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A STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF LECTURERS AND STUDENTS TOWARDS ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN PAKISTANI HIGHER EDUCATION

by

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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

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A.STUDY OF THE PERCEPTIONS OF LECTURERS AND STUDENTS TOWARDS ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN PAKISTANI HIGHER EDUCATION

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This study examines the perceptions of teachers and students towards the policy of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in the context of Higher Education (HE) in Pakistan. The purpose of the study is twofold. First, it explores how content teachers and postgraduate students orient towards the policy of EMI. Second, it examines how EMI is actualized in content classrooms in universities. The study is informed by critical language policy and translanguaging in academic settings. The study is important as current empirical research in the field of language policy, from the standpoint of Global Englishes in HE context of Pakistan is almost non-existent. This investigation attempts to explore in depth the core issues in EMI against the background of larger medium of instruction debates in the country.

This study draws on qualitative data collected through twenty-one semi-structured interviews with teachers and twelve focus groups with students from three postgraduate institutes.

Findings from the interviews and focus groups suggest that a gap exists between stated and practised EMI policies, as the majority of students and teachers use EMF in practice. Moreover, both teachers and students exhibited ambivalent perceptions about EMI policy. On the one hand, at the theoretical level, the participants considered native English competence represented the required standard. On the other hand, they believed that the ability to

communicate effectively took priority over native English competence in practice.

The findings of this study contribute to theorising and research in EMI and language policy. This study supports the idea that English language policy in Pakistan should consider the global and dynamic use of English and, therefore reconsider the traditional native-normative approach to English language. It also has implications for ELT and EAP practitioners regarding the teaching and testing of English.

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Academic Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

I, *Palwasha Sajjad*, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

A study of the perceptions of lecturers and students towards English-medium instruction in Pakistani higher education.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as:

Signed: ....

Date: November 2018

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ELFA   English as Lingua Franca in Academic Settings

AmE   American English

BrE   British English

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ELF   English as a Lingua Franca

ELT   English Language Teaching

EMI   English as a Medium of Instruction

ENL   English as a National Language

IELTS   International English Language Testing System

HE   Higher Education

L1   First Language

L2   Second Language

LIEP   Language in Education Policy

LP   Language Policy

LPP   Language Planning and policy

MOI   Medium of Instruction

NES   Native English Speaker

NNES   Non-native English Speaker

NTS   National Testing Services

SE   Standard English

SLI   Standard Language Ideology

WE   World Englishes

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the current research with a description of a linguistic profile of Pakistan, the context, the research questions and the rationale of the study. This author's personal experience of observing and teaching postgraduate students at a Pakistani university resulted in a reflection of their language learning difficulties that, I presumed, were outcomes of English being the medium of instruction in this context. This reflection stimulated me to investigate the perceptions of policy for English as the medium of instruction (EMI), which is intimately interwoven with the academic and interactive uses of English, along with the type of English used in Pakistani higher education (henceforth HE).

1.2 Rationale

Despite English's standing as the most widely used language of communication among people of the Anglophone and non-Anglophone world, this status has changed over the last thirty years, evolving from being a colonial language to being the most widely accepted language for instrumental purposes. Therefore, globally non-native English speakers (henceforth NNESs) have outnumbered native speakers of English (henceforth NESs). This is equally true for face-to-face communication and virtual online communication.

Much criticism has surfaced from critical sociolinguists regarding the blind acceptance of the use of native English varieties in the domain of education around the globe. Researchers from the Global Englishes paradigm maintain

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that second language acquisition research, traditional bilingualism and English as a foreign language (EFL) research, are underpinned by the problematic concept of 'native speaker'. While, criticising the concept of the native speaker Doerr (2009), points towards three limiting ideologies. First, the assumption that a close correspondence exists between being a citizen of a nation state and speaker of a national language. Secondly, the concept of national language assumes that language is fixed and homogeneous and is used in a homogeneous speech community. Thirdly, the concept of the native speaker is assumed to have naturally high level competence in all domains of life. Doerr (2009) suggests that the concept of the native speakers needs rethinking, as the limiting, static beliefs of the monolingual speaker of a native language ignores the permeability of the border between native speakers and non-native speakers. Furthermore, Mauranen (2012) points out that monolingualism (which is underpinned by native speaker ideology) does not reflect the real world situation and therefore should not be considered the gold standard. However, educational institutions use the yardstick of the idealized and artificial construct of accent-less English to judge the proficiency of non-native English despite its communicative adequacy (Kroon, Blommaert and Dong, 2013). Empirical research criticises the use of native English varieties as a standard to be mimicked by NNES in different countries and suggests a perspective shift towards a kind of English that is useful for effective communication in academic settings (e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Jenkins & Wingate, 2015; Kuteeva, 2014; Saarinen & Nikula, 2013).

