English and Empowerment in the Developing World

English and Empowerment
in the Developing World

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FOREWORD

The Aga Khan University Centre of English Language (AKUCEL) Seminar is a biennial forum for discussing issues of importance to applied linguists, researchers and language teachers in Pakistan and the wider region. While the general focus of each Seminar since its inauguration in 2001 has been the teaching and learning of English in Pakistan, the AKUCEL Seminar has always tried to offer participants as wide a perspective as possible of the issues under discussion. Despite some less than complimentary Western media reports about the situation in the country, the Seminar has been able to attract presenters from both East and West to Karachi to share their views and experiences with language educators in Pakistan. The lively intellectual exchanges which have taken place at each gathering have proved stimulating and beneficial for all concerned.

The theme of the 2007 AKUCEL Seminar was *English and Empowerment in the Developing World*. This theme was chosen so that participants could, over the two days of the Seminar, discuss and analyse the complex relationships between language and power. In an age in which a knowledge of English has become a globally valued commodity, the teaching and learning of the English language in a country like Pakistan can no longer be seen simply as an academic activity but as a potential way of enabling the disenfranchised to gain access to social and economic power.

The seventeen papers in this volume present a rich variety of views on the theme of language and empowerment. For this reason, the editors have divided the collection into four key areas: Empowerment and Language, Women and Empowerment, Teaching and Learning in the Classroom, and Information Technology and Language Teaching. At present, serious research on language education in Pakistan is still in its early stages. More studies need to be done and more data collected before we can gain a clearer picture of what the specific needs of learners and teachers are and how these needs can be met. That is why I should like to thank Cambridge Scholars Publishing and the three editors from the Aga Khan University Centre of English Language for their work and skill in providing us with an important new contribution to the theory, practice and implications of teaching English in Pakistan.

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Dr Graeme Cane, Head, Centre of English Language
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PREFACE

This book is a compilation of selected papers presented at the seminar on *English and Empowerment in the Developing World* organised by the Aga Khan University Centre of English Language in 2007. The theme was selected because in multilingual and multicultural societies such as Pakistan where the teaching and learning of English as an international language takes place, a complex socio-economic relationship has developed between language and empowerment. Because English has become global today, to have a competent knowledge of the language is seen as a useful key for opening many doors. For better or worse, the use of English in the domains of power, both public and private, has grown significantly over the last twenty years as a result of an unprecedented rise in global communication, international education, and multi-national business.

With the spread of English across the world, there is an urgent need today to train language teachers from public as well as private sector educational institutions, especially those in underprivileged and marginalised countries in the latest English language teaching approaches and techniques, so that qualified teachers can effectively help to increase the proficiency of learners and empower them to face the challenges of the world outside the classroom. Experts in education, technology, and business continue to suggest that English will play a significant global role in all these areas in the years to come. At the same time, the rapid spread of English has serious implications for all developing countries since access to higher education and employment opportunities through English has become essential for young people today. During its broad sweep across the world, English has undergone a dramatic change, divesting itself of its political and cultural connotations and becoming a more or less neutral vehicle for international communication. English has thus become the lingua franca of business, popular culture, and higher education across the globe. As a result, English teachers can play their part in advancing the socio-economic mobility of people in Asia and other marginalised regions, enabling ESL/EFL learners to carve out better professional prospects and opportunities for themselves. By empowering people through giving them knowledge of English, some of the social inequalities in the job market may be balanced. Professional training provided in various disciplines of language teaching has empowered the teachers to disseminate knowledge

more effectively through the use of up-to-date approaches in teacher education. In addition, professionals such as doctors, nurses, administrators, and engineers today need a certain level of communication skills in English, irrespective of their technical and professional expertise. Degrees and qualifications without competence in English have become more of a liability than an asset.

The theme of the papers in the book rests on the idea that teachers and learners can be empowered or at least set on the road to empowerment through their teaching andlearning experiences. It considers important keys to empowerment, which include personality traits and teacher-learner beliefs, internal and external influences, maintaining high expectations and standards, exposure to authentic classroom situations, and the use of language to interact with colleagues and others. The authors have also critically examined impediments to empowerment such as negative attitudes, inadequate development opportunities, lack of appropriate resources, denial of social and political dynamics of education systems, lack of opportunities for interaction, and political and bureaucratic hurdles.

