in English are not able to speak in English. Writing in English is not developed until the 12<sup>th</sup> grade and they usually memorize stuff.

Teachers also indicated that public schools get the most difficult group of learners coming from households with the least formal education and with the lowest socio-economic status. Both of these factors contribute to these students' challenges of learning, especially in a foreign language unfamiliar to them and to their household. These students have no basic reading skills in English, even at higher grade levels. Science teachers also mentioned that after the policy shift, they found that scientific terms in English pose many issues for both teachers and students, and that they "needed training to cope with the change."

Another challenge is when parents in this region shift their children from private to public school after elementary school. Sometimes these students have better English reading skills and better grasp of concepts taught in English, but perform poorly in Urdu literacy and Urdu based subjects compared to their classmates in public schools. Thus, public school teachers end up with a challenge of one or another type, even with children who have better reading skills in English.

***New textbooks.*** Pakistani public schools traditionally only use national curriculum and textbook board books in classrooms. The 2009 PNEP, which introduced ELP in public schools, also requires provinces and the state of AJ&K to use locally prepared and printed textbooks in their classrooms. The AJ&K textbook board was established in 2011, based on the 2009 PNEP recommendations. AJ&K public schools were using the Punjab Textbook Board books before this change. This posed significant challenges related to the availability, relevance, and quality of new textbooks after the ELP implementation in their classrooms.

The first challenge related to the new textbook was timely availability in classrooms with the ELP implementation. All teachers mentioned that they started their first year of teaching with the new "English medium policy with no books," because books could not be printed until the middle of the first academic year. RHS-1 senior teacher 1 said, "We started teaching in the

English medium immediately after the government notification (of the medium change), but no books were available in the market for us to use to teach. A good part of the first year was wasted in going back and forth between different types of books.” Teachers struggled to make other arrangements to address this issue in their classes in the first year of the medium of instruction policy change. This made teaching and learning even more challenging for teachers and students, who were already facing the challenge of learning a new medium inside the classroom.

Teachers expressed variations in their responses related to the quality and relevance of the content of new textbooks. There were two main responses: teachers who did not like the new textbooks and they found the book content to be challenging and unrealistic to cover in an academic year. RHS-1 junior teacher 1 mentioned, “The new books have very challenging content and therefore require more time to teach, which we simply do not have.”

Middle school math and science teachers particularly critiqued AJ&K textbooks. RMS teacher 3, who explained his reason for critiquing the AJ&K math book, said, “The new (math) textbooks are not developed strategically or conceptually and do not follow a logical sequence.” This teacher also gave an example from his 5<sup>th</sup> grade math class, where according to him,

Last year I taught three types of mathematical sets to 5<sup>th</sup> grade, but this year there are only two types of mathematical sets for 6<sup>th</sup> grade – so when they (textbook board) developed books they did not think very well about lesson planning or the sequence of the teaching material since mathematical content is not in order of difficulty and grade level.

The teachers in two urban schools (UHS-1 & UHS-2) who had used Punjab Textbook Board published books in their English medium classrooms for multiple years, and as well as



those teachers in other schools who used these books last year in lieu of the AJ&K published books stated that the Punjab Textbook Board books were “better and quite reasonably connected through all grades, especially for middle school science” (RHS-2 junior teacher 1). Multiple teachers mentioned that the books needed to be reviewed for typographic mistakes.

However, not all teachers shared this opinion, and some did not agree with their colleagues about the new books being challenging. RHS-1 junior teacher 2 said that “the new textbooks are good as these books do not require repetitious learning,” an issue which she recognized as a core problem with traditional teaching in public schools. She also mentioned that the current books were different from the previous books, and they were generally “different from the routine.”

Furthermore, UHS-2 senior teacher also did not agree with his colleagues’ view during a focus group discussion in the first round that the new books are difficult or hard to understand. He argued, “The issues are not with the books, but with the medium of instruction itself. Children do not have basic knowledge of the English language at this time and teachers have no working experience of teaching in English and thus both face problems with the new books.” A smaller number of teachers agreed with this view and said that the current books “are helpful, but since everything is new it is currently chaos for teachers.” These teachers also believed that the actual challenge lies with the medium of instruction change, and that the books are a part of this chaos.

This disagreement between teachers led to an interesting issue regarding new textbooks, as to whether these books are challenging for teachers or for their students in classrooms. For example, UHS-2 teachers suggested that AJ&K Textbook Board books are currently not “based on teachers’ feedback” and “should take teachers’ feedback” into consideration. However, other

data sources informed me that the directorate of education conducted a survey to learn about the new textbooks published by the AJ&K Textbook Board. According to mid-level policy administrator-1, “All teachers who participated in the survey did not like the new textbooks, or they said these were not the appropriate level for their learners. Students who participated in the survey liked the new textbooks and they said these were good.” However, there was no explanation provided about students’ approval of the books or other aspects, such as how deeply this survey explored teachers’ and learners’ preferences for the books or about the reliability of the survey data.

***Increase in instruction time.*** Teachers mentioned that the ELP brought many changes in the form of the new medium of instruction and the new textbooks in their classrooms; it also brought challenges related to time and content management within specified teaching times. All teachers reported that their instructional time was increased because of the new language demands, along with the content changes. Teachers said that the new policy and books posed difficulties, since they had the same amount of time to teach material prior to the ELP in public schools. For example, RHS-1 senior teacher 1 explained, “We need more time (than the usual school year) since teachers now have to teach basic terms and language skills in English along with the content and concepts of a lesson. A lot of teachers use a translation method now to help their students understand the English textbooks, and this also takes time.”

Thus, teachers reported that the ELP increased their teaching time although the available time remained the same, thereby leaving teachers with the challenge of teaching more content in a new language within one academic year.

***Students’ preparation for standardized state mandated tests.*** Another challenge that teachers reported, particularly within the middle and high school grades, was the ELP’s impact

on students' performance on standardized state mandated tests and on their classroom assessments. Teachers were concerned about their students' performance on standardized tests, because of what they perceived to be the "initial obvious affect" (STEM teachers, UHS2) of the new medium of instruction policy on students' learning, and also because of accountability issues attached to these tests for teachers and their schools. Both the interview and the survey data identified that the change in the medium of instruction affected students' performance in the classroom. Teachers also indicated that students needed time to get adjusted and to perform better after the medium shift; however, the policy does not identify a grace period for students, teachers, or schools to adjust to the new policy.

Teachers argued that students need time to adjust to the new curriculum and medium of instruction demands. Teachers also found that the challenge is more pronounced for students in the higher grades. The stakes are higher for high school students because of more difficult exams and pressure to achieve promotion to the next grade, and because performance on exams has more consequences for these students. It is important to note that testing or exams conducted in the higher grades in Pakistan determine the future field of studies for students, because admission into publicly funded professional schools, such as engineering and medicine or any subjects in more reputable schools or colleges after 10<sup>th</sup> grade, is based on state level annual test results. The current state induction system in Pakistan is performance-based (based on the scores of students on all exams), starting from 10<sup>th</sup> grade until they receive their college or university degree; all of these exam scores are important for their final selection for a job, especially for public offices. Higher pressure for performing on exams is another aspect contributing to students dropping out, thereby prompting teachers to worry about this population of students

who might not be able to complete their minimal level of formal education because of the change in the medium of instruction.

Participant teachers also mentioned that the STEM subjects (Math and Science) present more challenges for students than English.

**Old teachers, new learners - Challenges related to the student population in classrooms.** The second category of challenges that teachers identified in regards to the ELP implementation in classrooms is a change in students' learning behavior and the presence of "old teacher." These issues are explained below.

*Change in students' attitudes and expectations inside the classroom.* Another interesting challenge that teachers shared was the change in students' learning behaviors in the classroom in the last several years. Students' learning behaviors have greatly changed from traditional submission towards teachers to a more interactive stance, thereby placing greater demands on teachers. Students have started challenging teachers and their teaching expectations have also changed. Specifically, students demand better teaching in the classroom, which is very unusual in Pakistani society, since teaching is largely viewed as top down activity.

*Older generation of teachers.* Older teachers have also added another layer of complication to the implementation of the ELP. These teachers were typically hired several decades ago, when teacher induction requirements and guidelines were different and had no consistent focus on improvement or training. Consequently, these teachers are the most resistant and skeptical group about the applicability and outcomes of the medium of instruction policy. Teachers referred to these older teachers in their discussions and individual interviews about the likely resistance to the applicability of the ELP in public schools. RHS-2 junior teacher 1 stated that the "traditional teaching methodology and teachers' refusal to break from the routine" are

the biggest hurdles in the ELP application in classrooms. The issues this teacher identified were “most common with older teachers.” Similarly, UES primary teacher 1 said, “There are teachers in far flung areas who got their jobs almost two decades ago and they do not have any clue how to confront the situation” (FGD).

However, there were two different patterns among teachers when referring to such attitudes and older teachers. One view was that older teachers “got inducted with different expectations and never really needed to change their teaching style; they didn’t want to do it in the first place” (UHS-2 junior teacher 1, FGD1). RMS junior teacher 1 was more upfront and asked rhetorically during the interview, “Why teach letters in a traditional manner, why not teach [letters] with the help of small sticks? It is not that hard you know, but it requires a change of habit among teachers, which they don’t want to do” (FI).

The other view was more sympathetic and explained these teachers. RHS-2 primary teacher 1 stated, “The [policy] transition is the hardest for older teachers. They simply cannot do it – I was in a [teacher] training with many teachers from different schools last year. They [older teachers] were not able to understand even the simplest [modern] ways of teaching, such as how to make use of everyday things to teach students. But it is not their mistake; they never knew that they would need to change” (FI).

When connecting teachers’ statements with their profiles, it was apparent that teachers with more explanatory or sympathetic stances towards the resisting older generation of teachers tended to fall in a slightly middle age range with more than twelve years of experience, while the other group was comparatively younger with less than twelve years of experience.

Only two interactions, with two different teachers hinted, at older teachers’ resistance to the ELP. One of these interactions happened in urban high school-2, and the other in rural high

school-1. During the interaction, I was questioned about the usability of my research. RHS-2 primary teacher 2 questioned, “What good your research would do here [in AJ&K] and what change will it bring? Nothing has changed because of these things. They [policy officials] will do what they think is good and have no clue whether it will work or not.” However, this question was prompted more so because of disillusionment with or lack of trust of the system than resistance to the change itself. The other confrontation was more directed towards the ELP implementation in public schools, rather than questioning the general system’s capability for change. UHS-2 senior teacher 1 showed his dislike for the ELP as a “colonial” policy used to promote “western agendas” in Pakistan. Both of the teachers mentioned had more than 20 years of teaching experience and can be identified as the “older generation of teachers,” as identified by other teachers and research participants.

It was interesting to listen to teachers’ comments and to discuss the resistance to the ELP. This was one of the most enthusiastically debated topics among the teachers during the focus group discussion within the schools visited for data collection. It was fascinating that irrespective of their differences of opinion as to the reasons for resistance among teachers, none of the participants disagreed with its existence. Teachers were generally upfront with discussing this topic, although they showed an inclination towards a difference of opinion regarding the justification or reasons for the issue.

**Policy is here, preparedness is not – Challenges related to the ELP implementation and teachers’ preparedness for change.** Teachers also discussed the reasons contributing to the ELP’s “problematic implementation,” which could lead to “policy failure in the long run.” Teachers identified the implementation timeline and procedure of change and lack of relevant and timely professional training as the two main causes for this outcome. Teachers argued that

the lack of planning by the Department of Education before the ELP implementation, and no provisions for professional development for teachers during the change, made things challenging for teachers. Teachers said they should have been prepared for the medium change before the change occurred, or at least within the first year of change.

***Timeline and procedure of change.*** The greatest challenge to teachers hindering the successful ELP implementation in their classrooms included the government's timeline and procedure of change for policy implementation in schools. Teachers explained that Pakistan announced the current education policy (i.e. PNEP 2009) in 2009. However, implementation of the policy in the AJ&K public schools did not start until 2013. Thus, there was a time gap in between the announcement and the implementation of the policy at the national and state levels. Teachers argued that this time gap was not used for the states' or teachers' benefit, because the state policy administration did not conduct a needs assessment or context evaluation in the schools or the surrounding area prior to or after policy implementation. Important facts that could have been gathered during an evaluation include the current demographics of teachers with reference to the medium change in public schools, as well as the demographics of students and the surrounding area. Teachers also said that none of the public schools or teachers were part of the change process. For example, UHS-2 senior teacher mockingly said, "they [state policy officials] heard from someone that the policy has changed, so they notified that classes will be taught in English starting the next day." RHS-1 primary teacher also stated,

We keep on changing the books during the whole year. The government announced last year that only an English medium would be used in schools, but there were no books. We switched three times between Urdu medium books, Punjab textbook board books, and then AJ&K textbooks as per instructions from the government. They [policy officials]

started thinking after the crisis started and not before, and tomorrow when this policy will fail, they would blame teachers for everything.

Teachers shared their disillusionment with the policy implementation pattern and timeline used by the Department of Education, and they said that most of the current issues started with the “government’s indecisiveness and failure to respond in time.”

***Lack of relevant and timely professional development.*** All data sources suggest that professional development (PD) opportunities, especially before or during the change of medium of instruction policy inside schools, has been scarce. Specifically, the survey data indicated that the majority of teachers had random professional development experiences over the past few years, but none of these experiences (except one) addressed or targeted teachers’ preparation for the medium shift in schools

**Table 12: Professional Development/trainings Details**

Category		Teachers %age	Category		Teachers %age
No. of Trainings	0	24%	Facilitator	School Admin	16%
	1	32%		Govt.	8%
	2	12%		NGOs	44%
	3	8%		No Response	32%
	4	8%	Duration	up to 3 weeks	60%
	5	8%		3 months or more	12%
	More	8%		No Response	28%
Year of training	2008	20%	PD Focus	Science, Math & English	8%
	2010	4%		STEM	8%
	2011	4%		ELT	4%
	2012	20%		Teaching Methodology	32%
	2013	12%		Computer Usage	8%
	2014	12%		No Response	40%
	No Response	28%			



The survey data indicated that a quarter of teachers did not have any professional opportunities during their career, while 32% had at least one opportunity. The smallest number of these opportunities were arranged by the government, while nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) offered most of these opportunities. The survey data also indicated that a total of only 20% of these professional development activities were focused on STEM or English teaching practices, while most others were focused on general teaching methodologies. Thus, the quantitative data identified that most PD activities were not focused on the ELP implementation or how to prepare teachers for the shift in medium of instruction in schools. In fact, the only teachers who attended a professional development activity related to the medium shift were those in RHS-2 because the principal arranged it.

The qualitative data helped to elucidate the issues with the professional development activities conducted in public schools in AJ&K. USS-2 primary teacher 1 said that professional development activities, commonly referred to as training workshops in the AJ&K, are done “only to complete the filing work and do not have the correct focus” (FI). Senior teacher 1 of UHS-1 said, “These training workshops [which they mentioned in surveys and interviews] do not have the correct focus” (FGD2).

Overall, teachers stated that they understood and identified the need for the medium of instruction change in public schools, but having no professional development opportunities or needs assessment performed prior to the shift left them in confusion. It is apparent from teachers’ responses that the primary problems associated with implementation included lack of timely planning, lack of professional development opportunities, and lack of adequate materials, all of which caused major problems with the ELP implementation.

## Teachers' Strategies to Navigate the Change

The previous section clearly portrays the array of challenges that teachers faced that were presented by the ELP. However, teachers were thoughtful and motivated to navigate these challenges. Teachers showed motivation and stated that they were “not nervous about the change” (UHS-1, FGD), and that they “believed that the change was an inevitable one” (RMS, FGD). They also stated that they “will learn to navigate it [the change] better, if the government decided not to change for a few years” (RHS-2 primary teacher 2, FI). Generally, teachers showed great motivation to respond to challenges. As UHS-2 senior teacher 1 stated, “When the policy is there, everyone tries to do the best they can to deal with the situation.” Additionally, UES junior teacher 1 said, “I told the principal yesterday to assign me the weakest class and I will make them ready to succeed in the new medium.”