The status of English is changing due to the mobility of English language, particularly relating to students in higher education (HE) (Jenkins, 2017). However, it is important to note that EMI in the HE context is on the rise because of internationalisation policies in many countries, such as the *Bologna process* in Europe and the *Global 30* in Japan. However, in Pakistan the presence of EMI is a result of a historical process rather than the globalisation of HE. The National Education Plan does not pay any attention to the medium of instruction issue in HE. Rather, it is assumed that the

primary medium of instruction in HE is, and will be, English (Rassool and Mansoor, 2007). However, this uncontested use of English language as the medium of instruction in HE is fraught with problems, prompting language policy researchers in Pakistan to explore various issues concerning EMI in HE. The studies (Mahboob, 2002; Mansoor, 2005; Irfan 2013) are directly related to EMI and investigate the perceptions of different stakeholders towards language and medium of instruction in HE. These studies show that most of the participants preferred English as medium of instruction in HE, followed by Urdu, while there was no or little preference for regional languages. The data for these studies are drawn from students and teachers at institutes of HE where the English language is prevalent in the institutions, and teachers and learners have had generally speaking, equal access to the English language in their former educational settings.

 However, there are three limitations of these studies. The first is that they report the perceptions of a sample that is not representative of the HE situation in Pakistan. In order to fill this research gap the present study selects its research sample from those who had differential access to English language education in school years and were later exposed to use of EMI in HE. The second limitation is that most of the previous studies adopted a quantitative approach to ascertain the perceptions of the stakeholders. By contrast, the present study adopts a purely qualitative approach, employing semi-structured interviews and focus groups to examine what the teachers and students say and what their actual linguistic practices are in the classroom. The third limitation is that the previous studies were conducted entirely in the English language, whereas the present study allows participants to choose the language they are most comfortable with. The purpose of this being to allow those who are unable to clearly express their views in the English language, to still have those views heard.

The above measures are taken so as to conduct research that is sourced from a more representative sample of the Pakistani population, to identify the problems with the current policies and practices and eventually to contribute towards enabling greater participation of the Pakistani population in HE. Hence, the present study seeks to explore which language is the most appropriate as the medium of instruction in HE, what is the influence of EMI on the academic performance of learners and which variety of English will serve the needs of learners in local and global contexts. In order to do so, it sought to answer the following main and subsidiary research questions:

RQ 1.What are the orientations of content teachers and students towards Medium of Instruction (MOI) policies in HE context in Pakistan?

RQ.2. How do the content teachers and students perceive EMI policies and practices in HE context in Pakistan?

RQ a) How do content teachers perceive their own and other content teachers' English abilities? How do they evaluate their students' academic English abilities?

RQ b) How do content students perceive their own and other content students' English abilities? How do they perceive their teachers' academic English abilities?

RQ c) How do content teachers and students perceive EMI policies related to students and teachers in the university?

1.3 Personal Reasons for the Study

When I looked at how my journey of the present research started, I realised that there were influences from my life as a student and then later as a teacher, that motivated me to explore the issues discussed in this thesis. It is appropriately suggested that social contexts play a vital role in developing

linguistic skills. My formative childhood years were spent in an English medium school in a convent. Pashto was my home language and I had to learn Urdu as it is the national language and then I had to learn English for educational purposes. During my student life, there were numerous instances where I had found English-only learning presented great difficulties. As students, we were discouraged from using Pashto at school and Urdu in the classroom. On numerous occasions I found I could not meaningfully participate in the classroom.