The book is divided into four sections:
1. Empowerment and Language Education
2. Women and Empowerment
3. Teaching and Learning in the Classroom
4. Information Technology and Language Teaching

1. Empowerment and Language Education

The book opens with a paper by Edith Esch. The major thrust of this paper is that we get empowerment when we see language as a symbolic tool for the exercise of authority. Through critical language awareness, we can take control of the multiple ways in which we participate in society. Therefore, language learning and teaching are seen in an extended context rather than a mere addition of a code for international communication. The paper points out that that the use of English provides access to knowledge, but unequal distribution of linguistic resources lead to certain consequences for democracy. Finally, the paper discusses the use of English and identity issues, particularly in so far as awareness leads to the question of 'ownership' of the language.

In the same context, Tony Wright in his paper argues that initial teacher education for foreign language teachers does not always cater to all their training needs. He believes that formal classroom experiences of language learning and teaching require a more major role for initial teacher education (ITE) in preparing teachers for the challenges of making English

accessible to greater numbers. This empowering solution in which English teachers are exposed to professionalism enables them to take a more central and therefore, empowering role in language education. He suggests a more developmental and continued approach to ITE for English teachers.

Maya Pandit makes a case for ELT development through better education programmes by taking into account the local cultural and context. This argument is set against an Indian background where ELT developed in a context that gave more opportunities to the British native speaker with western theoretical ideas. Her paper offers alternative approaches to the current models of teacher development. It views the issue of cultural location of trainee teachers and the background of ELT practices in the developing countries.

Ayesha Bashiruddin further develops the training link by showing how two teachers of English in Pakistan achieved empowerment to understand their own teaching through narrative inquiry. At the onset they were very doubtful about their own value and importance as teachers, but later on they came to realise that they represented knowledge and realised that their teaching actually mattered. Reflection on their own practices made the teachers understand and appreciate the research process, thereby making them autonomous learners.

Main Khurrum Shahzad in his paper examines the teacher-training scenario in Pakistan. He reflects and discusses his personal experiences on teacher training courses offered by the Higher Education Commission. His emphasis is on student feedback, administrative issues, lack of standardisation, and resources. He concludes by offering changes in language teaching policies, curriculum, and testing.

The last article in this section is by Marina Dadigovic, who examines the implications of high-cost standardised language proficiency tests and tries to find an innovative way of conducting language assessments. She argues that speech recognition technology could be one solution and shares examples where it has been tried with success. Her research study compares TOEFL scores of a learner population with scores on Versant, a fully automated speech-recognition-based test of English.

2. Women and Empowerment

Nasreen Hussain makes a case for women empowerment in the Pakistani context through two case studies. The process challenges assumptions about the way things are, and can be, to help people gain control over their lives. She examines the hurdles to and support for empowerment along with the role of empowerment and self-empowerment

and how people are able to change their potentials and capabilities to make purposive choices. It gives a detailed journey of two women from very under-developed areas reaching to managerial level posts at one of the best teaching hospitals in Pakistan. .

Empowerment of women is seen from a different angle by Mirat al Fatima Ahsan, Anita Allana, Yasmeen SherAli, Naureen Hadwani, and Zubeda KasimAli. In their paper they take a deep insight on how English empowers women, who they believe constitute a disenfranchised population in Pakistan. The paper discusses the findings of the first phase of a study that focuses on investigating whether proficiency in English plays any part in empowering and helping women to be successful in Pakistan. They argue that if English opens the door to a better future socially, professionally, and academically, especially for those working in the Higher Education sector, this would imply that English can be seen as a means of empowering the disempowered. Based on the findings of the first phase of the research project, the paper closes with recommendations for a larger-scale study to be conducted so that the empowerment of women through English can be investigated more thoroughly.

3. Teaching and Learning in the Classroom

The first paper in this section by Darlene Luitkus focusses on the knowledge of situated cognition methodology as a useful centre point in the classroom. It examines the concept of situated learning theory and how it can be implemented in the classroom to serve the purpose of specific language achievement. Her paper is against the context that in English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses, authentic content materials and classroom activities are important as a means of targeting the language for acquisition purposes. It is thus essential for the teacher to concentrate on content and context to ensure appropriate and relevant second language learning.