Strategies that teachers adapted to combat the challenge of change inside their classroom can be divided into three categories:

- i. Traditional strategies
- ii. Strategies related to classroom learners
- iii. Strategies related to self-preparedness

All these strategies are discussed below.

**Traditional strategies.** Under this category, teachers used the traditional key books and a textbook based lesson planning approach.

***Use of key books.*** A few teachers reported traditional approaches to handle the medium shift, such as using key books to teach lessons in the classroom and strictly textbook based lessons for the school year. Key books are exercise books readily available in the textbook market. Key books are published by private publishing houses and were popular with students

and teachers in Pakistan. Most teachers mentioned that they are aware that “students and other teachers use key books to prepare for exams and classes”; however, RHS-2 primary teacher 3 was the only one who said that he used key books to prepare his lessons. This teacher said that he also developed tests for his students from the same key book.

***Textbook based lesson planning.*** Lesson planning is another area where most teachers did not follow a standard plan. Teachers discussed different methods of developing lesson plans; however, none of them followed a formal procedure for lesson planning. Most stated that they have a “personal procedure for developing lesson plans,” but none of them shared any written plan or teaching scheme. Other data sources suggested that they follow book topics and traditional ways of teaching, and that no written record of lesson planning or teaching is maintained in public schools.

It was not surprising to discover that public school teachers’ use of key books was based on the fact that examinations and state mandated tests typically test students’ ability to reproduce textual knowledge, rather than actual application of this knowledge, which makes the use of key books an easy and safe option for teachers and students alike. Formal and strategic lesson planning is also very uncommon among public school teachers, and many factors contribute to this trend. The primary factor is teachers’ sole reliance on published textbooks. Teachers followed “page number and topic titles” of these textbooks as cues to manage their day-to-day teaching plans.

**Strategies related to classroom learners.** Teachers mentioned that they developed their own strategies to meet the challenge of the medium change for their students. These included re-defining the learning content and goals according to the level of learners, additional teaching time, and change in learning expectations for students.

*Adjusting learning content and goals.* Teachers adjusted their teaching content and goals for their learners after the ELP implementation in the schools. They also redefined the learning goals for their students with the implementation of the new medium of instruction for at least some time. It is important to mention that the curriculum, textbooks, and state exams are all set by the state, and teachers do not have formal permission to change any of their goals related to teaching a subject. RMS junior teacher 2 said that he set “smaller goals to teach his students than what he was doing with the Urdu medium and lower than what the Education Department is expecting him to do.” A few teachers said that they “adjusted the level of the syllabus according to students’ needs and not what is mandated by the state.” UHS-2 senior teacher 1 explained, “How can I follow the syllabus if I have to concentrate on students’ basic skills?” RHS-2 primary teacher 1 also commented,

We need more time to cover what is expected of us as teachers in our classroom, but I do not want my children to lose what they have with the pressure of completing everything. Thus, I do not put additional burden on them and complete only that part of the lesson that is appropriate for my students.

Those teachers who re-devised the learning goals for their students said that they focused on average and below average students, and they adapted their teaching strategies according to those students’ learning capacity. They also said that they grouped their students according to ability. UES junior teacher 1 shared that he broke instructional content down into much smaller and basic units than he used to with lessons in Urdu in order to teach students better. He stated, “Kids responded great to this technique, although I lost hope in myself as a teacher in the beginning when I tried to teach the whole unit [as he used to do with his lessons in Urdu] to the students and it did not work.”

***Additional teaching time.*** Teachers' allocated additional teaching time to cover the textbook content required for a school year. Teachers stated that they used lunch time and early morning times before school to handle the challenges of time and content management after the change of medium in schools. This additional teaching time was termed as *zero periods* by teachers.

Teachers dedicated additional teaching time based on their experience that the new medium of instruction requires more teaching time because it involves teaching both language and content.

***Adjusting learning expectations of learners.*** Teachers argued that the most important aspect for a teacher to cope in this transition phase is “to keep expectations low of students in the first few years of change” (UHS-2, senior teacher 1). RHS-2 primary teacher 2 stated that “teachers should adjust their expectations of their learners to avoid becoming discouraged by the lower performance of students, at least in the initial years.” According to this teacher, if all teachers would develop realistic expectations of their students, they would do much better as teachers in the long run. He based his opinion on the argument that the most important thing for students to develop is comprehension of content, which proved most challenging for teachers to develop in the earlier year/s of the medium change. Some teachers argued that they were “realistic in expectations but did not lower them” (senior teacher 1 in RHS-2 and junior teacher 2 in UHS-1).

***Strategies related to self-preparedness.*** Teachers also looked for resources and options to prepare themselves to navigate the challenge of change in their classrooms. In the absence of any relevant and required professional development in the institutions or by the state, teachers were creative in using in-house and out-of- house mentoring as options to develop and prepare

themselves. Teachers used multiple sources in the school and out of school as mentoring sources to navigate the challenges of teaching after the policy change.

***In-house mentoring.*** In-house mentoring was used by most teachers to navigate the shift in the medium of instruction policy, and teachers reported that they utilized “important” collegial support to navigate the challenges of the change. All teachers who said that they used this kind of in house mentoring reported having “good in-house support available whenever asked.”

In-house mentoring was reported and observed in all the schools I visited except one rural school. Two teachers at RHS-1 noted the absence of “support or understanding available in and from the institution with the implementation of the change.” Observation data also attested to this reported lack of support and coordination among the teachers and principal in this school.

When focusing on the use of informal mentoring within schools, an analysis of teachers’ profiles revealed that all of the teachers who reported using this support were comparatively younger, with fewer than twelve years of experience. None of the experienced teachers with more than twelve years of experience reported using in-or out-of-house mentoring of any kind.

To provide background, no formal or structured mentoring exists in AJ&K public schools. However, informal mentoring takes place where there are good schools and communities. Teachers generally did not have a concept of formal or structured mentoring available within their respective institutions.

***Out-of-house mentoring.*** Teachers also reported the use of various out-of-house mentoring sources, such as spouses or other relatives who are also teachers in other public schools, and neighborhood private school teachers. RHS-2 junior teacher 1 reported, “My wife is a primary teacher, too, in a public school and we talk a lot with each other about our kids, especially after the English medium was started in our schools. We try to exchange strategies

with each other. I also talk with my sister-in-law who is a teacher, too” (FI). Another teacher, RMS junior teacher 1, also said that he sorted out different solutions to handle issues with the help of his spouse, who was also a teacher. RHS1 primary teacher 1 told me that she received help from her children and husband. She explained that her children were in private English medium schools, and her husband, although not a teacher, holds a university degree. University education in Pakistan is mostly taught using an English medium, except for a few subjects, such as Islamic studies and Urdu.

Some teachers reported using private schools as resources to develop instructional strategies for their English medium classes after the policy change in public schools. Teachers made multiple references about private schools during their focus group discussions and one-on-one interviews. They often referred to private schools as the forerunners of English medium instruction in the region, or referenced their impressive widespread existence in hard to reach areas. Teachers also discussed local private schools as serving a unique role (i.e., as a resource for their own learning and mentoring) to handle the change within their own classrooms after the shift in the medium of instruction. These teachers reported developing connections with their neighborhood private school teachers, since some were parents of children studying in local private schools. They used these parent-teacher connections in a professional context.

Teachers’ profiles and their use of mentoring practices revealed another interesting aspect: none of the urban schools’ teachers reported using any out-of-house mentoring sources. However, they reported using in-house mentoring sources. On the other hand, those rural teachers who reported using mentoring as a strategy to navigate the change in the classroom used both in-house and out-of-house mentoring to handle the change in medium of instruction in their classrooms.

## **Section IV**

### **What Practice Tells us about Policy: Discussion**

This chapter was particularly aimed at incorporating teachers' perspectives and stance towards the ELP in the classroom. Teachers were the largest and most important group of participants in this bottom-up study, because they are the primary actors implementing the policy inside the classroom. This chapter incorporated their perspectives, challenges, and strategies regarding the ELP implementation, and it presented multiple aspects of their practice in the classroom.

There are valuable lessons that practice teaches us about the multiple levels of complexity involved in policy development, negotiation, and application by the teachers in AJ&K public schools. Teachers generally favored the medium shift for public schools, based on a variety of reasons, from socio-cultural perspectives that touted the benefit of learning in multiple languages in order to succeed in a multi-lingual society, to more economic- centered, social mobility arguments. However, there was disagreement as to the procedure of change adopted by the Department of Education in AJ&K.

Teachers viewed the procedure adopted by the Department of Education as being unrealistic and problematic, which created issues for the practice of the policy inside classrooms. They experienced challenges putting the ELP into practice with reference to new teaching content, student populations, the government's teaching and learning expectations, and lack of preparedness for the change. Nevertheless, it was inspirational to see that teachers used their agency and developed strategies, both traditional and innovative, to make the ELP work for them and their learners. Teachers made sense of the policy process by understanding the need for the policy in public schools and the procedures adopted by the Department of Education in its implementation to navigate the change inside their classrooms.



Teachers also had realization that their learners often experienced confusion and decreased ability to learn the content with the new language. On the other hand, it is also clear that the Department of Education does not share this realization since there has been no adjustment in the teaching content, syllabus, or examinations on their part. Based on this notion, the Department of Education's approach to this change appears to be more of a translation of Urdu books, into English and a hypothetical program suitable for touting a slogan or party line, rather than an understanding of what the change actually means for teachers and students in the classrooms.

The most important finding of this chapter was the teachers' creative use of available resources, and their utilization of these resources to make the policy work, even though they were absent from policy discourse at the upper levels of policy development and implementation. Teachers' use of sense making and agency confirms the importance of their role in the final outcome of any educational policy. Teachers proved themselves to be motivated, active, and thoughtful.

To conclude, this chapter presents a snapshot of policy in action through the primary actors' narratives, and it provides insights into the complexity involved in practice. The chapter also provides depth and extension to policy papers and implementation plans of federal and state policy administrators, through the practices and actions of primary actors inside the classrooms. The next chapter explores the contextual parameters of the ELP implementation in AJ&K public schools.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **ENGLISH LANGUAGE POLICY: SCHOOLS AS PLACES OF PRACTICE**

The complexity of education dynamics extends beyond the role of actors and stakeholders; it also involves various contextual and collaborative factors that shape the outcomes of an educational policy. Education is a complex social product, and therefore the development and implementation of current educational policies involve many processes for all involved. Keeping in view the complex nature of education policies as a social process, this chapter explores the role of multiple factors involved in shaping the implementation of the English Language Policy (ELP) in the northeastern part of Pakistan. This chapter also discusses and delineates the challenges these factors present in the different communities in which selected public schools are located (e.g. rural and urban). These locations are all in District Muzaffarabad, in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJ&K), a northeastern region of Pakistan. Overall, the objective of this chapter is to explore and understand the connection between the community contexts and their influence on ELP implementation.

The chapter is divided in three sections, including 1) school context; 2) contextual challenges for policy implementation in public schools; and 3) discussion. The subsequent part of the chapter will present the context of the study, and participants' overview and definitions of rural and urban contexts to explain the concepts and terms used in this chapter.

#### **Section I**

##### **Context – Location, Location, Location**

All the data collected including observations, focus group discussions, interview responses, and survey data, strongly indicate that the context and setting of a school plays an important role in the implementation of ELP in public schools. This section explains context by presenting the study's location and by defining the terms "rural" and "urban" as they are used in this study.

This bottom up study was based in six public schools for the first round of data collection, while three public schools were selected for the second round in District Muzaffarabad, AJ&K, the northeastern region of Pakistan.

Schools were selected based on two factors: their location in a rural or urban setting, and a recommendation by the State Department of Education, Muzaffarabad, AJ&K. These recommendations were based on the schools’ reputation as “good schools” in both contexts. Preliminary data findings from the first round of data collection were used to make additional selections of schools for the second round of data collection. Half of the schools that participated in the first round of data collection were urban, while the other half were rural. For the second round of data collection, one large urban school and two medium-sized rural schools were selected.

**Table 13: Data Collection Sequence**

Round of Data Collection	No. of Schools	Location
First	6	3 urban and 3 rural public schools in District Muzaffarabad.
Second	3	1 urban and 2 rural public school in District Muzaffarabad.

### **Participant Overview**

Study participants included state level policy officials, school leadership, and teachers. State level policy officials were selected based on the nature of their job related to the ELP and PNEP (2009) implementation; school leadership was selected based on the location of their work; and teachers were selected based on their work location and the subjects they taught. The breakdown of study participants whose data was used for this chapter is as follows:

**Table 14: Participants Details**

<b>Description of Participants</b>	<b>No of Participants</b>	<b>Data sources</b>	<b>Total Interactions</b>	<b>Research Site</b>
Teachers	25	Surveys	25 surveys	3 urban and 3 rural public schools in District Muzaffarabad
	27	Focus group discussions	6 FGD	
	10	Interviews	10 follow up interviews	
Public school principals	6	Semi-structured interviews	9	3 urban and 3 rural public schools in District Muzaffarabad.
State policy administrators and implementers	4	Semi-structured interviews	9	State Education Directorate Muzaffarabad, AJ&K

### **Explaining the Rural-Urban Divide in the Context of AJ&K**

Rural and urban contexts were used to identify and select public schools for data collection in this study. These two particular contexts were selected to develop a comparative understanding of the relationship between ELP application and practice in the respective contexts of the schools. An explanation of these contexts is provided below.

UNICEF identifies the term “urban” as one factor or a combination of different factors that countries use to identify their population. These factors are “administrative criteria or political boundaries (e.g., area within the jurisdiction of a municipality or town committee), a threshold population size (where the minimum for an urban settlement is typically in the region of 2,000 people, although this varies globally between 200 and 50,000), population density, economic function (e.g., where a significant majority of the population is not primarily engaged in agriculture, or where there is surplus employment) or the presence of urban characteristics (e.g., paved streets, electric lighting, sewerage)” (UNICEF, 2012). The choice of defining factors varies from country to country, or sometimes, as UNICEF mentions, can vary within one country

by region. However, a combination of one or more of these factors is consistently used to differentiate between rural and urban areas in a region.

Pakistan currently uses administrative boundaries to define urban areas, which are municipal corporations (an area with a population exceeding 50,000), town committees (an area with a population exceeding 30,000), and cantonments (administrative army settlements which are equivalent to town or municipal committees) (1998 census, Pakistan). A rural area is defined as one that is not urban.

In Pakistan and AJ&K, rural and urban contexts play vital roles in defining the access of a community to the modern facilities and services provided by public governments. This contextual difference is particularly important in AJ&K, as most of this region is mountainous and has a difficult terrain. Road and transportation access is generally limited in rural areas of AJ&K, as compared to the urban areas in this region. Thus, the setting of a community in a rural or urban context defines their access to facilities for health and education. Research involving rural and urban indicators in this region has also indicated that community income and access to health and education are significantly affected by rural and urban contexts (Gilani & Kayani, 2014).

Having explained the importance for this study, rural and urban contexts were used as the main differentiating and comparative indicators in order to determine their impact on ELP implementation in public schools. According to the 1998 Census, AJ&K has a ratio of 88:12 urban to rural population, thereby making the context of schools very important to ELP implementation and practice. The data for this study was strategically collected from rural and urban schools from the Muzaffarabad District in the State of Azad Jammu and Kashmir.

The subsequent section discusses the contextual challenges which affect teaching and learning practices in public schools, with special reference given to ELP practice and implementation.

## **Section II**

### **Contextual Challenges for Policy Implementation in Public Schools**

Public schools are spaces of practice for educational policy. As institutions, these schools host primary actors and receptors of educational policy, and therefore their institutional role is vital in seeing educational policy in action. Investigation of this institutional role of schools is important in developing an understanding of the complexity of educational policy in practice. The study reveals important insights about the relationship between the context and the location of schools, and the way that these factors shape the application and implementation of ELP in these schools. Challenges related to urban and rural locations associated with policy implementation include the following four categories:

- i. Demographic features of student populations
- ii. Resources and Management
- iii. Political and bureaucratic factors in school management
- iv. Community perception and response to public education

#### **Demographic Features of Student Populations**

The demographic features of rural and urban students in selected public schools were similar, but also differed in many respects. Rural and urban learners were reported to differ in their cultural contexts, geographical location and access to school, language background, and motivation to learn, while sharing similarities in terms of socio-economic status (SES) and household literacy and parental support.