Later, as a teacher in a private English medium school and, later, in a semi-private college, I was under the impression that in order to be a good user of the English language, English needed to be used all of the time in the class. From my personal observations, students in both institutions could communicate effectively in informal English but the level of students' formal English language was not 'good'. Later still I joined a public sector university department of English and Literature where I perceived English language usage to be even weaker. I witnessed that teachers and students used a variety of English heavily influenced by their first language. The students were able to understand the academic content in the classes, but had serious difficulties expressing themselves and their ideas in English. I was haunted with the question of why students could not express themselves in correct English after years of education. The quest to answer this question and the search for how to build their proficiency in English has shaped my PhD journey

My experience with English language at the University of Southampton further shaped my views on English medium schools. During my master's studies, I saw that standard British English was not helpful for students from different backgrounds, who spoke English in their personal way, to participate in seminar discussions and presentations. The questions raised by this observation underpinned my master's dissertation on the topic of willingness to communicate in English among learners of different linguistic backgrounds at an international University (Sajjad, 2014). In the dissertation, I explored the factors that influence a person's choice to enter an act of

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communication in English when they have linguistic resources in their native language. All these issues, starting from my childhood to my present interests, motivated the present exploration of a study of the issues of translanguaging, EMI, and language policy in higher education in Pakistan

1.4 Understanding the Context

The introduction of the study will be incomplete without a brief description of the languages spoken in Pakistan. Thus, my intention in this section is to clarify the multilingual nature of spoken languages in the country, which in turn establishes the need for the present study. Pakistan is a plural society with many regions that have distinct languages, cultural heritages, and ethnic diversities. Pakistan consists of four provinces: Punjab, Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (former North West Frontier Province) and Baluchistan (Akhtar, 1989, p.8). Punjabi and Seraiki are spoken in the Punjab, Sindhi is spoken in rural Sindh, Urdu in urban Sindh and Gujarati is spoken among influential minorities. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pashto is the language of the majority of the population, though one district, Hazra, uses Hindko. Baluchistan has multiple languages, such as Balochi, Brahui, Pashto, Seraiki and Punjabi (Haque, 1983). Many educated Pakistanis speak at least three languages: their mother tongue, Urdu, and English (Rahman, 2006). This scenario portrays a complex situation for the formulation and implementation of language in education policy in the country.

After independence in 1947, as in other post-colonial countries, Pakistan was confronted with the issues of decolonisation, globalization and other economic and socio-political restructuring within the country (Canagarajah, 2006). These issues contributed to English establishing a foothold firmly in the new country (Mahboob, 2009). Moreover, unlike Urdu, English, having no rivalry with any of the regional languages, served as an impartial lingua france for the country. Urdu was in competition with the dominant regional

languages but managed to surpass them because it was used for political and religious purposes, as a symbol of Muslim unity (Tickoo, 2006). Urdu was needed to uphold cultural and traditional values whereas learning English was obligatory for enlightenment and economic prosperity. Therefore, it is inconceivable to eradicate the English language from the geographical and socio-economic landscape because it is so strongly interwoven into the historical roots in the country (Mahboob, 2009). Regarding the use of EMI at higher education level, all Language in Education policies of Pakistan state that EMI is compulsory at university level. Although, it was recommended in the 1979 education policy that after some years Urdu could be the medium of instruction at university level (Mansoor, 2004), this never materialised due to lack of resources and governmental resolve.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

Chapter 2 begins with an overview of literature addressing the notion of globalization and discusses its implication for language use in various domains. This provides a basis for the next section which addresses the phenomenon of translanguaging, a poststructuralist approach to the use of languages in contact zones, which is the focus of the following section. These two phenomena i.e. globalisation and translanguaging, have, in particular, become of growing interest as a result of the increasing mobility of language and people around the world. The last section discusses the notions of nation state, the role of state support for the national language as opposed to regional languages, and the linguistic needs of Pakistani learners in the increasingly globalised world.

The first part of chapter 3 turns to the literature on Language Policy (Henceforth LP) frameworks with specific reference to language in education. It reviews the policy frameworks proposed by Ball (1993), Spolsky (2004, 2005) and Shohamy (2006). These three frameworks form

the theoretical basis of the present study. Then it moves on to the discussion of English as medium of instruction (Henceforth EMI) in the specific domain of HE. This section reviews literature from HE contexts in different parts of the world and this literature review provides a sound backdrop for the discussion of EMI in HE in Pakistan in the last section.

Chapter 4 deals with research methodology. The chapter begins with the aims and research questions of this study. First, I provide the background of qualitative inquiry and delineate its advantages in relation to this study. The next part is concerned with the practical aspects of this study and a description of 1) the research context and participants, 2) the sampling method, 3) the researcher's role, 4) research instruments (semi-structured interviews and focus-group discussions). Then in the next section, I discuss my analytical framework for chapter 5 and 6. Then, I address ethics and risks concerning my participants and myself (in the role of both an insider and outsider). Lastly, I discuss issues of the trustworthiness of the study.