Mohammad Zafar details the issues and problems in Pakistan regarding the status of English. The paper discusses the differences between English for Specific Purposes (ESP) and English for General Purposes (EGP). He believes that introducing ESP could lessen some of the difficulties Pakistani students face, especially at the tertiary level because in spite of many years of studying English, many students are generally unable to attain a level of proficiency in the language, which enables them to cope either academically or professionally with what is demanded of them.

Azra Ahmed argues that the basic human desire for self-actualization can be used for self-initiated learning. This may be true even if the

stimulus comes from outside, yet the sense of discovery and the desire to learn has to come from inside, driven by the basic human desire for self-realization, well-being, and growth. Her research with students at a private university in Pakistan reveals that self-initiated learning produced positive results. She describes how this approach resulted in helping students to take more control over their own learning.

In his paper, Kaleem Raza Khan discusses the important relationship between English and cultural contexts associated with English. This he believes can lead to serious miscommunication for the learner of English. The writer gives examples of possible cultural miscommunication situations for learners of English from non-Western countries based on the learners' lack of awareness of beliefs, religion, rituals, behaviour, clothing and so on associated with English-speaking cultures. The writer then proposes some solutions to this problem.

Samina Khan and Peter Baillie in their paper point out that while English has become the language of empowerment in business and education, there is a growing realisation today that language education has failed to live up to its promise of creating an empowered population, who can communicate effectively and confidently in English. The authors propose a system of education based on deep learning and conclude that English should be taught through a process of understanding rather than remembering

Nasreen M. Ahsan and Dilshad Noor Ali examine the incompetency of writing skills of students in all Pakistani classrooms at all levels, upon completion of schooling. The paper advances the view of an integrated skills approach for these students of ESP/EAP programmes. These programmes are to be driven by institutional and learner needs and good communication skills need to be given their due place. This collaborative study was conducted by the writers teaching two classes operating at differing English proficiency levels.

4. Information Technology and Language Teaching

Azra Naseem takes us into the domain of information technology and discusses the induction of selected technology in teacher education. Her findings support the view that structured technology-based reflective conversation can provide a better environment for developing reflective thinking. She emphasizes the role of close collaboration between teacher educator and e-learning designers.

In the second paper of this section, Sabahat Tatari looks at the possibilities of integrating technology into an ESP language teaching

programme at the Aga Khan University, using Online English Language Learning (OELL). The paper highlights the process of integration of Information Communications Technology (ICT) into a language programme by focussing on three phases: planning, implementation, and evaluation. The research study indicates that learners were positive about the use of e-learning and saw it as a means of providing useful opportunities to increase their academic and professional competence.

The book concludes with an article by Haleema Younus, which examines the discourse styles of non-native speakers of English in an asynchronous Computer Meditated Communication (CMC). The discussion draws our attention to the gender behaviour of ESL speakers in the Pakistani context, which was identifiable through language content in an asynchronous CMC as well as the gender divide of communication ethics, which proved to be somewhat contradictory to the findings of previous researchers. The author's findings suggest that the ethical considerations of ESL and ENL speakers of English and the Internet-related discourse styles were insignificant in identifying ESL-speaker gender in this environment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ADP	Advanced Diploma Programme
AIOU	Allama Iqbal Open University
AKU-CEL	Aga Khan University Centre of English Language
AKU-IED	Aga Khan University Institute for Educational Development
AKUSON	Aga Khan University School of Nursing
ADE	Advanced Diploma in Education
BZU	Bahawalddin Zakria University
BScN	Bachelor of Science in Nursing
CIEFL	Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
CALL	Computer Assisted Language Learning
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CALL	Computer Assisted Language Learning
CAN	College of North Atlantic
CBT	Computer Based Training
CPs	Course Participants
DCS	District Council Scheme
ELP	European Language Portfolio
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESPEAP	English for Specific Purposes
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
ELT	English Language Teaching
ELTR	English Language Teaching Reform
ELSP	English Language Support Program
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAD	Gender and Development
HEC	Higher Education Commission
HCE	Human Capital Approach
HCDA	Human Capability Development Approach
HSC	Higher School Certificate
ITE	Initial Teacher Education
IELTS	International English Language Testing Service
ISU	Information System Unit
ICT	Information and Computer Technology