**Cultural context.** Rural and urban students differed in their local culture and domestic orientations of their families. These practices include *family preferences regarding children* and expectations *to share domestic and agricultural responsibilities*. “Family preferences regarding children” were reported by both urban and rural schools, while domestic and agricultural expectations were reported as a significant challenge by rural schools.

Two schools, one rural and one urban, reported that some families prefer to discriminate among their children when choosing schools for them to attend. In both of these examples, families chose to send one of their children to public school and the other to private school. UHS-2 teachers stated that “the choice may be made based on family estimates, whether one child is smarter than the other, and thus parents chose to *invest* in the one who is smarter; while the other *nalaik* (less intelligent and competent) one is sent to public school.” RHS-2 participants did not provide a reason as to why families made such choices. However, they mentioned the “discriminatory” attitude of families towards providing help and other provisions for children sent to public school. RHS-2 principal provided an example: “The child was not bringing textbooks to school and after multiple complaints from teacher, I called the boy and asked what was going on. He started to cry and said that his parents do not purchase textbooks for him because they have to purchase expensive books and school supplies for his other brother who attends a private school.” The RHS-2 principal also stated:

Urdu: *Do bachay jo do mukhtalif schools me jatay hen, un kay leya waldaain mukhtalif ravaiya rakhtay hen.*

Translation: Parents discriminate among their kids, who they choose to send to two different schools.

Notably, parents are responsible for providing textbooks and other school-related needs, such as school supplies and school uniforms, for their children in AJ&K public schools. Another teacher in the same school mentioned the same child in his comments and said, “His family was the least responsive to our contacts. We ended up purchasing all the school supplies for this child from our teacher-run school fund.”

All incidences reported about family discrimination or differences in school choice for their two or more children were boys. Thus, these findings hint that the discrimination or preference of school choice was gender-specific.

Agricultural and domestic expectations for children in rural households also interfere with successful teaching and learning activities in rural schools. RHS-1 junior teacher 2 stated that “in rural households mothers, in particular, do not take their daughters' education seriously and place major domestic responsibilities on elder daughters at a relatively a young age (such as 7, 8, 9 grades), and thus, their school attendance and academic performance in school is greatly affected” (FGD). Another teacher explained, “We have a prolonged celebratory culture in small village communities such as ours. If there is a marriage in one home, the whole village will be celebrating for at least a month. Mothers usually participate enthusiastically in these community events and leave the domestic chores to elder daughters. Then there are other issues, such as sickness or travel, or other things in the family, and thus, these girls may not be able to attend school for many days and at times for months” (senior teacher 1, RHS1, FGD).

For boys in rural communities, these expectations come into play in terms of agricultural responsibilities. Many rural households grow crops and male children are expected to share the responsibility. Rural schools mentioned “Ussu,” a cultural and seasonal event mainly celebrated in rural areas in AJ&K that takes place in the fall and involves cutting and storing grass for cattle



for the upcoming winter months. Generally, the whole family shares in the completion of this task, but boys tend to take on the brunt of the burden.

Rural schools mentioned that cultural expectations present more serious issues for girl students, because “mothers primarily do not value education as seriously as they do for their male children, and thus set the expectations and priorities for their children accordingly.” Rural schools also mentioned that they have a high dropout ratio within higher grades, especially for girls, because of these cultural issues in rural communities.

Thus, rural schools struggle more with students’ absences from school and community cultural practices affect their teaching.

**Geographical location and access to school.** Rural students were reported to have more challenges in their access to schools because of geographical and climatic factors of the region, combined with a lack of road infrastructure in these areas. The topology of AJ&K is highly mountainous, and the District of Muzaffarabad is the wettest region of the state of AJ&K, with 70.87 inches of annual rain. These climatic and geographical features present challenges for rural schools operating in hard to reach and far flung areas. The population is scattered and sparser in such areas; thus, rural schools generally cover larger areas than urban schools. This is the reason that public schools beyond the middle school level are particularly sparser in the rural communities of AJ&K, and high schools usually have enrolled students who might have to walk for hours to reach the school. RHS-2 principal said, “People live really far from our school and since it is the only high school for many small communities living on both sides of the river, students sometimes have to walk for 2-3 hours to reach to the school. There are other elementary and middle schools, both private and public, but no high school, and this is why we have more students enrolled in higher grades.” The principal mentioned a river here as a reference to school

location. Muzaffarabad is a valley with two main rivers flowing across it, and most people use the river to refer to their or other people's location in this region.

Rural students therefore must travel long distances to reach the public school in these areas, especially for middle and high schools. Multiple participants, including teachers and principals, who serve in both rural and urban areas, mentioned that these geographic and climatic challenges with limited infrastructure and lack of other educational resources in such areas “caused family migration of those who can afford and who value education.” RHS-1 junior teacher, who taught in a very far off area with no road access on a mountain top, shared that “many families shifted to the city and enrolled their children in private or better performing public schools because they did not have good (both public and private) elementary and middle schools and no high school in that area. I know this because I was born and raised there and then we left that area because of the reasons I mentioned and still have family there whom we visit.”

This movement of people has other implications for such areas. Specifically, the migration of people from these areas leaves less resourceful and less educationally motivated populations in these hard to reach areas, thereby making educational improvements for these areas even more challenging without the voices of those who value education and can fight for change.

**Language background.** The home and community languages of public school students were also reported to play a significant role in the smooth and swift adjustment of these learners after the medium of instruction change in public schools. Urban and rural contexts played an important role in defining students' familiarity with different sets of languages before coming to school, especially with English and Urdu. Urban students were reported to have more exposure

to English, and thus they experienced fewer issues with the change in the medium of instruction, as compared to rural students, who had the least, or in many cases, no exposure to English.

Rural students were reported to come from households and communities who used more regional dialects and local languages, such as Pahari, Gogri, and Kashmiri, for in- and out-of-home interactions, and who had thus had less exposure to Urdu and English, the current school languages in AJ&K. See table 15 for the home languages of rural and urban students as reported by their teachers:

**Table 15: Home Languages of Urban and Rural Students**

<b>Homes Languages of Students</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>
Pahari and other regional languages	46%	100%
Urdu	54%	0%

Table 15 indicates that 100% of the students in rural schools belonged to a Pahari speaking household, while 54% of urban school students belonged to Urdu speaking households.

Lacking the exposure to English, or even Urdu, in rural communities makes teaching a challenge for rural schools, especially after the new medium of instruction policy shift in the schools. RMS junior teacher 1 said, “Children who are enrolled in our school mainly come from a Pahari background. It is challenging even to teach them Urdu and in Urdu. Many of our students heard it (Urdu) for the first time in school – how does it sound to you to teach these kids in English?” Rural teachers also mentioned that “successful content teaching to these children in English or even in Urdu is not possible in the first school year, as most of these students came from Pahari or another regional language background.” RHS-1 junior teacher2 stated,

English presents a twofold challenge, especially for our (rural) students. They cannot relate to English terms and language; nouns for even simple words such as addition or subtraction do not relate to children’s everyday experience. Rural communities do not

support English even in the smallest fraction. Urban children at least hear a few words or sentences in their surroundings; thus, English is not an alien language for them, as it is for most rural kids.

On the other hand, urban schools reported that their “students’ familiarity with the English language has improved to a great extent in the last ten years. Many children now come with the knowledge of at least the English alphabet or letters to school. It was not like this ten years back” (UHS-1 primary teacher 1). Most science teachers in rural schools said that they used Urdu, or in many situations, a local language such as Pahari, to clarify an academic concept to their students after ELP implementation in their schools.

Schools working in both rural and urban contexts faced different levels of challenges during the transition to the English medium, because of the different language backgrounds of rural and urban students. Teaching techniques therefore remained bilingual or trilingual in many cases.

**Motivation towards learning.** Rural students were reported to have greater motivation towards learning in schools. Many teachers, both from urban and rural schools, mentioned that rural children were “more interested in learning, even though they have fewer opportunities and less supportive households.” Teachers and local school leadership connected the motivation of rural students with the general “lack of opportunity” in rural settings, and they argued that schools offered exciting opportunities for these children who rarely receive these types of opportunities. Urban students were reported to have enough “excitement” in their lives, and thus schools did not offer something exceptional to them, as it did to rural students. Most teachers and principals who participated in the study worked in both rural and urban schools, and they had experience with both contexts. However, RHS-1 junior teacher 1 argued, “motivation of these

(rural) kids does not go far because the households they come from are not very supportive and we (schools and teachers in rural settings) are not that equipped to handle the challenge, so their motivation lowers, sooner than later, and they end up dropping out at an earlier age than urban students.”

**Socio-economic status (SES).** Study data indicates that students attending public schools tended to be from the lowest socioeconomic status (SES). Both rural and urban schools reported that their “students have the lowest means” and “cannot afford to go to another school (such as a private school).” Thus, public schools are not schools of choice for these students in most cases, but are their only choice because of their low ability to pay for education.

Both rural and urban schools reported having students from lower SES of society, but students were reportedly poorer in rural schools. All rural schools reported that the communities these schools serve were extremely poor, and that parents could not afford to pay a nominal school fee charged by the public schools in AJ&K, or for textbooks and other school supplies for their children. In many cases, parents were not able to purchase the school uniform that students are required to wear in schools in AJ&K.

Rural and urban schools mentioned a connection between low SES and students’ ability to learn and succeed in schools. There was disagreement among teachers as to how low SES contributes to students’ overall learning in school, and particularly with the English medium of instruction. RHS-2 primary teacher 1 explained the relation between economic backgrounds with children’s learning in his classroom. “This is simple; when a rich child sees a hundred things in his home and he uses them, his learning opportunities are much more than a child who has only ten or twenty things in his home.” For this teacher, lack of resources in poor households leads to lowered interactions of poor children, particularly the ability to deal with complex situations,

which leads to a lack of opportunity for these students within schools. RHS-2 primary teacher 2 said in Urdu: *'ye baat nahi he ke ghareeb ka bacha kund zehn he'* – translation: “it is not true that a poor child has poor learning skills.” He stated that a poor child does not have an inherently lowered capacity for learning, but that a lack of resources leads to fewer opportunities for learning. English teachers also mentioned that the students coming from the lowest SES households had the most issues in developing basic reading skills, particularly in English. They believed “even their parents never heard or learned English in their whole life; how it could be easier for them? English (learning and knowledge) is associated with higher status and this is what they don’t have” (UHS-1 senior teacher).

The schools generally agreed that students taught in Urdu usually perform better than when they were taught in English. UHS-2 primary teacher 1 said, “you give a test to these students in Urdu and in English, and I bet they will score almost 90% on the Urdu exam, while in English, they might just get 40% right.”

**House hold literacy and parental support.** Mother’s literacy rates and parental support were reported to be lower in rural communities. Rural schools reported that parents’ literacy was lower in their communities, especially for mothers who were reported to have very low formal education or no education. Rural schools believed that mothers’ low literacy and lack of parental support were interdependent in their communities and affected their students’ views about education and experiences as students inside the classroom. Low literacy among rural mothers tended to lead to a lack of understanding of their children’s needs and set an anti-school culture inside their homes. Overall, participants argued that parents’ literacy proved an important factor in developing children’s inclination towards education.

Another factor that schools mentioned is the home or family and their responsiveness to schools and children's school needs. Both rural and urban schools mentioned that the family response to schools and teacher contacts are generally very weak in public schools. UHS-1 principal said, "Parents do not like to come to school. They will, however, go if they send their child to a private school; you know they have paid money over there and want to protect it, but not here."

On the other hand, even lower literacy among parents and lower SES of rural communities means that parents, especially fathers, tend to work long hours in strenuous jobs, thereby taking them out of the home for more time. Combined with mothers' low literacy in rural areas, this makes family support non-existent for these learners. This is consistent with the observation shared by RHS-1 primary teacher 1 in regards to girls' prolonged absence from school; she said, "Fathers are more responsive to our requests than mothers." Fathers, however, were reportedly "harder to reach, as they might not be home and not be aware of what is going on in the children's schools." Additionally, RHS-2 junior teacher 1 argued "children do not get enough support or surety from their families for education and thus the challenges increase many fold for these children." Rural schools connected the low SES of rural students with low parental literacy and lack of support, because "lack of resources for rural families to send their children to public schools leads to a lack of parental support, and low parental literacy leads to a lack of support for formal education." Both rural and urban teachers defined this lack of educational support from family as a "lack of an educational environment" in the home.

### **Resources and Management**

Resources and management are defined under two sub categories including institutional and instructional resources and political and administrative factors. Study data identified that

resources and management played an important role in ELP implementation in both rural and urban schools.

**Institutional and instructional resources.** Study data suggested that the provision and availability of institutional and instructional resources in public schools played an important role in the ELP implementation in public schools. These resources include teachers, school budgets, and the administration and management structures of public schools, especially at the elementary level.

**Teachers.** Teachers are the most important resource for a school and the study data revealed that both rural and urban schools faced challenges in this regard. For example, the student-teacher ratio is higher in urban schools because they tend to be located in thickly populated areas, compared to rural schools.

Survey data indicated that student enrollment in rural and urban schools varies. However, two urban high schools had a number of students ranging from 16 to 60 in different classes, while the maximum range of students in different grades was 22 in all three rural schools. The only exception for urban schools is the UES, where 4-30 students are enrolled in different classes.

**Table 16: Student Enrollment Range in Different Grades**

School Name	Student Enrolment Range in Different Grades
Urban High School-1	16-33
Urban High School-2	28-60
Urban Elementary School	4-30
Rural High School-1	8-9
Rural High School-2	12-22
Rural Middle School	1-22

Rural schools mentioned that they had a shortage of teachers, especially the number required for ELP implementation in their schools. Urban schools also mentioned that “not all of



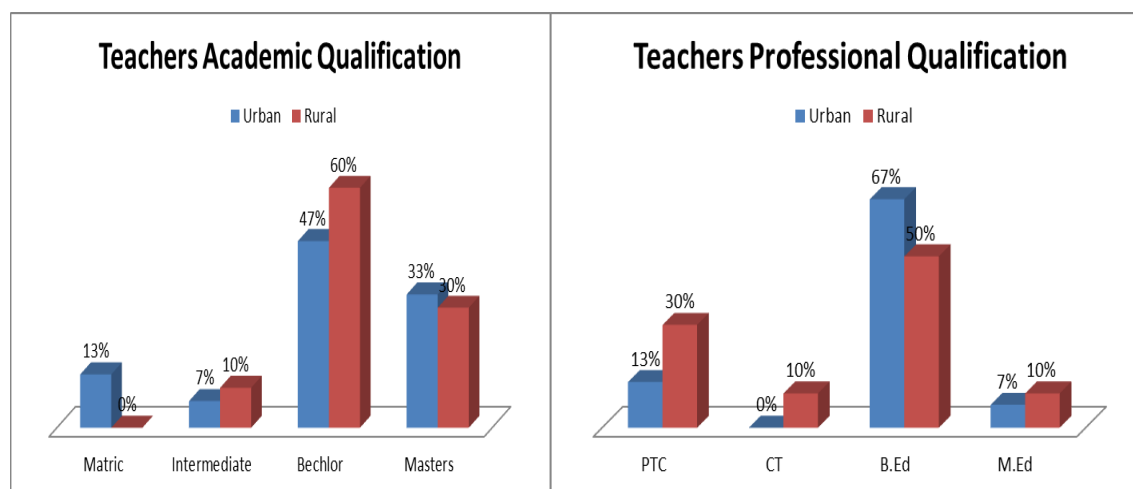
their teachers can handle English medium classes,” but that they had a large staff of varying capacities available and could handle the situation. RHS-1 principal said, “This school was upgraded from a middle school to a high school almost eight years back, but the teachers required to run a high school were not provided. We have been teaching with middle school staff since then.” On the other hand, UHS-1 and UHS-2 both had a “large” teaching staff, and thus experienced no problems in terms of the teaching staff required for ELP implementation in schools. These schools had sufficient experience in running optional English medium classes during the last ten years prior to ELP, which was not the case with any of the rural schools (please see chapter 5).