In Chapter 5 and 6 I present the results of my data analysis. In chapter 5 I adopted Eggins & Slade's (2006) Speech Analytical Framework in addition to thematic analysis for analysing the interview data. In this chapter, I present accounts of teachers' perceptions about the choice of medium of instruction and the use of English as the sole medium of instruction. In Chapter 6, I present the results of the analysis of focus group discussions with students. Here, thematic analysis is used as the primary analytical instrument. In both chapter 5 and 6 I outline the main themes that emerged from the data sets and include excerpts to support the themes.

In chapter 7, I discuss the findings in relation to the research questions. I evaluate how EMI policies are implemented in the light of this study. Then I turn to discuss the implications of the current research for EMI in

multilingual contexts, its limitations and suggest future directions for further research.

CHAPTER 2: ENGLISH IN THE WORLD AND PAKISTAN

2.1Introdution

This chapter deals with different influences that shape the use of language in societies. Second, part of the chapter discuss globalization and its effects on use of languages. It elaborates why it has become necessary to move on from one language one nation, monolingual approach towards a multilingual approach in language policy and practices in higher education. Taking this further ahead, the chapter discusses the emerging approach towards *translanguaging*, which is a, post-modern, post structuralist approach towards the use of different languages and modes of languages simultaneously. Finally, it discusses the linguistic situation in Pakistan with respect to current debates on language policies and associated practices in higher education.

2.2 Impact of Globalization on Language Use

Considerable population shifts have occurred due to the changing socio-political and socio-economic trends in the twenty-first century. Graddol (2006) reports that between 1960 and 2000, the world's immigrant population size has doubled (it now stands at 175 million) which is three percent of the world population (p.28). This immense population movement has resulted in increased bilingualism and multilingualism. Geopolitical and economic development has facilitated international movement of refugees, asylum seekers, expatriate workers, tourists and international students. Another factor that has shaped the choice of language use, is fast growing technology, which is cheap and highly accessible to the masses. Inexpensive technology has increased the outsourcing of services to countries where labour costs are cheaper. But, in the current climate, above all others,

bilingualism is the main resource. We now have the ability to communicate in various languages and modalities across boundaries, both linguistic and national; to communicate for multiple purposes through tools such as Voice over Internet Protocol (VOIP); to podcast for sharing multimedia files, and all these developments have resulted in the higher demand for multiple and flexible linguistic repertoires to be developed through education systems. The current global climate contrasts strongly with the era of the nation state when the only language of survival was one's national language which was strongly promoted and developed through the education system of the state.

Another feature of Globalisation over the past 15 years, is the rising importance of many languages other than English. According to Miniwatts Marketing Group (2015) the highest increase since 2000 is in the use of Arabic on internet, which has increased by 6,091.9%, this followed by Russian which has increased by 3,227.3% followed by Chinese at 2,080.9%, compared to English which has increased by 505.0%. Different software and machine translations provide texts in different languages. Furthermore, communication for deaf people on software such as skype and MSN messenger has become possible through the development of new sign languages. This draws attention to the fact that the educational needs of current language users have changed and therefore the main focus of the present thesis is to research how national, regional and international languages and linguistic practices are used in classroom learning.

Garcia (2009) argues that the use of many languages (for example Arabic and Spanish) on TV news channels the availability of different features on TVs which facilitate access to different programmes, in different languages, and the widespread use of DVDs have challenged the status and hegemony of the English language on TV. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the formal role of English in education and specifically in higher education is well established and English is the main and growing lingua franca in higher education contexts in multilingual speakers such as Asians (Graddol, 2006; Tsui and Tollefson, 2007). Jenkins (2015) argues "[t]here are clearly contexts in which

English has no role whatsoever. But the fact is that globally it is the most common language in multilingual repertoires, and as such, cannot be completely ignored in more general discussions of multilingualism" (p.72).

The growing utility of different global Lingua Francas challenges the status of national languages. Fishman (2001) argues that globalisation has contributed in unexpected ways to the rise of ethnic identities to balance the ubiquity of supra-ethnic civil nationalism, as part of the identity constellation of all citizens, and hence resulted in the expression of multiculturalism at institutional level. The present research attempts to explore the role of global and local languages in communication patterns in classrooms. One possible lens can be *translanguaging* that can open spaces for learning through regional languages and global languages simultaneously in order to augment and supplement the knowledge and language resources of learners.