LTP	Long-term Protestations
LRC	Learning Resource Centre
M.Ed	Masters in Education
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NCERT	National Centre for Research and Technology
OLHI	Oral Life History Interview
OLSC	On-going Language Support Course
OELL	Online English Language Learning
PIELC	Pre-Session Intensive English Language Course
SPELT	Society of Pakistan English Language Teachers
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
SAC	Self Access Centre
SLT	Situated Learning Theory
SDL	Self-directed Learning
SET	Standard English Test
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
TEFL	Teaching of English as a Foreign Language
TENOR	Teaching English for No Obvious Reason
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

SECTION I:

EMPOWERMENT AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

ENGLISH AND EMPOWERMENT: POTENTIAL, ISSUES, WAY FORWARD

EDITH ESCH

"She is quite a serious thinker" I remember one of my teachers telling me about a fellow student "even though her grades are very good."
—A. Sen 1998[1]

Abstract

The main argument of this paper is that empowerment begins when we become aware that language is a symbolic tool for the exercise of power and influence. Through critical language awareness, we can take control of the multiple ways in which we participate in and reproduce dominant discourses in society. In this way, language learning and teaching is much more than the mere addition of a code for international communication. It can become a means of social transformation through education. The paper will first discuss critically the notion that the use of English provides access to knowledge. It will then explore the notion that the use of English provides access to learning opportunities and the issue of the unequal distribution of linguistic resources and its consequences for democracy. Finally, the paper will discuss the use of English and identity issues, particularly in so far as awareness leads to the question of 'ownership' of the language.

The concept of empowerment is complex and may easily lead to ambiguities. One notes, for example, that the French language has no synonym for empowerment in English. The word *pouvoir* meaning authority held by somebody is equivalent to *power* in English, but reference to the process whereby somebody is given or handed over power only exists in the very restricted domain of the law with the meaning of mandate. Thus, in a transaction, a consortium could give a mandate to a

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[1] A. Sen (1998) The quote is from *Les Prix Nobel*, (*The Nobel Prizes) 1998*, Editor Tore Frängsmyr, [Nobel Foundation], Stockholm, 1999.

third party to sign a contract on their behalf and this would be actualised physically by a piece of paper called *un pouvoir*.

Such differences between the English and the French lexicon draw attention to the need to be precise when addressing the issue of the relation between empowerment and English language education. Discussing this relation requires that one establishes what the power consists in, what it is for and who precisely has the control. In other words, it is impossible to deal with this question in a vacuum. The learning of English needs to be related to the distribution of resources in society, to the role of English as a tool for educational development and to the key issue of agency before we can address the question of language teaching pedagogy.

The organisation of this paper reflects an attempt to explore the relationship between the notion of English language education and the current literature on development. In the first section, we consider the potential empowerment arising from language education within the framework of the debate between the Human Capital Approach (HCA) and the Human Capability Development Approach (HCDA). Both lead to different ways of thinking about empowerment for English Language Education in Pakistan. The second section deals with issues arising from the interaction between English learning and social processes in education. Three themes highlighting different aspects of power will be discussed critically in relation to the two approaches: (1) Attitudes and motivation which reflect the power of social structures (2) Learning and teaching practices, including assessment, which reflect the role of habitual actions and expectations in situated teaching activities (3) Identity issues, highlighting the power of agency. It will be argued that the human capital approach to English education cannot account for a number of hidden processes of exclusion and social reproduction. I will submit that the human capability development approach offers a way forward through pedagogy and that the English class can become an empowering environment for students through the development of autonomy. In the third section, I will outline a few practical ways in which teachers might start engaging in the process of supporting students' autonomy development and be empowered themselves in the process.

Two Approaches to the Notion of Empowerment and the Potential of Education: Characterisation of the Debate

The Human Capital Approach has been the dominant influence in economy and development in organisations such as the UN and the World Bank for over fifty years. If applied to English Language Education, it

orientates to empowerment essentially as a means of access to economic development and opportunities for income-generating employment.

The Human Capability Development Approach has been developed by the Indian economist Amartya Sen throughout his life[2]. It orientates to empowerment through English as a means of making people aware of their capacity for personal development and potential for learning further and to access new forms of knowledge which open the mind and benefit society. In particular, it stresses the fundamental importance of freedom and of human rights, one of which is individual's right to pursue valued aims, thus putting agency at the heart of educational development in local situations.