However, the survey data did not find any significant differences in the professional or academic qualifications of rural and urban teachers. In fact, rural teachers held better academic qualifications than urban teachers in general, while in terms of professional qualifications, urban teachers had better representation (please see table 17).

**Table 17: Rural/Urban wise Teachers' Academic and Professional Background**

<b>Qualification</b>		<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>
<b>Academic</b>	Matric	13%	0%
	Intermediate	7%	10%
	Bachelor's	47%	60%
	Master's	33%	30%
<b>Professional</b>	PTC	13%	30%
	CT	0%	10%
	B.Ed	67%	50%
	M.Ed	7%	10%

**Figure 3: Rural/Urban wise Teachers' Academic and Professional Background**



Rural schools also reported that they received comparatively “less capable teachers than urban schools.” Both rural high schools principals stated that “their teachers lacked the skills to handle ELP.” On the other hand, the UHS-2 principal was confident in handling the medium shift in his school and said, “I have a big staff and teachers of all capacities; [when the policy was changed] I gave the classes to those who could teach in English [medium]. The [poor] rural schools, you know, do not have so many options (in terms of availability of staff).” His later comments were made with reference to his earlier experience as a principal in a rural school. On the other hand, the RHS-1 principal confessed that “90% of teachers are not capable of teaching in English to students”; when asked whether this remark was made particularly about her own staff, she confessed, “Yes, but it is applicable everywhere.”

**School budget.** Urban schools mentioned that they were struggling “because of the unrealistic budget approach of the Department of Education.” According to these schools, the Department of Education allocated the same budget for all schools, irrespective of the size of the school. The UHS-2 principal mentioned, “Now I am running a big school, and I get the same

amount as a smaller school. How can I meet all the requirements within the limits set by the Department? They have no understanding as to what it takes to run a big school, or a small school, or simply a school” (FI). In contrast, rural schools did not mention any particular problems in this regard.

**Political and bureaucratic factors in school management.** Study data identified that the political and bureaucratic grounds for decision making also affected successful and smooth ELP implementation in public schools in AJ&K. The Department of Education is the biggest employer in AJ&K, and it spends 27% of the state budget on education. This explains the reason for their reported political and bureaucratic interventions in public schools. Participants at all levels of the study found political and bureaucratic interference in education a big concern. This section discusses these factors under four sub-headings, including weaker administrative and management structures for elementary and middle schools, lax policy monitoring and school accountability, teachers’ placement and postings, and teachers’ absenteeism.

Study data also identified the lack of voice of rural schools at any administrative or political level in terms of decision making.

**Political grounds for decision making in education.** Political grounds for decision making extends to all levels of education in AJ&K, from the establishment of new schools to the upgrading of old schools, and from teachers’ induction to their promotions and placements into particular schools by politicians to win voter support. Participants’ explained that most of these decisions either lacked realistic evaluation of community needs or the availability of resources and budget for such initiatives, or both; most of these ventures turned into local school management disasters, whereby schools were forced to perform at the high school level with a middle school staff or with elementary school facilities. Furthermore, the political grounds for

teachers' induction and their promotions and postings to different positions and schools also presented huge setbacks, especially for rural schools, who took the maximum blow from this political interference.

Establishment of new educational institutions and upgrading of existing schools from elementary to middle and middle to high school levels was also deemed a common political strategy to attract voters in the state of AJ&K. Needs assessments of schools are not commonly conducted in a systematic fashion, and most decisions are made based on political grounds. This statement does not imply that all schools that were established or upgraded, even if on political grounds, were not *required* in these areas. The primary issue is with the lack of systematic or realistic planning by political and bureaucratic regimes. This strategy presented challenges related to a shortage of teaching staff and instructional resources, or in extreme cases, the establishment and upgrading of schools without basic infrastructure, thereby making everyday teaching challenging for these schools. RHS-1 was one such school that participated in the study and was upgraded from middle to a high school without any provisions or other arrangements. Most of the issues that this school reported related to ELP implementation challenges that both teachers and school management faced.

Teachers' placement or postings to schools of choice was another concern for all schools that participated in the study. Both rural and urban schools mentioned that the basis for many teachers' postings or placements in different schools was done as a political favor to win voters. This practice also developed a struggle within schools to win "political favors and be influential" among the teachers, and thereby affected the academic spirit of schools. Many participants at various levels of the study mentioned that such teachers are viewed as "political teachers" and "who have more leadership qualities rather than teaching abilities." Thus, teachers' placement

was not based on need, the requirements of a school, or the ability and skills of the teachers, but on who has more political influence and contacts within the right places.

Study data also suggested that better educated teachers tended to migrate to cities for better facilities for their families; placement in urban schools was more attractive for these teachers since these schools offered better options for their family needs compared to placement in a rural school. Consequently, teachers preferred to be placed in an urban school. This led to bigger challenges for rural schools, because these schools were the second choice for most good teachers. This also explains urban schools principals' confidence in the smooth ELP implementation in their schools, because they were resourceful, well supported politically, and had the knowledge that better teachers would come to them. Study findings also revealed that most teachers and principals in UHS-2 belonged to one tribe which is considered to be politically resourceful in AJ&K.

**Weaker administrative and management structures for elementary and middle schools.** The administrative and management structures, especially for elementary education, were also found to be problematic. Study data suggested that school status, whether a school was an elementary, middle, or high school, also played an important role in the success and implementation of the new language policy in these schools. High schools were found to be better managed and equipped to tackle the change than elementary or middle schools. In this regard, the level of the school was found to have a greater influence on ELP implementation than the school context or community. Two of the schools, one elementary school (UES – Urban Elementary School) and one middle school (RMS – Rural Middle Schools), were less prepared and had more challenges in ELP implementation than the high schools in both rural and urban contexts. High schools were also found to be more responsive and willing to share policy

implementation scenarios in their schools, which also played a key role in their inclusion for the second round of data collection of this study. It is also important to mention that there are more elementary schools working in every district in Muzaffarabad than high schools. Principals in both rural and urban schools mentioned that high schools had higher enrollment than elementary schools because of their better facilities and teaching services.

**Policy implementation management and monitoring.** Study data also revealed issues with the management, implementation, and monitoring of ELP in public schools. Study results suggested that there were issues with timely and required information dissemination at multiple levels of policy implementation and monitoring, especially from the state level to local schools, particularly in rural areas. The State Department of Education also failed to prepare for key management resources such as needs evaluations and other provisions (e.g. textbooks and other teaching aids or professional development), irrespective of their confessed role as a partner in the process of 2009 PNEP development.

Policy implementation monitoring and evaluation were also noted as important factors in the study. Multiple research participants identified monitoring and evaluation of educational policies in rural and hard to reach areas as “harder to implement” (state level policy administrators), and thus they reported that these were “less [often] implemented than what is confessed” (school principals and teachers). Study results revealed that public schools, which were not readily accessible because of poor transportation infrastructure in many highly mountainous areas in AJ&K, received much less monitoring and evaluation team visits to ensure teachers’ attendance and other learning indicators, compared to other public schools. For instance, principal and teachers of RMS indicated that they “get *more* visitors from the Department of Education than their fair share because of their roadside location.” Accessibility

to schools played an important role in the efficient monitoring of policy implementation and other teaching practices in rural public schools.

***Teachers' absenteeism and theka system.*** Study data also identified teachers' absenteeism and the practice of local replacement arrangements among some teachers as an issue affecting policy implementation, which mainly occurred in rural and hard to reach areas of AJ&K. Teachers were reported to make a "local replacement arrangement," commonly referred to as "*theka system*" (literal translation from Urdu means contract system) in AJ&K public schools, when they could not be present for their job or because of other issues, such as a lack of teaching skills in certain circumstances. In general, the *theka system* is an arrangement conducted between teachers, when one teacher hires another person to fill in for him or her and agrees to pay a part of his salary as compensation.

All study participants mentioned teacher absenteeism in AJ&K public schools as an issue; however, no teacher admitted to having arranged for a replacement teacher or having served as one during their service. Teachers, principals, and mid-level state policy officials all mentioned that "in rural and hard to reach areas, the *theka system* exists," and most of the teachers mentioned knowing "someone who arranged for someone else to serve as a replacement" (FGDs, FIs with multiple teachers at both rural and urban schools and interviews with mid-level policy administrators). Participants provided many reasons for the *theka system's* ability to work in such contexts. Most teachers believed that the "Department of Education's unrealistic approach in the posting and placement of teachers to far off areas from their home town is one of the reasons that makes teachers go to the *theka system*" (senior teacher 1, RHS-1, FI). However, other teachers explained that this justification applied mostly to female teachers "who cannot go very far from their homes to serve because of cultural reasons or traditional

domestic responsibilities placed on them” (FGD, RHS-2 & UHS1). School principals mentioned other reasons for the use of the *theka system* other than the cultural or domestic issues of female teachers. For example, RHS-2 principal said, “Many teachers would go for this arrangement if they believe they lack the skills to teach new content.” He quoted another principal from a nearby rural school, who complained about “the current textbooks being very hard for her teachers” and mentioned that “this principal was indeed relieved when one of her teachers arranged for another fresh graduate from the university to serve as her replacement in the school. The poor teacher was not able to teach using the new books and the principal was happy as it worked well for all: his school, teacher, students, and of course, for the fresh graduate who worked as a replacement.” In this case, the *theka system* was described as a strategy to help principals, teachers (including the newly graduated teacher), and the learners.

The *theka system* exists in many schools in AJ&K, although there is much less “on record confessions” about its existence. In essence, study results revealed that *theka* was an open secret which everyone knew about; however, although participants discussed *theka*, they gave examples of other schools or teachers, and none admitted to being a part of this arrangement. Irrespective of the moral status of this arrangement, many study participants reported *theka* as a strategy to combat teaching or access limitations of teachers serving in many schools, mainly rural.

Data analysis helped to reveal that although the *theka system* is an arrangement that many teachers use for various reasons, it cannot work without the approval of the local school leadership. Local school leaders have their own priorities as to why they let the *theka system* work in their schools, which can range from cultural and social justification of female teachers’ off station placements, to more practical reasons, such as when teachers are not able to teach and



can get a better replacement for themselves. On the other hand, state level policy administrators also mentioned that there had been some “strict measures” adopted by the Department of Education to ensure teachers attendance in all schools, but none of the participants commented about the effectiveness of those measures.

### **Community Perception and Response to Public Education**

Study data revealed that community disowning of public schools is important and was one of the most commonly reported contextual factors that affected language policy, planning, and practice in public schools. In this section, the community disowning of the public education system is discussed. This section contains two parts:

- i. The first deals with the factors that contributed to the community disowning of public education in the region; and
- ii. The second discusses the pro-private school trend in the community as a replacement for public education, especially at the elementary and middle school levels of education.

This discussion is important in identifying the connection between public and private schools; the widespread growth and acceptance of private schools in Pakistan in general, and in AJ&K in particular, was discussed at all levels of this study as a concern and a challenge for public schools. This was also identified as a reason for the medium of instruction policy change in Pakistan.

**Disowning of public education in AJ&K.** An important challenge that public schools face is community disowning of the public school system. All stakeholders, actors, and receptors of the education policy who participated in the study identified the lack of trust in public schools in the community. Study data revealed that the lack of ownership over public education and the

distrust in public schools were deeply rooted in the community. As far as the community was concerned, this reported lack of trust of public schools and education in general caused a “middle class flight” from public schools, especially for elementary and middle school levels of education. This class favored and trusted private schools over public schools for their children, which helped in the widespread growth of private schools in this area. This disowning caused challenges for all stakeholders in public education at all levels. Public schools took the maximum blow from this community disowning and distrust by losing enrollment, especially at the elementary levels, and they earned the social stigma of failing institutions and as providers of outdated education. RHS-2 primary teacher<sup>1</sup> mentioned, “The Urdu medium is a social stigma now in our society and students who go to public schools are taunted as *Urdu medium kids*.” However, this disowning was reported to extend beyond the middle school level for those who belonged to higher SES and extended as far as high schools and beyond in Pakistan.

It is important to mention that community perceptions recorded in this part of the chapter were reported by teachers, principals, and policy officials based on their interactions with the community; study results also revealed that all of these study participants’ children were not attending public schools, especially at the elementary and middle school levels. One exception was a mid-level policy official, who stated that his elder children studied in public schools, but his younger children were now attending a private school. Those participants whose children were beyond middle school were also reported to attend private schools for at least part of their early education. The RHS-2 principal mentioned, “Our enrollment is decreased this year for elementary classes because there are a couple of new private schools that have started working in our neighborhood this year. The strange thing is that our syllabi are the same, and we are

teaching in the English medium now, but people still want to go to private schools. You see, it's a matter of their preference more than anything."

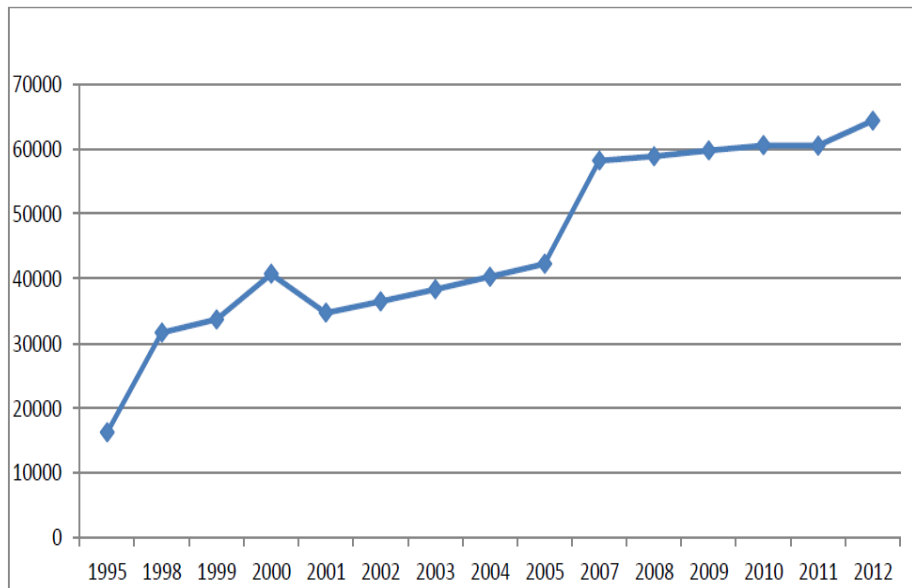
Both rural and urban public schools and mid- and high-level state policy representatives reported community distrust. Schools reported, "Who comes to public schools these days? Those who do not have any money to pay even for a small neighborhood private school – which might be established in a two room house with no playground or enough space for the kids to sit in the classrooms. But people would go there in any case, if they could pay their fee. People would go to better private schools if they have even better paying capacity, you know like City school, Roots, and other big name and chain private schools. They would come to us only if they don't have anything to pay for education. Or worse, if they don't value education at all" (UHS-1 principal).

Study participants identified multiple reasons for this distrust and disowning of public education in the community, such as the previous *unavailability of English medium instruction* in public schools, the perceived low quality of public school textbooks, parents' perception of children's low performance in state mandated standardized tests as related to the incompetence of public schools, teachers' absenteeism, and community trends or inclinations towards private schools.

Because most of the aforementioned factors are discussed in great depth in the earlier part of this dissertation, the next subsection only discusses the community inclination towards private schools. This pro private school trend in the community was reported to be a result of the aforementioned community disowning and distrust in public schools and education in Pakistan. Participants also described this as one of the main contextual factors involved in the ELP development and implementation in public schools.

**Community inclination towards private schools.** Community inclination towards private schools is reported to be the norm in AJ&K in both rural and urban contexts. Private schools flourished and expanded in Pakistan during the last couple of decades, especially in elementary education. Please see figure 4 for reference:

**Figure 4: Increase in Number of Private K-12 Schools in Pakistan by Years**



Source Chang, (2014, p. 2).