2.3 Translanguaging a Linguistic Need in Multilingual Contexts

Translanguaging is a postmodern approach to language use. It opposes the idea of language as a fixed and bounded entity. Rather it suggests that multilingual individuals use languages in a flexible way.

2.3.1 Monolingualism to Multilingualism

As discussed in section 2.3 the world is multilingual but the English language, specifically in the context of higher education, is more prevalent than other languages. The problem lies in the strict compartmentalisation of language use in the classroom for teaching and learning purposes. It has long been argued by many teachers the separation of languages is needed to avoid "cross contamination" (Jacobson and Faltis,1990). This approach towards language use leaves many learners at a great disadvantage, especially if they are not proficient in the English language.

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The struggle between language domains has been, for many decades, associated with political and economic repercussions and is the main reason for the shift towards dominant languages and the gradual extinction of many regional languages. In educational institutions the separate use of languages for different instructional purposes has been researched extensively. Cummins (2005) suggests that the obvious reason for following monolingual approaches to teaching languages in schools, is the assumption that for learning a language, instruction must be carried out in the target language. Secondly, translation in learners' L1 is considered detrimental to language acquisition, thirdly in immersion bilingual programmes, the two languages are treated as "two solitudes" (p. 588). Similarly many terms like "parallel monolingualism" (Heller, 1999), "bilingualism through monolingualism" (Swain, 1983. P4) and "separate bilingualism" (Creese and Blackledge, 2008) have been coined under the assumption of the existence of "two monolinguals in one body" as discussed by Gravelle (1996, p.11).

Creese &Blackledge (2010) argue that vacillating between languages in educational settings is not encouraged, and it is not formally acknowledged. Blackledge and Creese (2010) argue that code-switching in classrooms has until recently been perceived as "embarrassing", "wrong", "dilemma-filled" and "bad practice"; it is associated with "feelings of guilt" and "squandering our bilingual resources" as the two languages "contaminate" each other. They further comment that if students and teachers use languages flexibly in the classroom it is mostly as a pragmatic response to the context and is not formally accepted or adequately underpinned by pedagogical motivations.

Littlewood and Yu (2011) discuss the use of mother tongue L1 in Target language (TL) classes. They explained reasons for the increased use of L1 in TL teaching, in spite of the dominant principle of use of TL only in foreign language teaching. The use of L1 can be valuable in foreign language learning

directly or indirectly (Littlewood and Yu, 2011). In Contexts where learners are exposed to TL only in classroom and they aim to use TL in monolingual situations, teachers make decisions regarding the use of TL and L1. Hawkins (1987) criticised the monolingual principal of TL learning and said that the rationale behind it is that students get limited time to be exposed to TL. Likewise, Turnbull (2001) commented that in foreign language classes teachers are the only source of TL input. Moreover, research shows that there is always discrepancy between the policies for TL teaching and actual classroom use of TL and L1. A study regarding 50 university students from Hong Kong and China indicate that teachers use L1 for a number of reasons, Littlewood and Yu (2011). These are for establishing constructive social relationships, clarifying meanings of complex words or ideas and managing class discipline.

Turnbull (2001) and Cook (2001) cautioned against the uncontrolled use of L1 in foreign language classes, they suggested the use of strategies to use L1 to maximise the opportunities of TL. Therefore, a framework for use of L1 and TL was suggested by Littlewood and Yu (2011). This framework delineates two main goals for allowing L1 in TL classes. First is to achieve core goals, which are TL teaching goals. Second is to achieve framework goals, which are related to managing classroom situation and providing conducive context for TL learning.

Furthermore, literature on bilingual pedagogy in various contexts show that for successful use of L1 in teaching TL teacher's determination plays important role (Pachler, Evans and Lawes, 2007). Similarly, S.-YKim (2008) states that with passage of time teachers gain more confidence and feel less anxious when using English for teaching English. Additionally, teachers need to employ effective communication strategies for instance repetition, substituting complex words with simple structures, with similar meaning, contrasting, exemplification and giving clues for effective use of TL in foreign

language classrooms. Also ,Lee (2007) suggests that for successful use of TL teachers need to start the lesson with tasks and content with which students are already familiar. In nutshell the systematic, selective and judicious use of L1 has been stressed in bilingual pedagogy literature, but it depends on the individual teacher's understanding (Littlewood and Yu, 2011).