The Human Capital Approach concentrates on the instrumental economic role of education and typically would be evaluated in terms of measurable economic outcomes. Robeyns (2006) exemplifies instrumental roles of education along the personal versus collective dimension as follows: the most obvious personal economic role of education would be to enable an individual to get a job. An individual able to read; however, would be not only more employable in general but also less vulnerable on the labour market or better informed as a consumer, thus better able to plan ahead or use money wisely. The collective economic role of education, on the other hand, interacts with markets. Robeyns mentions that if one's income comes from publishing, one's market is limited by the number of people who can read and constrained by the proportion of people who are illiterate in society. She further notes that similarly, when an agriculture-based economy shifts to a service-based economy or if growth of the economy requires the introduction of new technologies and skills that need to be taught, there will be a need for an educated workforce able to do the jobs (2006). If the workforce is not available locally, the jobs will be taken by imported workers. Human lives are dominated by the markets.

The Human Capability Development Approach arises from two fundamental claims regarding human lives, rights, and values. It questions both the notion that the fundamental end of human happiness may be economic prosperity, which is only one of the means to improve people's lives, and the notion that the pursuit of higher average economic prosperity would be the most efficient means of achieving such valuable ends as freedom, quality of life in terms of valued activities, and their capability defined as the reflection of the alternative combination of "functionings" the person can achieve (Sen, 1993. p. 31). The theoretical and

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[2] A. Sen was awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1998.

methodological issues raised for social theory when attempting to operationalise the approach go well beyond the scope of this paper (Zimmermann, 2006). In this paper, only a few problems concerning the conceptualisation of English Language Education in the context of Pakistan can be explored.

Supporting the view that education should expand people's capabilities orientates to the intrinsic and non-economic roles that education plays. To quote examples from Robeyns (2006) again, this intrinsic role at the personal level can account for the fact that individuals may value learning a foreign language for its own sake and without having the prospect of ever using it. It would be the case when people want to learn the language because they are fascinated by the sounds or the beauty of the script. Instrumental non-economic roles, on the other hand, refer to *opening minds*: Reading can give us access to information which makes us knowledgeable in new domains, such as health or reproduction and contraception. Knowing foreign languages allows us to talk to others in their languages, and using the internet enables us to communicate worldwide. Such examples show how education can expand our possibilities, even though there may be no immediate economic benefit.

At the collective level, the key instrumental non-economic role of education includes the development of awareness taking place through the educational process. Realisation that there are different or even conflicting views of what constitutes a desirable life helps the building of more understanding and tolerant societies. Alkire (2002) showed that in a literacy project run by Oxfam for women not far from Lahore, although no economic effect on the women's earnings could be claimed because there was no market for female employment, the programme deeply influenced the participants not only in terms of their self-confidence and in their problem solving and organisational abilities, but in terms of their collective potential for joint action as women in the community. These are non-tangible benefits not accounted for by the human capital approach.

In relation to language education, both approaches have in common that they would consider the issue of English Language Education as a means of opening up access to development personally and collectively. This is what justifies the claim that they lead to empowerment. However, while both approaches can be construed as complementary–and might be so used for strategic reasons–they cannot remain so eventually. The main difference between both approaches concerns the fundamental means-ends relationship and raises the issue of what English Language Education is for. The Capability Approach postulates that individuals are a unit of moral concern (Robeyns, 2005) and thus assigns to education, including

language education-the role of enriching people's lives. On the other hand, the Human Capital Approach concentrates on achieving economic prosperity without regard for the fact that high GNP per capita is not necessarily linked to improvement of people's quality of life. Indeed, as shown by Sen (1990) on the basis of the World Development Report 1987, countries can be very rich in conventional economic terms as measured by GNP per capita and "have astonishingly low achievements in the quality of life" (p. 42) as measured by such very basic measures such as life expectancy at birth. We need to ask whether English Language Education can make a difference in enriching or empowering people's quality of life.

Secondly, the notion of human agency as a central element whose domain can be extended by individuals' social opportunities under the influence of social circumstances and public policies (Drèze & Sen, 2002) is not relevant to the Human Capital Approach, if it cannot be linked to outcomes measurable in terms of economic benefits. This considerably restricts the scope of the notion of empowerment to the economic domain and raises the issue of the interaction between the learning and teaching of English and individuals' opportunities.