These private schools gained acceptance from the community largely because of their edge, compared to most public schools, in terms of “exclusive English medium” teaching. It is not an exaggeration to say that their role as a forerunner of English medium instruction had a great deal of influence over the community’s acceptance, especially at the elementary level. Study results also suggested that private schools get more enrollments in elementary education than public schools. The middle class, in particular, bought into private schools as forerunners of English medium teaching more readily, left public schools, and started sending their children to private schools according to their paying capacity, thereby leaving financially and educationally weak fragments of society in public schools.

Private schools provide a very unique and interesting competitive scenario for public schools. This dissertation did not directly address or include private schools as a subject or population of study in context of the application of 2009 ELP; however, the qualitative data analysis situates these private schools in a very unique position in this study. Private schools were frequently referred to or quoted by the different research participants at multiple times at all stages of qualitative data collection. It is evident from participants' remarks that private schools played a key role in the English medium shift in the education policy in Pakistan. First, private schools were the forerunners in the application and propagation of the English medium in Pakistan. Second, the study indicated that the immense response of the community to these private schools is closely tied to these schools' touting of the English medium, and this community demand prompted the change in the medium of instruction policy for public schools in 2009 in Pakistan. Thus, private schools' growth proved to be a compelling factor in the policy change (please see chapter 5). There are other parts of the qualitative data findings which clearly indicate that the role of English medium schools is that they serve as models of teaching practices in English (please see chapter 6). Most of my research participants pointed out a number of limitations and issues with the current setups of private schools in District Muzaffarabad, but they also indicated their role as the initiator of the medium of instruction policy change, their existence within geographically challenging areas, and as informal mentoring resources for public school teachers struggling with the challenge of change in medium of instruction in their schools.

Another interesting aspect that the study revealed is that the rural/urban divide is not a differentiating aspect only for public schools, but that this divide existed in private schools as well. Multiple data sources identified that major portions of the rural community left rural areas

and migrated to urban areas, not only for better public schools, but in most cases, for good private schools. RHS-2 primary school teacher 2 mentioned, “Not only do better public schools work in the urban areas, but better private schools work there, too. Those parents who could afford to move to cities for their children’s education or arranged transportation to send their kids to Muzaffarabad city, if at a commutable distance, enrolled their children in private schools there, or in some cases, public schools, particularly for high school.”

Study participants reported the following reasons to explain this pro-private school trend in AJ&K community, such as private schools’ perceived role as providers of quality education, their use of better textbooks, and their use of business promotional strategies to attract the community.

***Better providers of quality education.*** Multiple study participants stated that the community trust of private schools was based on the community’s perceived notion of private schools as providers of quality education and their better capability to prepare students for higher education. Many participants admitted that these private schools play an important role, especially because of their existence in rural and geographically challenging areas, which also contributed to the popularity and acceptance of private schools in the local community. Private schools were reported to have an edge over the public schools in these areas because of what was termed as the problematic and political placement policies of public teachers. Here, private schools had an edge by inducting local teachers and thereby better control the attendance of teachers in these schools.

***Textbooks.*** Participants, especially school principals and teachers, mentioned that textbooks used in private schools also played an important role in developing the community’s preoccupation with these schools. Generally, most private schools were not governed by any

standardization authority, and therefore they used their own discretion in the selection of textbooks and syllabi for their school. Most of these private schools reportedly used Oxford or other luxury textbook editions with colorful and expensive presentations, but not necessarily different substantive content, compared to state mandated textbooks. RMS principal said, “They (private schools) have colorful elementary books with shiny pictures and hard covers. For example, we have our first grade level books for kids to teach them A for apple and B for balloon, etc. They have the same A for Apple and B for Balloon textbooks manufactured by expensive providers with better covering and printing, and parents believe that those are better books when there is no change in the content inside.”

Public school participants mentioned that parents with limited formal education, especially in rural households, believed that these expensive colorful textbooks were equivalent to better knowledge and learning for their children, and therefore perceived private schools as better providers of education. On the other hand, public schools are bound to use the state mandated textbooks, which is not the case with most private schools.

***Use of business promotional strategies.*** Study participants also mentioned that the community inclination towards private schools is also due the use of promotional business tactics, such as talent hunting scholarships and incentives for exceptionally performing students from public schools. Private schools were reported to hunt and compete for exceptionally performing children attending public schools during state mandated standardized exams, and they offered great incentives to such students. For example, UHS-2 principal said about a famous private school system in Muzaffarabad, “You know how they get the students? They go to all position holder students of 8<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade of our and other public schools in the entire district. They offer them scholarships and then they held separate classes to teach these students. They

know these students would perform well on the state board exam and then they can use their performances to lure further enrollment for their school.” Thus, many of these private schools were reported to use good public and other schools’ students as promotional strategies to get a better paying and educated student population in their schools, even though many other students did not receive the same kind of teaching as these private schools’ “golden students.”

**Comparison of public and private schools.** Teachers who had multiple years of teaching experience at private schools stated that private schools facilitated their teachers better to be able to adjust to classroom requirements compared to public schools. These teachers identified the role of local administration in both schools as the differentiating aspect between public and private schools. For example, RHS-1 junior teacher 1 explained, “I worked in a private for eight years before coming here. It was more work there and we never had time to sit, but I never felt alone in my classroom there. If I had a problem, there was always school administration to suggest me how to resolve it. We had weekly and biweekly meetings to discuss classroom issues. It never happens here in public school. I have more time here, but is not utilized as it should be.” According to her experience and a few other teachers’ experience, the local administration in private schools was more involved with the teachers. In contrast, she experienced a top-to-down administration approach in public schools that rarely took any feedback.

Study participants also mentioned some reservations about private schools, including a lack of standardization of educational quality in these schools, a lack of minimum standardization of teachers’ qualifications, and an absence of outside monitoring and evaluation of teaching processes in these schools. Private schools were reported to have lesser check and balance systems in terms of their teachers’ qualifications, the curriculum they use inside the



classroom, and accountability in terms of students' learning. These participating teachers also mentioned that private schools have far less accountability and fewer rigorous requirements to maintain quality and standardization inside schools, compared to public schools. Most of the private schools followed different syllabi and had much more freedom in choosing their own curriculum and books. This freedom is coupled with a lack of checks and balances for the private school system; and this leads to relaxed and self-governed induction policies, which then results in the induction of a teaching force without any minimum qualifications or professional educational requirements in many of these schools. On the other hand, induction policies in public schools are much more clearly defined and standardized, compared to private schools. All public schools have a minimum professional qualification requirement for their teachers, which is not the case with private schools.

Private schools were further reported to generate a fake sense of achievement for their students, which made uneducated and naive parents confident about the effectiveness of private schools. However, once these students were put to a real test of their learning outside their private schools, all public schools reported that such students failed to meet even the minimum standards of learning and thus dropped out at higher grades.

Many participating teachers mentioned that most undereducated or uneducated parents chose private schools solely based on the amount of money they were required to pay. Specifically, these parents equate the amount of money they pay to the school with the quality of education their children receive. However, not all parents who send their children to private schools fall into this category. Private schools were also reported to capture the most educated and high SES households. Mid-level state policy administrator 1 said, "Private schools must show better results; they get better students and better families. Those who don't have money to

pay or do not perform well cannot stay there. Many good private schools even interview parents now to decide whether they would enroll their children. Parents will bring the children to public schools only when they or their children fail to meet private schools' criteria and then they expect that public schools should be able to do what their selected private schools are not able to do." Thus, private schools tend to work only with better performing and better paying students and not with the general population. Parents from educated and middle class backgrounds were reported to choose private schools for their children because they see their children's education as an investment, and they try their best to protect it by choosing the best school they can afford, and also by setting better expectations for their children and by following up with the schools to make sure their investment is not at stake.

However, public schools also had their own issues in terms of monitoring and management, especially in rural contexts. Study participants mentioned that public schools' accountability, which was reported as an edge for the public sector over the private, was actually quite loose in rural areas. Elementary level examinations were also reportedly not managed with high standards. UES primary teacher 1 remarked mockingly that "all students passed" because of "*theka system* of exams, meaning contract system of exams." Another ironic situation that study data revealed about public teachers is that although private schools teachers tend to have low qualifications, private school teachers individually carry higher and stricter accountability for themselves than do public school teachers. Most of this accountability for private teachers, as indicated by public school teachers who worked in private schools in the past, is "performance based," or is based on the performance of students on standardized exams. Failing to perform against these criteria in most cases cost teachers their job in private schools. On the other hand, participating teachers indicated that the private schools themselves are less accountable and

standardized as institutions as compared to public schools; this accountability is quite high for most public schools, but not as high for public teachers individually because they are protected by government laws against any extreme punitive measures in case of a lack of performance.

### **School Strategies to Win the Community Back**

Schools reported adopting different strategies to win the community back to public schools, and also to help combat public schools challenges by taking measures such as changing the traditional uniform for their students and by maintaining a teachers' fund in three of the schools to help poor students. See, for example, RHS-2 primary teacher 2, who stated,

*Urdu: dekhen na aap to issi society me rahi hoi he. Ab urdu medium and English medium bhi ek beṛti or izzat he.*

*Me: Bilkul sahi keh rahay hen*

*RHS-2 primary teacher2: Ek waqt tha ke hum malasia ki uniform phente the kalay rang wali or English medium ke bachay pant shirt pehntay they. Ye jab samnay kharay hotay the, humara inn ko salute kernay ka dil aata tha. Hum khud ko neechay wali cheez samajhtay the...ye choti choti mehrumian humaray sath aaye hen, rayasat ne humein kahen support nahi kya...tu jin cheezu pe me nay khud ko kumzor feel kya wo hum ne koshish ki kay wo hum tek kerien, maslan hum ne yahan uniform change kya, iss nazrya se me ne shor dala ke pant shirt le ke aatay hen, parents ghareeb hen to kya hoa, wo pant shirt le ge, un ko ehsaas nahi he ke un ka bacha iss waja se kitna disheart hota he. Or hum ne change kya or phir humen dekh ke bohat se schoolon ne change kya. Me app ko bata nahi sakta ke bachau ke chehray kesay the us din.*

Translation: Look, you yourself belong to this society, (so you know) Urdu and English mediums are social tags now and a matter of respect or disrespect in a society.

Me: You are right.

RHS 2 primary teacher2: Once we used to wear black traditional uniform to schools when we were students and English medium kids wore pant shirt for their school uniform. When they stood in front of us, we felt like saluting them, we felt that we were lower in front of them. These small deprivations grew within us. The state never supported us when we were young, so the things I felt were weak or struggling in me when I was student, we tried addressing and fixing them for our students. For example, we changed the school uniform here. I pleaded the case for pant shirt as a uniform for our school because of the reasons I mentioned above. I argued for the change and said what if parents were poor, they would take pant shirt for their kids; they didn't know how much their kids feel disheartened because of their changed outlook compared to a private school student. And then we changed, and a lot of schools followed our example after that. I cannot explain to you the look I saw on my students' face that day.

It is important to mention here that the uniform change in public schools was adapted for boys only; girls still use the traditional uniform style and color in public schools. None of my female teachers mentioned this as an important factor for their female students. However, it is also important to mention here that men's westernized clothing has become widely acceptable in the region in the past decade. Young boys are more likely to wear western style outfits than traditional ones. However, women still wear traditional dresses.

Another strategy that schools used was the establishment of a teachers fund within the school for their poor students. All schools I visited for data collection managed a teachers' fund to help their students with instructional supplies and other personal needs for those students who could not afford to do so because of their economically challenging backgrounds. Data suggested

that most students in public schools came from such economic backgrounds, so the importance of this trust fund was crucial. One of my participating teachers mentioned that he was paying many of his students' fees out of his own pocket when and where he saw a need and that this need was usually very common in public schools.

### **Section III**

#### **Connecting across the Data: Discussion**

This study provides important insights into the operational complexity of ELP in institutional setups and the role of locations and communities in the policy is application in the AJ&K. Public schools are suffering from public disowning, particularly at the elementary level. The 2009 language policy shift partly arose as a strategy to regain this ownership and credibility in the community. However, a lack of strategic implementation and needs evaluations is very evident, and teachers, state level personnel, and local administrators mentioned this fact repeatedly. Public schools are working hard to implement the policy; however, most are not given the support to evaluate the challenge.

This chapter also helped in developing insight into the contextual challenges of rural and urban schools. Rural schools have more challenging and needy communities, but have fewer or less qualified staff than their urban counterparts. This leads to further segregation for rural and urban communities because all public schools working in both contexts are held to the same level of expectations for their students' performance on state exams. This accountability standard has its own web of complications for the school. For example, the RHS-1 principal repeatedly mentioned the low performance of her school on the exam after the medium change, and she shared her worries about the accountability standards that the education secretariat will be holding against this school.

Study results also identified that urban public schools tend to have better academic capacity and instructional resources in terms of a greater number of teaching staff, but not necessarily in terms of teachers' qualifications as compared to rural setting. The socioeconomic status of the public school population is generally reported to be low in both rural and urban localities, but it is more challenging in rural settings.

Public schools face a huge challenge in terms of public disowning. This disowning has interesting connections to the language policy shift in 2009. This chapter presents and argues the importance of contextual factors and the way these contribute to the effectiveness of innovations introduced in schools. Study results suggested that the context greatly helps in shaping what people can and will do. Most of the participants, including the policy administrators, mentioned the language policy shift of 2009 as attributed to "community demand" and they based their argument on the huge acceptance and interest of the public towards elementary level private schools. The reported disowning of public schools was found to be deep rooted and spread across all fragments of society, including those who are part of public education such as teachers, principals, and state policy officials.

The majority of the current community sending their children to elementary public schools is least equipped to handle the language shift. This situation is more challenging in rural setups, where the community language is not even Urdu, but Pahari or other regional dialects. Lack of parental support to help with academic knowledge of English for their children makes the language switch even more challenging for public school children. Schools and the Department of Education were aware of the challenge of community disowning of public schools, and they devised strategies to win the community back. This language policy shift can be seen as a combating strategy to gain community trust back and to attract the middle class to

the elementary public education system by policymakers and implementers at the national and state level.

None of the policy persons that I interviewed mentioned the contextual challenges of the language policy change. Teachers were the only participants who mentioned the level of complexity involved with the language shift for rural and urban settings. A public school child may be equally challenged in terms of their financial means in rural and urban setups, but in rural setups students are much less exposed to English as compared to urban students. Having no provisions for the contextual challenges for teachers or learners studying in these two contexts shows that policymakers are more attuned to the urban contexts of schools and less so to the issues in rural areas related to the policy change. Political interference also makes the situation more challenging for rural schools.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **WHAT PRACTICE TEACHES ABOUT POLICY: DISCUSSION**

The main question this dissertation attempted to answer was: How does the process of ELP implementation and practice shape the policy, with a specific focus on the multiple actors and receptors operating at different levels of public education in the northeastern region of Pakistan? In doing so, this study explored the role of multiple stakeholders, actors and receptors, in addition to the contextual and out-of-school factors involved in policy development and practice across all levels of ELP implementation.

The first section of this chapter explains the terms and tools used in this chapter. The second section discusses the study's findings under the sub-sections of i) scripting policy implementers and local school leadership, in which I will review the study findings from the point of view of these two stakeholders; and ii) putting the policy script in action—teachers and context. This section reviews teachers' interpretation of the policy, including the ways in which they practice ELP inside their classrooms, and the in- and out-of-school factors that affect and shape their interpretations and practice. The chapter's third section connects these levels of policy implementation and practice and places the respective actors in a dialogue to explore the lessons learned from ELP practice. The last section presents the implications and suggestions.

#### **Section I**

#### **Explaining the Terms and Tools**

##### **Use of the Drama Metaphor for the Chapter**

This section makes use of the drama metaphor's concept of the "script" to describe policy documents, and the term "scripting" to refer to activities related to the text and the nature of the policy processes involved in the development, implementation, and practice of the ELP.