At the macro level, Vertovec's (2006, 2007) notion of the world being a linguistically super-diverse place calls attention to the fact that in the wake of successful civil rights movements it is crucial that nation states' public and private institutions adopt measures, policies and structural adaptations in order to lessen discrimination against minority groups. Most of the world population is bilingual or multilingual and they engage in dynamic use of different language practices in order to make sense of their world and communicate effectively with those whom they share similar language resources.

 Lewis , et al.,(2012) define translanguaging as " a movement that consider[s] languages [not] as separate [but] integrat[ed]". It is a "heteroglossic view" of the minority-language world, as opposed to the diaglossic one and does not support the "subtractive and negative nature of bilingualism" rather celebrates the "advantages of additive bilingualism where languages in the brain, classroom, and street act simultaneously and not sequentially, with efficient integration and not separation. Thus, translanguaging is simultaneously symbolic of a change in ideology about bilingualism and bilingual education" (pp.667-668). The same definition and approach underpins the present research.

Translanguaging is a newly coined concept, a new way of thinking about how multilingual speakers use their multilingual repertoires, rather than the traditional idea of switching from one language to another. The roots of this concept can be traced back to its first use by Cen Williams, a Welsh

educationist. Initially the Welsh term "trawsieithu" was used by Williams and his colleague, Dafydd Whittall, during an in-service course for head teachers in Llandudno (North Wales) that translated as "translinguifying" in English but was later changed to "translanguaging" (Lewis, et al., 2012). He used the word to describe the use of two languages in Welsh schools where the input language was different from the output language. The core purpose was to reinforce both the languages or to develop the learners' weaker language with the help of their dominant language.

 Translanguaging was initially linked to the concept of the purposeful simultaneous use of two languages in a bilingual classroom, advocated by Jacobson (1983, 1990) and to 16 cues for interchanging the medium of teaching, discussed by Faltis (1990). However, Williams (2002, cited in Lewis, G. et al., 2012) developed it in a different vein and emphasised that translanguaging refers to a skill that is natural for any bilingual individual. Thus, a classification in the use of the term "translanguaging" may be: (a) Classroom Translanguaging (planned and serendipitous) with a pedagogic emphasis; (b) Universal Translanguaging with cognitive, contextual, and cultural aspects. While Universal Translanguaging includes the classroom as one context among many, retaining "classroom translanguaging" enables a discussion about learning and teaching style and curriculum planning. (c) Neurolinguistic Translanguaging is a new field that researches brain activity modulations when both languages are activated, and holds much for the future.

The present research will be focusing on classrooms in the higher education context. Baker (2001, 2006, and 2011) outlined four uses of translanguaging in bilingual education settings, making it more apt as a pedagogical practice. These are: (a) it may promote a deeper and fuller understanding of the subject matter, (b) it may help the development of the weaker language, (c) it may facilitate home-school links and co-operation and (d) it may help the

integration of fluent speakers with early learners. Baker, (2011) explains that in a monolingual situation a learner copies sentences from a text and after memorisation, reproduces them without engaging cognitively with their meaning. This is a common practice in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) settings where second language acquisition (SLA) approaches are used for language teaching.

However, language education pedagogies needs to reciprocate the diversity in the lingua-cultural backgrounds of the students (Stroud and Heugh 2011). Stroud and Heugh (2011) note that in EMI contexts, the multiple languages and repertoires of stakeholders have consequences for pedagogy. Therefore, the SLA pedagogies which conceptualised monolingual and standardised views of languages are no longer sustainable (Heugh et al., 2017). Heugh et al., (2017) argue that code-switching and code-mixing are natural phenomena in multilingual societies. Therefore, if used systematically these phenomena can support productive processes in learning and teaching. In post-colonial multilingual societies as well as in the urban classrooms of Europe, Such practices defy linguistic separation even in formal education (Agnihotri, 2014; Heugh, 2015). Consequently, students' multilingual repertoires are recognised as learning resources (García and Li Wei 2014). However, Heugh et al., (2017) contend that there is lack of explanation regarding how to use these linguistic resources effectively. They state that research is required to understand how to enable students in EMI contexts to employ their entire linguistic repertoires in spoken and written practices.

García and Li Wei (2014) differentiate code switching from translanguaging by focusing on the languaging process and not on the code of language. However, they are aware of the complexity of using translanguaging systematically in formal education. Canagarajah (2011) notes that there is lack of documentation of the use of translanguaging for pedagogic purposes in written tasks.