To conclude this very sketchy presentation of the debate, we are faced with two views of what empowerment consists of: The Human Development Capability Approach claims that human beings have the right to develop their capabilities and to be both the agents and the beneficiaries of progress on their own terms, including the determination of the goals. Power is in the lives of people who are the ultimate concern, so production and prosperity, although there are circumstances when they do enrich the lives of people, and more particularly when they reflect acknowledgment of their human rights, are only particular kinds of means. On the other hand, the Human Capital Approach often ends up putting power in the means, taking production and prosperity as the essence of progress, and as a result **"**treating people as the means to achieve productivity" (Sen, 1990, p. 41). The following section discusses how this debate between two notions of empowerment for development throws light onto issues directly associated with English Language Education.

English Language Education and Empowerment: Three Themes

When English Language Education is construed as a means of empowerment, aspects of learning and teaching appear to be problematic for the Human Capital Approach. Three themes have been selected to

illustrate these issues i) individuals' attitudes and motivation, ii) classroom learning and teaching practices, and iii) identity construction.

Attitudes, Motivation and Standard English: Role of Social Structures

The Human Capital Approach would claim that a positive attitude towards the English language and motivation for learning English is not surprising in Pakistan: students believe that knowing English will secure them a place in the labour market. This would be consistent with Mansoor's data on Pakistani University students (1993) who are positively orientated towards English mainly for instrumental reasons. These results were also confirmed by the data obtained in the larger study carried out in 2001 as reported in Mansoor (2005) on a sample of 2,136 students. This could be represented in the discourse of the Human Capital Approach: in terms of the knowledge of English constituting an *asset* and learning English an *investment* where the *return* is expected to offset the *cost*. However, on closer examination, it appears that the idea that learning English is a good investment for everybody is oversimplified. It depends in particular on i) who has access to English education and ii) on what variety of English one is learning.

Who has access to English education depends on access to education which in turn often depends on fees. According to the Education for All UNESCO report 2003/4, in Pakistan, only 59.1% of children were enrolled in primary schools in 2001 (Net Enrolment Ratio). So about 40% of the population were excluded from the educational development process altogether.

Moreover, access is differential. The issue of the relationship between English and social elites is discussed in the literature in relation to various unsuccessful attempts made in the 1970s to impose reforms (Rahman, 1996), but other differences are less apparent. At enrollment, according to 2001 figures (Education for All UNESCO report 2003/4), there is already a gap of 17.5 % between boys and girls. This shows that girls are less likely to secure a place in the labour market long before the issue of learning English even arises and that other processes are at play. Although they might go to school and learn English later, their opportunities in the labour market are likely to be more restricted in terms of career choices and paths. Even amongst highly educated students, gender differences such as the English skill-performance difficulties reported by female University students (Mansoor, 2005) suggest that the assumed benefits of

learning English are not evenly distributed and that socio-cultural factors are at play.

The specific varieties of English learnt by individuals are also meaningful because they are related to their employability, although crucially, this is not transparent in statistics which tend to treat 'English' as a unified label. Employability is one of the measurable outcomes of human capital approaches, but how this precisely relates to language use and variation remains largely unresearched. Widely acknowledged qualifications such as IELTS or TOEFL are associated with the assumption that standard varieties only are being taught and acquired, but evidence of differences in English proficiency levels between students coming out of private schools and the public school sector (Mansoor 1993, 2005) seems to be associated with teachers' levels of proficiency and training. It is also related to the availability and quality of materials used in schools (Mansoor, 2005) suggesting much variation across the population.

Prominence is given to discussions of the ideological debates around the Urdu-English medium controversy and the private-state school issue in the literature (Rahman, 2002), but descriptive work on the use of non-standard varieties of English in Pakistan is less in evidence. Yet, many people clearly learn English informally and use mixed varieties particularly in urban areas. The phenomenon predictably leads to language change over time (Farrar & Jones, 2002) and would need investigation, least of all because of the impact it must have on communication in the front-line delivery of many services such as health, if 40% of the population has no access to schooling (Powers & Stansfield, 1989). There do not seem to be published accounts of language contact and change in the post colonial context of Pakistan, although the development of *new Englishes* is a buoyant area of linguistics research (Schneider, 2007). Rahman's short book on *Pakistani English* (1990) does not seem to have been followed up, with the result that sociolinguistic evidence tends to be anecdotal, as shown for example by Masud Alam's tongue-in-cheek examples on the BBC News World Website.