## **Thematic Overview of Study Finding in a Tabular Form**

A comprehensive table is developed to present a comparative checklist of themes against different actors and receptors of ELP in AJK that emerged both from qualitative and quantitative data analysis of the study. As the research procedures were fashioned in two rounds with all participants at all selected levels and layers of policy development, implementation and practice, it proved helpful in follow-up and cross-checking of the emerging themes with all the stakeholders, thus helping to develop a holistic picture of the policy implementation processes and practice at multiple levels. But as the table extends on more than three pages, in this chapter I only report on the related parts of the table. See appendix A for the full table.

### **Section II Scripting the Policy – Documents, Implementers and Principals**

The 2009 PNEP document identifies the overarching challenges and deficiencies involved in education policy implementation in Pakistan, namely the commitment gap, implementation gap, widening access and raising quality, mobilizing resources for education, policy coherence, fragmented governance, public-private divide, structural divide, management and planning capacities, and community involvement (2009 PNEP). The policy document identifies poverty and other issues as well, but does not delve into the measures to address these factors in educational contexts. Policy is also affected by the various contextual challenges presented to schools. PNEP 2009 finds that “differentials in quality and consequent opportunities of children also depend on the location of the school, for example rural versus urban or large city versus small town” (p. 20). These challenges focus on the issues that relate to general educational policy implementation challenges in Pakistan, although they also relate to ELP implementation. However, there is no particular mention of ELP in this context, except for a trivial mentioning of the language capacities of rural teachers. Yet this kind of contextual

provision is crucial, because ELP was a big leap from the earlier education policies in Pakistan, which did not officialize any language policies before 2009.

To reiterate the findings of the study, the 2009 PNEP was announced and applied in 2009 in Pakistan for a conventional ten-year period, extending to 2019 – a conventional time frame that most education policies in Pakistan follow. The state of AJ&K adapted this policy in 2011, and actual implementation occurred in schools in 2013; thus there was a “time gap” in the implementation and application of this policy at both the national and state levels. My study found that this “time gap” could not be utilized for the state’s or teachers’ benefit, because the state policy administration did not conduct a needs assessment or context evaluation prior to or after the implementation of the policy. Needs assessments and context evaluations help to reveal important factors such as the current capacity of schools or the specific needs of schools, teachers, and students in reference to the language medium change. The study also reveals that none of the public schools or teachers was part of the process of change. Study data confirms that the policy change was implemented in schools in 2013, but before that time only the state policy personnel were a part of discussions related to this shift.

The study also confirmed the lax role of the state Department of Education in the implementation of the policy. The state Department of Education appeared to fail to take practical steps/measures in the translation of policy during different stages of policy development and implementation. The findings revealed that delayed policy implementation, the lack of availability of required textbooks in a timely manner, the shortage of qualified teaching staff, and failure to prepare the current teaching force in the schools demonstrated the state Department of Education’s inefficiency and lack of involvement in the policy implementation process. (See table 18)

[Key to Tables<sup>1</sup>]

**Table 18: Role of State Education Department in ELP Implementation**

Findings	Policy Documents		State level policy implementer		Local School Leadership		Teachers		Reported community stance	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
<b>Role of State Education Department in ELP Implementation</b>										
• <b>Obscure role in policy development</b>	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		
• <b>Planning &amp; pre-assessment</b>										
○ <b>No institutional and instructional capacity assessment</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>delayed Instruction material printing and availability</b>			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		

This led to poor school capacity and issues of poor resource alignment at the school level, thereby making the effective implementation of ELP challenging and ineffective. The study also identified that principals played an important role in adapting and implementing the ELP in schools. However, they lacked the structural and logistical support from the state Department of Education. School principals showed acceptance towards the implementation of ELP in public

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<sup>1</sup> **Key to Table**

The table presents the study findings in tabular form. Two columns are presented and are checked for actors and receptors' awareness and agreement with the different themes emerged from the study for policy documents, implementers, teachers, and community. The two checked columns are entitled "identified" (I) and "Agreed" (A) with respect to the statement of the theme. Those columns where the theme is not applicable or mentioned in connection with concerned actors or receptors of the policy are left blank. In case of difference of opinion regarding any theme, both (✖/✓) are used. It is important to explain that the themes presented in the table are more complex and intricate than these two headings would suggest; however, the table is developed to present a holistic overview of the study findings with reference to different actors and receptors at all levels of the study. For the comprehensive findings' complexity, see chapters 5, 6 and 7.

schools and a sympathetic inclination towards both the Department of Education and teachers in the process of implementation. However, their efforts were greatly constrained and affected by the poor institutional capacity of their respective institutions, as can be seen through the challenges to rural schools where resource constraints affected the implementation of ELP. Table 19 indicates the importance of the role of principals in ELP implementation as identified by all actors and receptors of policy script.

**Table 19: Role of principals in ELP implementation in schools**

<b>Findings</b>	<b>Policy Documents</b>		<b>State level policy implementer</b>		<b>Local School Leadership</b>		<b>Teachers</b>		<b>Reported community stance</b>	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
<b>Role of principals in ELP implementation in schools</b>										
• <b>Active</b>	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	×/✓		
• <b>Passive</b>					✓		✓			

Nevertheless, it was encouraging to see that principals' own background in teaching and work in different contexts aided them in understanding the complexity of the situation. The study also revealed that active principals proved helpful in minimizing the drawbacks of policy implementation in their schools, even without the required logistical and other support from the Department of Education. Finally, the study also identified issues in policy management at the state level, such as not sending information down to teachers or other actors about the policy, a lack of evaluation and understanding of teachers' resistance, and measures to address teachers' resistance and absenteeism.

### **Putting the Script into Action – Teachers and Contexts**

Teachers are those who act out the script of the policy, and in the process they interpret the script for their acts, which is teaching in classrooms. The study confirmed that teachers and the community did not speak English as a language beyond the limited use for academic and

textual purposes inside the classroom. Contextual factors also increased the challenges for ELP implementation in different schools. Teachers identified the gap between policy and practice, especially in the rural and urban schools in AJ&K, because of the Department of Education's indecisiveness and lax policy towards its application in the schools.

There are valuable lessons that practice teaches us about the multiple levels of complexity involved in the policy script's development, negotiation, and application by the teachers in AJ&K public schools. Teachers favored the medium shift for public schools for a variety of reasons, from socio-cultural perspectives that tout the benefit of learning in multiple languages to succeed in a multi-lingual society, to more economic-centered, social mobility arguments. However, they also disagreed with the procedure of change adopted by the Department of Education in AJ&K. Table 20 indicates the stance of different stake holders about ELP change in schools. Note the level of richness involved in teachers' responses about "when and how to change the medium of instruction" as compared to other stake holders especially at implementation and script levels of policy.

**Table 20: Stance and Timeline of Medium of Instruction Change in Schools**

Findings	Policy Documents		State level policy implementer		Local School Leadership		Teachers		Reported community stance	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
Stance and Perspectives on ELP										
• English is an investment in children's future/increases chances to reach & succeed in higher education	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• Public demand	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• international commitment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
• Need of a multi lingual community	✓	✓					✓	✓		
• English & Urdu media are social tags					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
When & How to change medium of instruction?										

Table 20 (Cont'd)

• Change should be gradual					✓	×	✓	×/✓		
• Change should be for all at once					✓	✓	✓	×/✓		
• Appropriate grade level of change										
○ 4 <sup>th</sup> grade is suitable	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	×/✓		
○ Begin from middle school					✓	×	✓	×/✓		
○ Should begin from 1 <sup>st</sup> grade					✓	×/✓	✓	×/✓	✓	✓

Teachers tended to view the procedure adopted by the Department of Education as being unrealistic and problematic, which created issues for the practice of the policy inside classrooms. They experienced challenges putting ELP into practice with reference to new teaching content, student populations, the government's teaching and learning expectations, and lack of preparedness for the change. Nevertheless, it was inspirational to see that teachers used their agency and developed strategies, both traditional and innovative, to make ELP work for them and their learners. Teachers made sense of the policy process by understanding the need for the policy in public schools and the procedures adopted by the Department of Education in its implementation to navigate the change inside their classrooms.

Teachers also had the realization that their learners often experienced confusion and decreased ability to learn the content with the implementation of the new language policy in classrooms. However, it is also clear that the Department of Education did not share this realization, since there was no adjustment in the teaching content, syllabus, or examinations on their part. Based on this notion, the Department of Education's approach to this change appears to be more of a translation of Urdu books into English, and a hypothetical program suitable for touting a slogan or party line, rather than an understanding of what the change actually means for teachers and students in the classrooms.

Policy officials also did not show much realization of the contextual challenges of the language policy change beyond the locational factors of the school. Teachers provided most of the insights into the level of complexity involved with the language shift for rural and urban settings and other factors such as SES and the language background of learners that come into play in classroom practice of policy. (See table 21)

**Table 21: Challenges in Policy Implementation**

Findings	Policy Documents		State level policy implementation		Local School Leadership		Teachers		Reported community stance	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
<b>Challenges in Policy Implementation</b>										
• <b>Context related</b>										
○ <b>School location</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>community poverty</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>Student background</b>	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>New learning and teaching demands</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
• <b>Challenges related to classroom teaching</b>										
○ <b>New subject and content demands inside the class room</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>New text books</b>			✓				✓	✓		
○ <b>Increase in instruction time</b>							✓	✓		
○ <b>Students preparation for standardized state mandated tests</b>					✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>Change in students attitude and expectation inside the classroom</b>			✓		✓		✓	✓		

Public school children may be equally challenged in terms of their financial means in rural and urban setups, but in rural setups students are much less exposed to English than urban students. Having no provisions for the contextual challenges for teachers or learners studying in these two contexts showed that policymakers were more attuned to the urban contexts of schools

and less so to the issues in rural areas related to the policy change. Political interference also made the situation even more challenging for rural schools. Political interference and management issues involved in teachers' placements and postings in certain schools were damaging and limited the institutional capacities of ELP implementation in schools. Table 22 again indicates that most insights come from the schools.

**Table 22: Political and bureaucratic challenges in school management**

Findings	Policy Documents		State level policy implementer		Local School Leadership		Teachers		Reported community stance	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
• Political and bureaucratic challenges in school management										
○ Political decision making in education / Political interference	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ Weaker administrative and management structures for elementary and middle schools			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
○ Policy implementation management and monitoring in schools			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

This led to big challenges for the school administration in rural areas, as these schools usually took the brunt.

The study also suggested that the context of the school, whether it is operating in a rural or urban community, also plays an important role in defining the challenges for ELP implementation. These challenges include the languages the community speaks, students' SES and household literacy level, and mothers' formal education levels. In addition, within rural populations, it is common for there to be a greater use of regional dialects and languages than the urban community, thereby leaving students with lesser exposure to the current school languages,



which are Urdu and English. The study also identified that public schools receive the most difficult group of learners, such as those coming from households with the least formal education, especially among mothers, and those with the lowest socioeconomic status. Thus, students and the community in which schools operate have significant impacts on teaching, especially with reference to policy practice inside the classroom.

Public schools face a huge challenge in terms of public disowning. This disowning has interesting connections to the language policy shift in 2009. Specifically, the study identified that ELP was accepted at all levels of policy because most participants connected the policy change with public inclination towards privately run English medium schools, and therefore the language policy change fit with public demand. The reported disowning of public schools is deeply rooted and spread across all fragments of society, including those who are a part of public education, such as teachers, principals, and state policy officials. Schools and the Department of Education are also aware of the challenge of community disowning of public schools, and they have devised strategies to win the community back. This language policy shift can also be seen as a combating strategy to gain community trust back and to attract the middle class to the elementary public education system. Currently, policymakers, implementers, principals and teachers at the national, state and school levels report that middle class students are *not* attending public schools.

The study also identified that there is a resistance to change among certain teachers. Teachers and administrators agreed that this resistance to change is a relic from the older generation of teachers. The most resistant teachers tended to be those working in geographically challenging and hard to reach areas of AJ&K, and these schools tended to be the least monitored and accountable compared to other public schools. In addition, science teachers suggested that

many challenges in teaching science stem from the “traditional approach” to teaching, and not solely from the medium shift. Specifically, they mentioned that the “lack of activity-based teaching/learning” in public schools was because of the difficulties with teaching STEM subjects in higher grades and teachers’ resistance to breaking from their routine.

Teachers were not prepared for the change. Teachers had random professional development opportunities, but generally these were not related to the medium shift in schools. Teachers identified these activities as lacking “a correct focus,” “inspired by the foreign examples,” and “to complete the file work only.” Teachers generally identified the need for medium of instruction change in the public schools, but they had no preparation or need assessments for this shift, which left them struggling. Policy oriented professional development opportunities were not planned, and no systematic professional development approach was prepared for the future, as the study results show.

It is important to mention the unique role that private schools played in the inception and development of 2009 policy, as well as the individual private school teachers who served as a source to public teachers to navigate the challenge of policy change in their classrooms. Generally, public school teachers and administrators identified the leading role of private schools in initiating and popularizing English medium instruction. However, grounded analysis revealed the unique role of private schools and private school teachers playing an informal mentoring role to public school teachers. When the medium of instruction was changed in the public schools, these public school teachers realized that private school teachers had more experience teaching in the English medium; thus, they connected with them and used them as a resource to navigate the change.

The teachers' creative use of available resources and utilization of these resources to make the policy work was an important finding that emerged from the study, even though these teachers were absent from policy discourse at the upper levels of policy development and implementation. None of the upper layers of the policy identified these teachers' struggles. . (Please see table 23)

**Table 23: Teachers' Strategies to navigate the change**

Findings	Policy Documents		State level policy implementer		Local School Leadership		Teachers		Reported community stance	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
<b>Teachers' Strategies to navigate the change</b>										
• <b>Traditional strategies</b>										
○ Use of key books and text book based lesson planning			✓				✓	✓	✓	
• <b>Strategies related to classroom learners</b>										
○ Adjusting learning content and goals							✓	✓		
○ Additional teaching time			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ Adjusting learning expectations of learners					✓	x	✓	✓		
• <b>Strategies related to self-preparedness</b>										
○ In house mentoring					✓	✓	✓/x	✓		
○ Out of house mentoring							✓/x	✓		

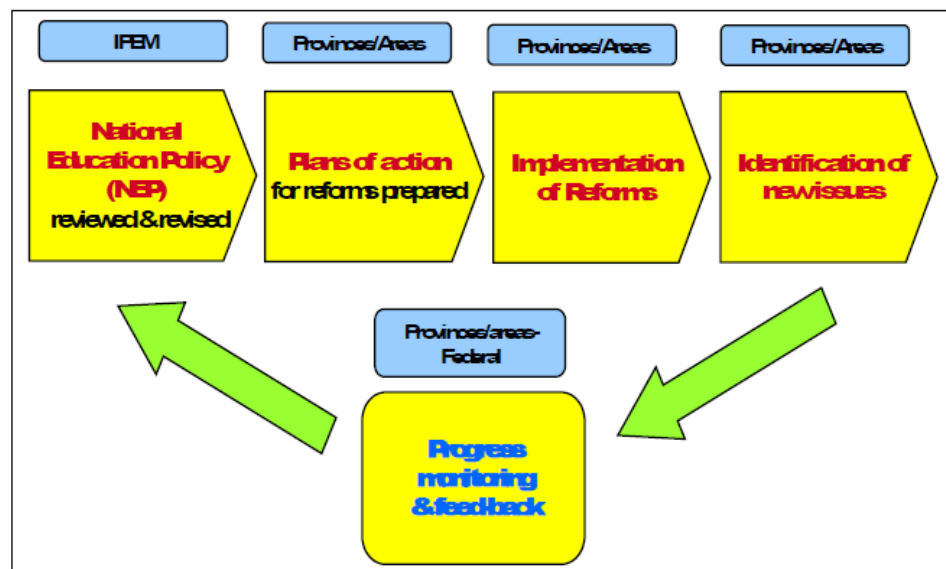
Teachers' use of sense making and agency confirms the importance of their role in the final outcome of any educational policy. Teachers proved themselves to be motivated, active, and thoughtful.