Similar to the concept of translanguaging was the concept of "multicompetence" as proposed by Cook (2002) and "holistic bilingualism" (Grosjean, 1985), these concepts were primarily psychological and linguistic. However, García and Kleifgen (2010) and Blackledge and Creese (2010) developed translanguaging (and dynamic bilingualism) further as a "sociolinguistic and ecological…negotiated and interactional, contextualised and situated, emergent and altering, and with ideological and identity constituents, all of which are enacted in the classroom."(Lewis et al., 2012.p.656).

Bilinguals not only facilitate their communication with others through translanguaging but also construct deeper and newer meanings of their bilingual worlds. The term translanguaging is defined from the standpoint of language users rather than language use itself. Hence, Baker (2011) defines it as "a process of making meaning, shaping experiences, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages" (p.288). This implies that studies of translanguaging focus on effective communication in schools, homes and streets through the use of multiple languages rather than the language forms. It is about the linguistic practices that result in language production as and when it is required.

2.3.2 Solitudes to Synergies

Translanguaging has become a key modern term for classroom activities in some bilingual communities. A shift in attitudes towards the use of more than one language to maximise learning, is becoming more flexible. As Baker (2011) states, the idea of translanguaging "captured the imagination of those who believe that teachers and particularly students naturally use both languages to maximize learning" (p. 288). Translanguaging is seen as 'emancipatory' from the idea of 'deficient users' for bilingual language

learners (Lewis et al., 2012). Moreover, the growing body of research about additive bilingualism (García, 2009a; Lambart, 1974) provides grounds for the holistic conceptualisation of bilinguals (Grosjean, 2008, 2010). Baker (2010) supports code-switching as normal and positive for early childhood language development rather than relying on the strategy of a one parent one language strategy. In the same way, use of different languages in classroom is considered "creative, pragmatic and safe" (Martin, 2005.p.89). Arthur & Martin (2006) argue that code switching is useful for successful classroom learning; specifically, learners use of annotating texts is a common practice. This new turn in approaches towards multilingualism and bilingualism is supported by research in neurolinguistics (Hoshino & Thierry, 2011; Thierry & Wu, 2007; Wu & Thierry, 2010). It has been found that bilinguals, even when using a single language, still have the other language 'active' and can use both at any time when required. Hence, the entire movement can be defined as a shift from 'solitudes' towards 'synergies' (Lewis et al., 2012).

Similarly, Makoni and Pennycook (2012), while discussing the nature of a multilingua franca, approve of "mixed language as the singular norm" (p. 449). The notion underlying their concept of such a lingua franca in a multilingual context is that "…languages are so deeply intertwined [that it is] difficult to determine any boundaries that may indicate that there are different languages involved" (p. 447). The findings from research on translanguaging in multilingual settings may explain why, despite the existence of formal language policies and strict instruction from administrative bodies, the use of different languages in the same lesson is inevitable in higher education context around the world. Lin (2005) researched the codeswitching practice of teachers and students in Hong Kong and the findings of the study are applicable to most of the learners of the English language who belong to the socio-economically disadvantaged backgrounds and who struggle in an English medium education. Recent research supports the fact that the use of multiple languages enables the learners to take full advantage of their learning experience (Fortune, Tedick,

& Walker, 2008). Second language learning strategies, based on the strict compartmentalisation of languages, that were predominant in multilingual settings, are losing ground to content and language integrated learning (CLIL), where simultaneous use of more than one language is encouraged (Baker, 2010). Considering the greater advantages of not separating different languages for better and improved learning, one cannot agree more with García (2009a), who emphasises that:

> "It is important for bilingual educators and bilingual students to recognize the importance and value of translanguaging practices. Too often bilingual students who translanguage suffer linguistic shame because they have been burdened with monoglossic ideologies that value only monolingualism ... And too often bilingual teachers hide their natural translanguaging practices from administrators and others because they have been taught to believe that only monolingual ways of speaking are ''good'' and valuable. Yet, they know that to teach effectively in bilingual classrooms, they must translanguage." (p. 308).