One needs to note here that linguistically, the strength of the colonial argument associated with the British English norm legacy is losing ground to that of the unequal distribution of knowledge in society. As English develops into a truly international language (Crystal, 2007; Graddol, 1997), the notion that domain-specific varieties used in business, the legal or medical professions or academic exchanges can be described satisfactorily as Special Purpose varieties of a geographically identifiable norm is increasingly giving way to the recognition that they might be better represented as new networked arenas of discourse.

In the absence of secure data on the relationship between varieties of English, employment, and educational provision, we can take together analysis of the current language planning situation (Rahman,1999) and the UNESCO figures quoted above, and only note that English language teaching provision efforts seem to increase rather than decrease social divisions through segmentation. The proliferation of Special Purpose English courses in the private sector for example, signals that providers are learning to respond increasingly faster to the short-term demands of highly specialised markets because of their economic attractiveness. In other words, it is a typical case where people become the means of achieving productivity.

To conclude, access to economically empowering varieties of English in education indicates that learning English or being able to use English does not necessarily lead to profitable employment.

Concepts of cultural capital and social capital (Bourdieu et Passeron, 1964) are clear potential candidates to explain why educational institutions seem to reproduce inequalities, with the result that even though individuals might learn English, they may not benefit economically. An individual's cultural capital is normally the result of education within the family which involves social capital and networks (Baron, Field, & Schuller, 2000; Bourdieu, 1982). While social capital refers to the contacts, relations, connections, and friendships which place individuals in social networks and give more or less access to resources which give leverage for action socially, cultural capital is constituted of symbolic assets. Some are material objective assets (books, computers), some are institutionalised (diplomas or qualifications), and some are acquired competences such as good command of the language, and thus incorporated as permanent disposition or part of what Bourdieu called 'habitus'. Bourdieu and Passeron demonstrated in the 1970s that in France, which is strongly egalitarian ideologically, some children are culturally programmed socially to succeed, while others are bound to fail because the school system tends to reinforce the symbolic value of the cultural assets they already possess. One of these is a shared way of talking and using language.

Although making comparisons between countries is always dubious, the consequence of the process of social reproduction as described by Bourdieu et Passeron (1970) is that a lot of investment in English education may not be lead to changes in terms of distribution of economic capital in Pakistan. In the best scenario, some categories of students (one would predict that there would be more males than females and more urban dwellers than rural ones) will be better adapted to the conditions of

production, which would be considered a good outcome from the Human Capital Approach point of view. However, the economic situation of many others may get worse. In Cameroon for example, the urban-rural divide leads to rural isolation of many, with the young moving to cities so that language shift is taking place and leads to the attrition of local communities and language death (Robinson, 1996). While such results may only be a statistic for the Human Capital Approach, it constitutes a serious issue for Human Development Capability Theory.

If many cannot benefit from the advantages of learning English in Pakistan and English education can be shown to be part of a process of reproduction of social structures mediated by educational institutions, the Human Capital Approach may need revisiting. However, one needs to question the apparent inevitability of mechanisms of social reproduction. Here, we can only note that in Pakistan, research such as that by Mansoor (1993, 2005) shows that for many individuals, competence in English constitutes the sociolinguistic marker of their position in society rather than a tool for empowerment.

To sum up**,** the symbolic power of the standard norm, as mediated by English provision in schools, appears to turn the teaching of English into an exercise in social segmentation rather than an economically rewarding experience for individuals. The relation between English education and economic empowerment is by no means straightforward. To come back to the terms attitudes and motivations, they are only socio-psychological constructs which represent the result of the complex hidden processes into which we have been socialised and which nurture our efforts to develop such dispositions. In doing so, they represent feelings of attraction as being natural while socially accomplishing the reproduction of society's power hierarchy. Many students' positive attitudes and motivation or initial enthusiasm for English may turn into disappointment or even bitterness if they realise that they fail socially and that the kind of English they are learning or the level of proficiency they have reached as defined by standards set up by international examination boards is insufficient for them to obtain the economic and social rewards they have been led to believe they could get (Malik, 1996).