All the actors and stakeholders helped in creating a holistic picture of the implementation process; however, teachers generally showed much deeper understanding of the complexity involved in ELP implementation in public schools than any other group of participants. While the script was rather underdeveloped in terms, for example, of recognizing contextual variation,

teachers brought nuanced reading to it, even if that was not able to enhance significantly their enactment of it.

The policy script touched upon many aspects and challenges involved in education policy implementation; however, the overall nature of these aspects remains very general and sketchy, and none relating to practice inside the classroom (PNEP 2009). The 2009 PNEP identified the failure of earlier education policies in achieving their defined goals, and also named causes that contributed towards these failures and gave suggestions and a framework for the national education policy (NEP) reform process, as shown below:

**Figure 5: NEP Reform Process**



Source: NEP Reform Process: PNEP, 2009, p54.

When the findings were compared with this suggested framework of 2009 PNEP, the policy was found to be lacking and failing *again* at the implementation of reform as defined under the heading of Provinces/areas in the figure 5, thus making the claim of 2009 PNEP questionable to use policy review as a magic tool to achieve what none of the earlier policies could manage to do. The failure of the implementation at the provincial levels thus failed all the next stages of the reform process mentioned above. This is where this research contributes to the

study of causes involved in the implementation of ELP at different layers and levels of policy implementation and practice.

### **Section III**

#### **Connecting across the Levels and Layers of Policy – Discussion**

This study provides important insights into the operational complexity of ELP in institutional setups and the role of locations and communities in the policy application in AJ&K. Public schools are suffering from public disowning, particularly at the elementary level. The 2009 language policy shift partly arose as a strategy to regain this ownership and credibility in the community. However, a lack of strategic implementation and needs evaluations was very evident, and teachers, state level personnel, and local administrators mentioned this fact repeatedly. Public schools and teachers were working hard to implement the policy; however, most were not given the support needed to combat the challenge.

Based on the findings of the study, the ELP policy appears to present an idealistic stance of ambitious policymakers, which in the context of the LPP literature review in chapter 2 is not surprising. The LPP history is abundant with such idealistic stances of language policymakers (Fishman, 2006; Hornberger, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011; Ricento, 2006, 2000; Rizvi, 2009; Rizvi and Lingard, 2009; Taylor et al., 1997; Tollefson, 2002, 2008; Tollefson et al., 2004). In the case of 2009 PNEP, policymakers considered the deplorable conditions of education in Pakistan, and they rightly assessed the probable causes of the current state of affairs in education with reference to the failing of earlier policies. However, they did not provide any satisfactory rationale that argued for the success of the current policy. In short, what was absent in the policy document was the answer to the question of *how the 2009 PNEP will meet the desired goals*, which previous policies had failed to accomplish. This question is particularly important considering the failure of past educational policies, which have deteriorated the trust of the

Pakistani people in public education in general and education policies in particular. As the study identified, the *middle class flight* from public schools is due to more than just the earlier medium of instruction policy in public schools. Community disinterest in public schools is not attributable to the lack of planning for the public sector only, but also to the continued failure of the implementation of these plans. This is currently the biggest issue in the betterment of public schools and of those who attend these schools in Pakistan.

The social mobility goal of teaching English is leading the current reforms in the medium of instruction policy in Pakistan, as described in policy documents and as confirmed by the study. A significant body of literature in LPP has identified the explicit and implicit socio-economic goals of language policies (such as Fishman, 2006; Hornberger, 2011, Ricento, 2000, 2006). However, this change as a stated goal in the current education policy was significant because it marked a departure from the earlier Pakistani education policy goals of developing “a responsible citizenry” and “mass literacy” among public education students (Bengali, 1999). Although the 2009 PNEP connects English language teaching to its international status and argues that it is “important for competition in a globalized world order” (2009 PNEP, p. 4), it does not provide any context or rationale to justify the shift in the medium of instruction for public schools. Learning in the English medium, as Rahman and other researchers indicated, has been equated with better chances to compete in higher education, job opportunities, and better social recognition in Pakistan (Mansoor et al., 2007; Rahman, 2005c, 2010, 2011).

The study also indicated that the medium shift differentially affected populations of students in public schools. However, students were found to be missing from policy documents in terms of the connection between ELP and its effect on groups of students, particularly those faced with higher stakes for their future because of experiencing the language of instruction

change at a crucial stage of their schooling. To elaborate on this, teachers argued that students need time to adjust to the new curriculum and medium of instruction demands; however, neither the policy nor the policy implementers identified a cushion time for these learners, teachers, or schools to get adjusted to the new policy. Teachers in this study found that the stakes were higher for high school students because exams determined promotion to the next grade, and performance on exams had more consequences for these students. This correlated with the extensive research conducted by scholars like Menken (2008) and others (Canagarajah 2006, 2011; Hakuta and Beatty, 2000), who found that testing and state mandated tests posed special limitations for those who are defined as English language learners in the US.

Other policy gaps exist in addition to those identified in the 2009 PNEP. The public-private partnership (PPP) is one of those gaps. This policy has identified the existence and emergence of private schools as a “violation to the principle of the uniformity of educational systems” (p. 4) in Pakistan, on the one hand, while on the other hand, it also has justified the development of PPP for the “assurance of uniformity,” because it is identified as a state responsibility. The policy’s acceptance and identification of the failure of public education on the one hand, while discussing the “assurance of uniformity,” on the other hand, raises serious questions about the professed capacity of the state in remedying the multiple problems in the education system. Thus, there is a paradox in policy about the role and function of the private sector in improving education in Pakistan.

Private schools and private school teachers played an interesting and unique role in the study even though no part of the research was designed to address private schools. All stakeholders identified private schools as an important contextual challenge for public schools, including policy implementers, teachers, and particularly principals. The study’s results also

revealed that ELP was considered to be a response to combat the increasing growth of private schools in Pakistan. Privately run English medium schools provided good administration of the English medium and a support structure for their teachers to help with the issues of teaching in the English medium. Public school teachers used private school teachers as an informal mentoring resource to navigate ELP inside their public school classrooms. Quite interestingly, the 2009 PNEP suggested that the “government shall aim to draw upon resources from the private sector through public private partnerships, especially in the areas of teacher education and professional development programmes” (p. 35). Although this can be seen in the policy document, policymakers failed to justify the use of a private-public partnership on social and beneficial grounds for the public in Pakistan. Furthermore, state level administration and public school management did not identify private schools as a resource, even though the 2009 PNEP identified a public-private partnership, which indicates a disconnect between policy and implementation at both the state and district level management of schools. The only policy actors who used these as resource were public school teachers – which indicates their active role as policy interpreters and their ability to shape script in the process.

The existing literature identified a large body of research about teachers’ use of sense making, but much less is known about school leaders’ sense making (Coburn, 2005). The role of principals was very important for this study and revealed the importance of the role of local administrators in ensuring successful policy implementation and practice in individual institutions. Principals have a role as facilitators of policy, because they do not shape policy in actuality. The only local professional development activity was conducted by the RHS-2 principal, which proved to be very helpful for the teachers. Notably, this was the only school which performed better on exams in the entire district after the policy change. Thus, the role of



local leadership proved very important in successful policy implementation and in minimizing limitations of the implementation shortcomings of the upper levels of the policy for this study.

Additionally, state and national education departments made no effort to conduct a needs assessment or capacity analysis of the teachers or schools prior to the change. ELP implementation was already delayed at the state level and even after the decision to adopt it in 2012; the decision was modified twice because of the unavailability of textbooks in schools (please see chapter 5). This example and others discussed in the following section confused teachers about the future of this policy. Many teachers shared that they did not believe that “it would work everywhere and with everyone.” Teachers were not clear whether this change was “a compulsion for them or schools still have choice to switch back.” Generally, teachers were under the impression that it was a compulsion and were hesitant to admit that the medium was still in transition in their school. This particular instance suggests that the script was not well understood at the state level, and that this confusion trickled down to the level of teachers.

Although the policy implementation issues were evident at the state level, it is hard to ignore the limitations of the State Department of Education at the same time. With the pressure of implementing the new policy in the schools, the state of AJ&K faced other challenges, too. The 18th amendment in the federal constitution made education a provincial subject in 2008; thus this presented the challenges of developing new syllabi, curriculum, and textbooks for public schools in AJ&K for the first time. Having no background and past experience with these areas led to a number of issues in AJ&K, and the unavailability of textbooks was one of the consequences of these challenges. Keeping in view the criticism of “the devolution of education” with the 18<sup>th</sup> amendment, and the doubts showed by different critics (such as Khan and Mirza, 2013; Zaidi, 2005) in provinces’ capacity in carrying out the different aspects of the education

policy, has some value. Irrespective of prolonged policy collaboration between the federal and state Departments of Education, schools were still unprepared for the change and faced many challenges.

The study also found that everyone agreed with the policy, but had different perspectives about the challenges and the causes of the challenges. State level administrators had an understanding of the challenges about policy implementation, or they had an understanding of the required practices for the effective implementation of ELP in public schools. However, the script was put into action by ignoring contextual and institutional capacity assessment requirements. As far as state policy administrators were concerned, teachers' contribution to policy implementation challenge came from resistance to change and absenteeism on part of particular teachers. This stated resistance did not have a very straightforward explanation. Resistance partially come from their general attitude, but partially owed to their social and professional status in schools as senior colleagues. In the absence of any regular professional development structures in public schools, or other regular mentoring structures, it was very hard for these teachers to reach out for help to improve. Social pressures related to being a senior colleague, and the cultural patterns of the society of elder-younger hierarchies also played role.

Another important question research presents is the idea of responsibility – who is responsible for the implementation challenges for ELP in these public schools? Policy? State? Schools or teachers? It appears that the whole system was fashioned in such a way that it is difficult for single person to revamp it. However, this cannot be and should not be used as a plea to shun responsibility.

The relationship between the different actors and receptors of the policy is also very important, and the study identified the issues of trust/distrust among the different actors and

stakeholders of the policy. However, it would be an unjustified generalization to label all the stakeholders in one way, since the study noted the instances of both trust and distrust among different stakeholders. Interestingly, trust and distrust also existed among the actors at the same level, such as teachers, and also across levels such as principals and teachers, principals and policy officials, and teachers and policy officials, in varying degrees. The study also identified that policy administrators' perspectives about the medium change was *not* sympathetic towards teachers. As state level policy official-1 stated: "Teachers themselves prefer English medium of teaching as parents to their own children, but not as teachers inside the schools, and this is where the change in medium of instruction policy comes into play and justifies its applicability in the public schools." This quote indicates a specific kind of perception among policy administrators about teachers in schools and their motivation to work. Also, the same distrust was shown by teachers towards policy officials when they stated, "They (policy officials) heard from someone that the policy is going to change and they change the policy for the schools the next day." Thus a discourse is developing because of the change in policy within and across all these implementation and practice levels of ELP, including a lack of trust, the blame game, and lack of coordination-cooperation – especially between teachers and policy officials; however, this is much better between teachers and principals and principals and state Department of Education, with a few exceptions, of course. It is also evident from the study that the blame game involving the teachers and policy officials had political and power differentials involved, which are characteristic of any policy script– especially language policy (Fishman, 2006; Rahman, 2010; Ricento, 2006). As Lakoff and ebrary (2000) identified, language itself constitutes a political battleground.

Sense making is uniquely fitted to this analysis because one of the primary objectives of the study was to examine how ELP was appropriated at different levels; thus, it was important to understand the perceptions of key actors. To develop an understanding of whether challenges were a result of policy actors' or stakeholders' deficient understanding of the policy, or because of logistic and capacity building, cross level analysis was helpful. A cross comparison of the individual perceptions of different actors and receptors of the policy script at various levels aided in understanding the process of sense making. Thus, this comparison helped in developing a holistic picture of policy appropriation at different levels and helped in revealing the gaps of ELP implementation in AJ&K. Particularly, it was important to understand the roles of all actors and their position with reference to one another in policy implementation (policy developers, implementers, principals, and teachers).

This study concludes that there was a discrepancy in ELP, as presented by the 2009 PNEP which has also contributed to the development of deficient understandings at lower levels, especially at the state level. These deficient understandings have caused challenges to successful policy implementation. However, the actual challenges have come from the management of ELP implementation at the state level, for which the following implications and suggestions are presented.

#### **Section IV**

#### **Implications and Suggestions**

Implications for action are divided into two categories of policy and practice. Implications related to policy focus on developing more measurable policy goals, realistic and practice based implementation strategies, and the introduction of practice based policy reforms for future policy scripts. Implications related to practice suggest taking measures to involve policy implementers and local leadership in active policy implementation beyond the paperwork,

develop strategies to develop public-private partnership structures in the region, and to develop measures to address public disowning of education. Implications for research call for the development of more horizontal studies of the same nature in other regions of Pakistan and other countries which share the same language policy practices as Pakistan. There is also a need to redevelop and expand the conceptual and theoretical domains of the field of language policy and planning in general. The roles of Universities and departments of English and education in Pakistan must also be re-conceptualized in terms of policy development and application at the school level.

## **Policy**

**Revisiting the ELP implementation time frame.** The ELP implementation time frame needs to be re-visited, especially for provincial levels in the future. Early policy reviewing (as is claimed by 2009 PNEP) is a waste when it is not strategically used at the provincial levels, and this is what happened with ELP implementation in AJ&K.

**Remove ambiguity in the respective roles of the federal and state levels with respect to education.** Ambiguity in current education policy about the role of the federal and state levels should be addressed to eliminate confusion related to the responsibility of these levels for education policy development, implementation, and application. A clear definition of responsibility for *who* will do *what* and *how* is important. With the current ambiguity, it is hard to identify the role and responsibility of each of these administrative and governance setups. Thus, the responsibility for failure of the policy should also be clearly defined for future policy scripts.

**Develop realistic policy scheduling for future policies.** Future education policies need to go beyond the assessment of the causes of failure. Instead, they should address not only *why*

policy fails, but also *how* to address these failures with concrete and realistic measures. Thus, it is suggested that the following should be developed:

- i. Realistic policy scheduling using appropriate, timed and achievable sub-goals, especially for implementation at the state and local levels.
- ii. These implementation policy schedules should be flexible enough to deal with the varied contextual and unexpected policy outcomes. However, flexibility should not waive off the required accountability for the achievement of these sub-implementation goals.

### **Practice**

The following implications are suggested for better policy implementation in the future:

**More active roles for state level policy implementers and local school leadership for future policies.** Future education policies should clearly define the role of state level policy implementers and local school leadership in connection with the education policy implementation to avoid failure of intended policy objectives. Local school leadership should be more involved in policy writing and implementation than they are now. Practice should lead policy, and not vice versa, to achieve the objectives of education policies in the future. It is important to identify an evaluation plan for the needs analysis of individual schools to ensure successful and fruitful language policy implementation. Local administrators, in particular, can play a vital role in this needs evaluation, along with the state level policy implementers.

**Develop Public Private Partnership (PPP) structures at the state level.** Participation between public and private schools at local levels should be worked on at the state and district levels. It is, thus, suggested to:

- i. Encourage and develop teachers' professional structures between public and private schools to mutually benefit both schools.
- ii. Structured focus group discussions should be arranged for school level management.
- iii. As private schools are business oriented, it is therefore challenging to involve them with public education without giving them any incentives. Thus, it is advised that public management structures should give private schools incentives for involvement, such as school building provisions and other educational facilities such as library and laboratory for science subjects to participate and maintain suggested mutual interactions with public schools at different levels.

**Strategies to improve community involvement.** Community disinterest is one the biggest challenges impeding the improvement of public schools and the learning of their students. Community disowning of public education is an effect and not the cause, as ELP and 2009 PNEP suggest. Thus, merely changing language policy is a cosmetic measure and does not address the real causes of community disowning, which are the persistent failure of all educational policies in Pakistan, including 2009 PNEP. Thus, measures should be defined with procedures to develop ownership of public education among the community and it should also go beyond teachers. Three segments of society should be involved in attracting the community towards public education, including teachers, religious scholars, and leadership. The most important segment of society in this process is leaders because they are capable of enacting the biggest change in the community's thought processes.