Educators need to retain that attitudes and motivations affect the choices individuals make when envisaging the possible future functionings associated with their learning of English and achieving them. For teachers, this raises the question whether and how learners' motivational thinking development can be supported, so that they become aware of the nature of these attitudes and of the ways in which it affects learning. Learning English needs to become an empowering experience of which they are in

control, rather than something which is done to them and mediated by invisible forces.

Learning and Teaching as Situated Language Practices: Role of Habitual Actions and Expectations Regarding the Transmission of Knowledge

The second theme concerns practices, which highlight how basic classroom exchanges at the local level interact with learners' thinking processes and their capability to learn. Teaching practices reflect society's views about knowledge as well as current dominant technologies**.** Thus, we are not simply teaching English but i) views about language for example that languages are systems involving sets of rules, ii) views about knowing a language for example, that it means being able to use the language in its written form and that the spoken form has no value, iii) views about how languages are learnt for example, through controlled repetition or translation exercises rather than use.

We are often unaware of the fact that such practices are culture-related. Here we prefer the term culture-related to culture-bound to make room for the notion associated with the Capability Approach that human beings are not automatons determined by structures and can change over time. However, research in comparative education has shown the extent to which the pedagogical culture affects individuals' experience of socialisation (Alexander, 2001) as well as the prominence of language in the process. To take one example, the French are prescriptive about their language as a symbol of national unity. From the very moment children join primary school, the notion that the French language is important and that there is a correct way of writing and speaking French which exists outside them, the norm is systematically conveyed. This is associated with teaching which involves a lot of copying of models, which increases the symbolic power of the 'correct' language from the start. By the time French children leave school, they have become inflexible about linguistic norms even though they may not have mastered the norm yet. This is in stark contrast with the British school system where writing is introduced primarily as a means to express oneself, with the result that little attention is paid to orthography (Raveaud, 2002, 2006).

Technologies are fundamentally associated with educational practices too. Currently, our discourse is still dominated by the notion that being educated means being able to read and write. In British Universities, to study towards a degree in English or in Modern Languages is referred to as reading English or Modern Languages. Similarly, the notion that

reading and writing are done on paper is encoded in everyday use, the icons of word processing software packages typically refer to writing and manipulating text written on paper and we talk of files, folders, cutting, and pasting.

The first practice we want to highlight concerns teachers' use of specific routines in class. If an English language teacher with a wrist-watch on her arm, asks a pupil *What's the time, please* and the pupil replies *Is your watch broken*? the teacher will feel justified in reprimanding the pupil, and the other pupils in the class are likely to giggle because the pupil will be perceived as insolent. So the pupil may be punished although the question might have been genuine (He might have been concentrating on the teacher's fashionable digital watch more than on the question for example). The practice whereby teachers ask questions to which they have the answer to test pupils is associated with professional practice, although it violates the Gricean Cooperative Principle. Outside school, questioning the presuppositions of a request for information when having clear evidence that the person making the request has the means of doing so would be normal behaviour. This constructed example is intended to show the complex classroom procedures, which we consider normal and how consciously unaware of this kind of complexity we are. In reality, such routines define a teaching context by virtue of being acted out and we have learnt to associate particular discursive sequences and patterns with teaching practices. We acknowledge this social knowledge in discourse when we characterise other people's behaviour towards children for example, when we say that a visitor acted *like a teacher* with a child. In the example, we see how pupils learn not just how to tell the time, but that teachers use questions to test that they know (or not) what the teacher thinks they should know. In this way it conveys the message that valuable knowledge is restricted to what the teacher knows and that a pupil's role is not to initiate but to answer questions. This kind of questioning; however, only serves the feedback needs of the teacher and does not help the students or the teacher for that matter to understand why they failed to learn or how to learn more efficiently. Rather, it teaches pupils the value of question avoidance behaviour and many concentrate on not being noticed to avoid trouble.

The second phenomenon concerns learning and teaching practices, which assume particular forms of knowledge. The use of formal types of exercises which rely on propositional knowledge may not be familiar to learners and assume cognitive routines which learners may not relate to. Apparent failure can result from the distance between the student and the knowledge required to answer by the form and the context. The following