## **Research**

This study's findings lead to a call for more research in conceptual, theoretical and methodological domains of LPP and to involve higher education institutes in the future process.

**Role of the University and Departments of Education and English in the ELP implementation and review.** The involvement of higher education structures, such as universities and departments of English and education, is crucial for the current policy and future policy development, implementation, and practice to achieve better results in Pakistan. Such an involvement will help with the future practice based research because there is a need to develop more practice based *horizontal* studies of the same nature in different contexts and settings of Pakistan to build on the findings of this study.

**Methodological, theoretical, and, conceptual domains for future LPP frameworks.** There is also a need for more in depth research in the methodological, theoretical, and conceptual domains of language policy and planning in general, and for sense-making in particular, to expand the research domain and theoretical and conceptual depths of LPP for future. In particular, it is suggested to view and use the lens of sense making as a continuous and layered process involving the different actors and receptors placed at different levels of the policy process, rather than just limiting analysis to singular layers, levels, or groups of actors and stakeholders for future research.

Thus, the significance of my dissertation research is methodological, conceptual, and contextual, and contributes to the scant research on education in Pakistan in particular, and to the field of language policy and planning in general.



## **APPENDICES**

## Appendix A: Table – Thematic Overview of Study Findings across All Levels & Layers of Policy

### Key to Table

The table presents the study findings in tabular form. Two columns are presented and are checked for actors and receptors’ awareness and agreement with the different themes emerged from the study for policy documents, implementers, teachers, and community. The two checked columns are entitled “identified” (I) and “Agreed” (A) with respect to the statement of the theme. Those columns where the theme is not applicable or mentioned in connection with concerned actors or receptors of the policy are left blank. In case of difference of opinion regarding any theme, both (✖/✓) are used. It is important to explain that the themes presented in the table are more complex and intricate than these two headings would suggest; however, the table is developed to present a holistic overview of the study findings with reference to different actors and receptors at all levels of the study. For the comprehensive findings’ complexity, please see chapters 6, 7 and 8 of the study.

**Table 24: Thematic Overview of Study Findings across All Levels & Layers of Policy**

Findings	Policy Documents		State level policy implementer		Local School Leadership		Teachers		Reported community stance	
	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A	I	A
<b>Stance and Perspectives on ELP</b>										
• English is an investment in children's future/increases chances to reach & succeed in higher education	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• Public demand	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• international commitment	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				
• Need of a multi lingual community	✓	✓					✓	✓		
• English & Urdu media are social tags					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>When &amp; How to change medium of instruction?</b>										
• Change should be gradual					✓	✖	✓	✖/✓		
• Change should be for all at once					✓	✓	✓	✖/✓		

Table 24 (Cont'd)

• <b>Appropriate grade level of change</b>										
○ <b>4<sup>th</sup> grade is suitable</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x/✓		
○ <b>Begin from middle school</b>					✓	x	✓	x/✓		
○ <b>Should begin from 1<sup>st</sup> grade</b>					✓	x/✓	✓	x/✓	✓	✓
<b>Role of State Education Department in ELP Implementation</b>										
• <b>Obscure role in policy development</b>	✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		
• <b>Planning &amp; pre-assessment</b>										
○ <b>No institutional and instructional capacity assessment</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>delayed Instruction material printing and availability</b>			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
<b>Role of principals in ELP implementation in schools</b>										
• <b>Active</b>	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	x/✓		
• <b>Passive</b>					✓		✓			
<b>Role of teachers in ELP implementation in public schools</b>										
• <b>Enthusiastic/Active</b>	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		
• <b>Lack of commitment &amp; resistance</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓/x	✓	✓
<b>Challenges in Policy Implementation</b>										
• <b>Context related</b>										
○ <b>School location</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>community poverty</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>Student background</b>	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>New learning and teaching demands</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
• <b>Institutional capacity and resource alignment challenges</b>										
○ <b>lack of instructional resources and text books</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
○ <b>Lack of relevant PD</b>	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>Shortage of Teachers</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
○ <b>Unrealistic school budget allocations</b>					✓					

Table 24 (Cont'd)

• <b>Challenges related to classroom teaching</b>										
○ <b>New subject and content demands inside the class room</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>New text books</b>			✓				✓	✓		
○ <b>Increase in instruction time</b>							✓	✓		
○ <b>Students preparation for standardized state mandated tests</b>					✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>Change in students attitude and expectation inside the classroom</b>			✓		✓		✓	✓		
• <b>Political and bureaucratic challenges in school management</b>										
○ <b>Political decision making in education / Political interference</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ <b>Weaker administrative and management structures for elementary and middle schools</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
○ <b>Policy implementation management and monitoring in schools</b>			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Community &amp; Context:</b>										
• <b>Cultural context</b>					✓	✓	✓	✓		
• <b>Geographical location and access to school</b>			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• <b>Language background</b>			✓	✓			✓	✓		
• <b>Motivation towards learning</b>			✓	✓			✓	✓		
• <b>Socio-economic status (SES)</b>	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
• <b>House hold literacy and parental support</b>			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
<b>Community disowning of public education.</b>	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
<b>Private Schools &amp; ELP</b>										
• <b>Forerunners and protagonists of ELP</b>	✓		✓		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 24 (Cont'd)

• Perceived to be better providers of quality education		x			✓	x	✓	✓/x	✓	✓
• Perceived use of better Textbooks	✓				✓	x	✓	✓/x	✓	✓
• Better school administration	✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓
• Presence and access at varied and outreach locations							✓	✓	✓	✓
• Teaching staff										
○ Low Professional/academic qualification	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	x	x
○ Better Teachers' attendance			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
• Reported use of business promotional strategies			✓	✓	✓	✓			x	
Teachers' Strategies to navigate the change										
• Traditional strategies										
○ Use of key books and text book based lesson planning			✓				✓	✓	✓	
• Strategies related to classroom learners										
○ Adjusting learning content and goals							✓	✓		
○ Additional teaching time			✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		
○ Adjusting learning expectations of learners					✓	x	✓	✓		
• Strategies related to self-preparedness										
○ In house mentoring					✓	✓	✓/x	✓		
○ Out of house mentoring							✓/x	✓		
School strategies to win the community back										
• Establishment of Teacher fund	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
• Change in school uniform					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Department of Education Strategies for the betterment of public education										
• ELP	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓/x
• Teachers' focused Enrollment campaign	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓/x	✓	✓/x
• Discussion of putting a ban on teachers' children to attend private schools.			✓	✓/x	✓	✓/x	✓	x		

**Appendix B: NEP 2009/Kashmir Education Policy —Implementation Status**  
(Official notification by the AJ&K Department of Education dated December 2013)

**Table 25: NEP 2009/Kashmir Education Policy —Implementation Status**

Sr.No	Some important Policy Action/Tasks	Implementation Status Sep.2013
1	Achieving universal and free primary education by 2015 and up to class 0 by 2025.	At present UPE NER is 94% (B=98%, G=90%) <b>but education is not free yet.</b> (According to AEPAM data our NER is 58% (B=58%, G=59%) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Secondary level goal is far from reach</li> </ul>
2	Commit to allocate 7% of GDP to education by 2015 ---	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>AJ&amp;K govt. is spending about 26% of its total budget on education</li> </ul>
3	Establishment of ECE centers with primary schools	252 ECE centers were established in AJ&K with the financial support of UNICEF for a period of two years. Now UNICEF refused to support more. Govt. of AJK has not adopted these centers
4	Promoting Public-Private-Partnership in the education sector,	Islamic Development Bank is committed to support on this policy action through a pilot project of 277 schools (project is in pipeline)
5	Checks and balances system for the private sector	A regulatory body for Private sector schools is under consideration
6	Curriculum Reforms: Introduction of English (as a subject),from class 1	Implemented but without special English teachers at primary level (creation new post)
7	English as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.	Notified, from next year (2014)
8	A management cadre for education,	Approved by the government, rules are under process
9	Official age for primary education shall be 6 to 10 years.	Notification by government is required
10	Up gradation of primary schools to Middle schools	600 out of 4200 primary schools up gradation scheme is pending due to financial constraints
11	Up gradation of High schools to Higher secondary schools and Grades XI and XII only in HSSs	Under process in finance department but inter colleges are also being opened which is against the policy

Table 25 (Cont'd)

12	Literacy rate shall be increased up to 86% by 2015,	Literacy rate at present is 67%. NCHD has a comprehensive plan to open new (NFSs)
13	Bachelor's degree requirement for elementary level shall be ensured by 2018.	ADE degree (12+2) has been introduced in all 10 GCETs. B.Ed. (Hons) 12+ 4 years degree has also been started in UoAJ&K ,
14	Teacher training arrangements, accreditation and certification procedures shall be standardized and institutionalized.	With the financial and technical support of USAID, 2 GCETs have been accredited by NACTE (National Accreditation Council for Teachers Education)
15	A separate cadre of specialized teacher trainers shall be developed.	Planned for initiation in 2015
16	Governments shall take steps to ensure that teachers' recruitment, professional development, promotions and postings are based on merit alone.	Special legislation has been introduced (Ordinance issued) and a special cell in PSC has been established for teacher recruitment,
17	Establishment of an in-service teachers' education regime	It requires policy initiatives and finance. A continuous professional development (CPD) mechanism is being developed
18	In-service teachers training in mathematics and Science shall be provided, with due attention to some skills,	To some extent it is continued by Directorate of Education Extension and CIDA Debt For Education Conversion (DFEC) Project but not at large scale due to lack of resources. Five Teacher professional Development Centers at district level are being established.
19	Objective driven Curriculum development revision	It requires review of national curriculum 2006-07 ,( a lot of financial and HR resources are required)
20	Standardized textbooks and curriculum development review process,	Initiated by AJK TBB but it needs improvements and funds.
21	ICTs shall be used to strengthen the quality of teaching and educational management.	Not yet financial and HR capacity constraints. A scheme/ proposal is being prepared for submission of interested donors.
22	A well regulated system of competitive publishing of textbooks and learning materials.	Under process

Table 25 (Cont'd)

23	Textbook Boards shall be transformed into competent facilitating, authorities.	Requires funding to strengthen TBB
24	Provision of necessary resources from federal govt.	In routine not as a special case
25	An awareness campaign against corporal punishment	Legislation has been framed , follow-up is continued in the field
26	Standardized Assessment processes, feedback to system and performance based students' assessment.	Not yet started due to lack of funding for KEACE.
27	Establishment of National Standards and Certification Agency for Education Management Information System ( EMIS), Personnel Management Information System (PMIS) and Financial Management Information System (FMIS)	Not yet even EMIS could not be strengthen due to lack of resources
28	Sector Planning in Education	Zero draft of Education Sector Plan has been prepared



### Appendix C: Focus Group Discussion Prompts (Teachers).

Name of school: _____	Total no. of elementary teachers: _____
Number of participants in focus group discussion _____	
How many of them are teaching English Language at 1 grade:	
How many of them are teaching Science and Math in English medium:	
For how long: _____	From which grade: _____

1. What are the general changes which the 2009 education policy has introduced for your classrooms? What are your challenges as a teacher with this policy change? What are students' issues with this change?
2. Are there any teachers' manual and guidelines provided to you regarding teaching of English as a compulsory subject at grade 1 and/or for science and Math in English medium at grade IV?
3. What types of text books are provided for teaching English and Science and Math in English and who chose these text books? Are these Text books appropriate for the language teaching?
4. How does this new policy change affect the language teaching standards for your classrooms and learners?
5. Do you have sufficient resources to meet these language teaching standards? What kind of parental and institutional support is there to help you meet these standards?
6. Are there any education/training provided to meet the current standards of language teaching? If yes, what, when and how often? If not, what do you think is required to be done to better prepare you for this change?

7. What types of learners/students you have in your classrooms? How does this change affect their learning and performance in a subject? What assessment standards you are using to measure their learning? Were there any changes in learners' performance after this policy change? How are those learners are treated and dealt with left behind students in the new learning set ups?

## Appendix D: Interview Prompts (Administrators)

Name: _____	Designation: _____
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1. What were the objectives of language policy change in 2009? Reason of change? Was there a deficiency/ inadequacy in the existing policy? What in your opinion motivated for the change – Intelligentsia, media, market demand, privatization, international standard? Educational donors etc.?
2. How far the policy is different than the earlier policies in terms of the debate of language/medium of instruction already going on in Pakistan?
3. What was the suggested/devised frame work and time frame for the shift? How far that is achieved?
4. What kinds of provisions developed for the professional development of elementary teachers affected with this policy? What is suggested for the new inductions?
5. How did the change taken by the teachers, parents or learners? Are the implementers aware about any reactions at these levels?
6. Did the suggested language shift also affect the assessment/testing/ students' performance measurement? What types of benchmarks are suggested to measure students' learning?
7. What are the provisions for learners and teachers to achieve these benchmarks?
8. What are the teachers' and learners' constraints/challenges regarding the effective implementation of this policy at institutional level, such as schools, and teacher education? How these are addressed at policy and implementation level?

## Appendix E: Interview Prompts for Teachers

Name of the teacher	
Name of school	
What grade you are teaching	
What subject (s) you are teaching	

1. How do you see the change of Language as the medium of instruction for your classes?
2. What are the general issues do you face during this change?
3. Are there any helping material/training/professional development provided to you at any stage during this transition? If yes, how they look like? If no, what do you think will be most helpful to you?
4. How did students and parents respond to the change when it started?
5. What kind of issues do your students face due to the shift in medium of instruction?
6. Do your students in the class room understand what they are studying due to English?
7. What kind of teaching material/lesson Plans you are using for your classroom?
8. What is socio-economic status of your Students? Parental help for home work/school lessons?

## Appendix G: Demographic Survey – Teachers’ Profile

1	School Name	
2	Your Name	
3	Gender: Male/ Female	
4	What is your qualification:	
5	What was the medium of instruction when you were a student?	
6	What is your professional qualification:	
7	How many times do have an opportunity to do a professional development activity/course in your career?	
8	When did you have your last professional development activity?	
9	Who offered it?	
10	What was the duration of this course?	
11	What was the focus of your last professional development activity/course?	
12	Was that course helpful?	
13	How much?	
14	Was the professional development course focused on the change in medium of instruction for the students?	

### Learner's Profile

15	Which class/s do you teach:	
16	Which subjects you are teaching in this class	
17	How long are you teaching these subjects?	
18	When this language/medium change was adopted in your school?	
19	Does this change has any impact on the enrollmen? Increase/decrease/No change?	

20 After the change, at what stage of your academic year did you and your students get the new/changed books (English version) for study?

21 What is the number of students in your class?

22 What are the languages your students speak in the /home/classrooms ?

	Pahari	Kashmiri	Hindko	Urdu	English	Others
Home						
Classroom						

(Give estimated numbers)

23 Is the daily home work is done regularly by the students after the change?

24 Is this home work done in English is better than done in Urdu?

25 Parent can help in home work or not?

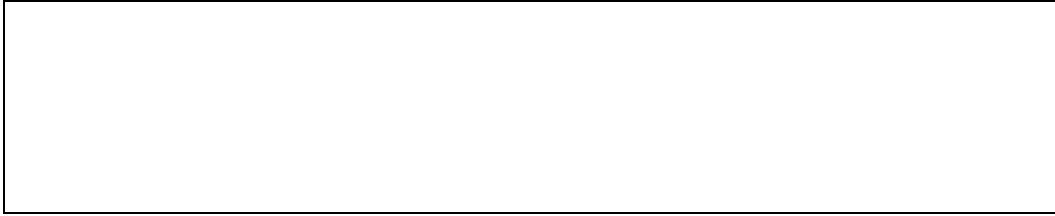
26 Parents are helping in home work or not?

27 What are the common learning issues these students show in your classroom?

28 What is the most challenging part of teaching for you when teaching English to these learners?

29 What is the most challenging part of teaching for you when teaching Science and Math to these learners?

30 How does students' performance on the tests change with the medium of instruction change for Science and Math?



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