The concept of diaglossia is challenged by translanguaging, because speakers who masters two or more languages principally use their languages for different purposes without separating them, for instance, a bilingual child may not use one language in the classroom and another language in the home, with friends and for religious purposes. García (2009a) contradicts the view that languages are assigned different "territories"; in fact the reality is that "ethnolinguistic groups do not have strict divisions between their languages, and there is much overlap" (pp. 78–79). In societies where bilingualism is a common feature, communicative networks are both stable and dynamic at the same time. Different languages exist in functional inter-relationship instead of being confined to separate uses. Thus, García (2009a) uses the term "transglossia" to capture the "ways in which languages now function and in which people translanguage," and add that "complete compartmentalization between languages of instruction may not always be

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appropriate'' (p. 79). García (2009) suggests that multilingual classrooms in the 21st century are moving from diaglossic to transglossic arrangements (flexible concurrent language use). It is observed that classes where students have different linguistic profiles when working in groups, often transcend the language use norms of the classroom; they usually use languages interchangeably to understand and build conceptual and linguistic knowledge.

The advent of globalization has changed approaches in all fields of human life. Markets are becoming more customer centred in education. This the rationale underlying the use of multiple languages for learning in the classroom: it is a more learner centred approach, where teachers play the role of facilitator and the focus is on the development of the learner's balanced deployment of all available language resources. It can safely be said that for translanguaging to operate in classes, the age of the learners is not important. Its effectiveness depends on the dual language competence in specific languages of the child. This is the core reason for Williams's emphasis that "the aim… is to *strengthen and to use* both languages to a high level in order *to develop balanced and confident bilingual pupils*..." (emphasis added. 2002, p. 47). Translanguaging is a complex cognitive phenomenon, where learners internalise a concept after being exposed to it, it is processed in their L1 and they assign their own meanings to the concept and immediately use the concept in their other available language(s). This dual language processing is brought about through the interdependence of cognitive receptive skills (reading and listening), information internalization and selection of information for production (speaking and writing) from the available language repertoire. This makes translanguaging different from translation. Williams (2002) argues that although translation can occur during translanguaging activities, translation tends to separate languages, emphasising that one language is preferred academically. In contrast, translanguaging attempts to utilise and strengthen both languages.

Translanguaging can be explained through the sociocultural theory of learning presented by Vygotsky which encompasses the process of scaffolding and the internalization of concepts through the mediation of language skills. Furthermore, translanguaging allows learners to develop their knowledge of language use and deepen their concept formation through discussions with their families in their home languages. Lastly, translanguaging is a very productive way of learning in classrooms where students have varying levels of competence. Competent learners can scaffold learning processes and develop their minority language, be it their first or second (Williams 1994, 1996).

The present research focuses on learners of English who have spent several years learning English in classes mainly composed of learners with different or same L1, and who learn content subjects through the use of EMI (i.e. they are no longer learners of English language, per se). As Lewis.et al., (2012) argue, "[t]he use of translanguaging as a pedagogy may depend to some extent on the subject content being taught. Those subject areas which do not involve relatively much jargon, abstract notions, or complex language are potentially more suitable for translanguaging at an early stage." Research by Lewis.et al., (ibid.) suggests that translanguaging is predominantly found in arts and humanities lessons rather than in the teaching of mathematics and science, this however needs to be further researched in multilingual contexts.

In the context of the present research translanguaging can be seen as "a flexible and dynamic view of multilingual resources, and compared to code-switching, a less clearly marked change or switch into 'another language' and an emphasis on the permeability of languages" (Cogo, 2018,p. 362). Moreover, as Seidlhofer notes that it's the process "to language" rather than focus on learning "a language" (2011,p.198). Translanguaging implies to develop the ability of negotiating meanings in different contexts using one's multilingual repertoire. Whereas code switching means to use set of isolated

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forms. As Bokamba (1998 in Canagarjah, 2013) defined code mixing as the process of "mixing various linguistic units from two distinct grammatical systems or sub systems within same sentence and same speech situation" (p.107).

Therefore, to acknowledge the multilingual repertoire of the students in the current research their linguistic proficiency needs to be determined by their ability to negotiate variation in meaning making process rather than their adherence to any particular linguistic code. In this regard a model for Dynamic Approach to Linguistic Proficiency (DALP, Fig 1 below) is proposed by Mahboob and Dutcher (2014). It is based on the principle of that "being proficient in a language implies to be sensitive to the setting of the communicative event, and have the ability to select adapt, negotiate and use a range of linguistic resources that are appropriate in the context (Mahboob and Dutcher ,2014). This model values multilingualism as proficiency is based on negotiating different contexts and communicative flexibility within same linguistic code rather than focusing on norm adherence.
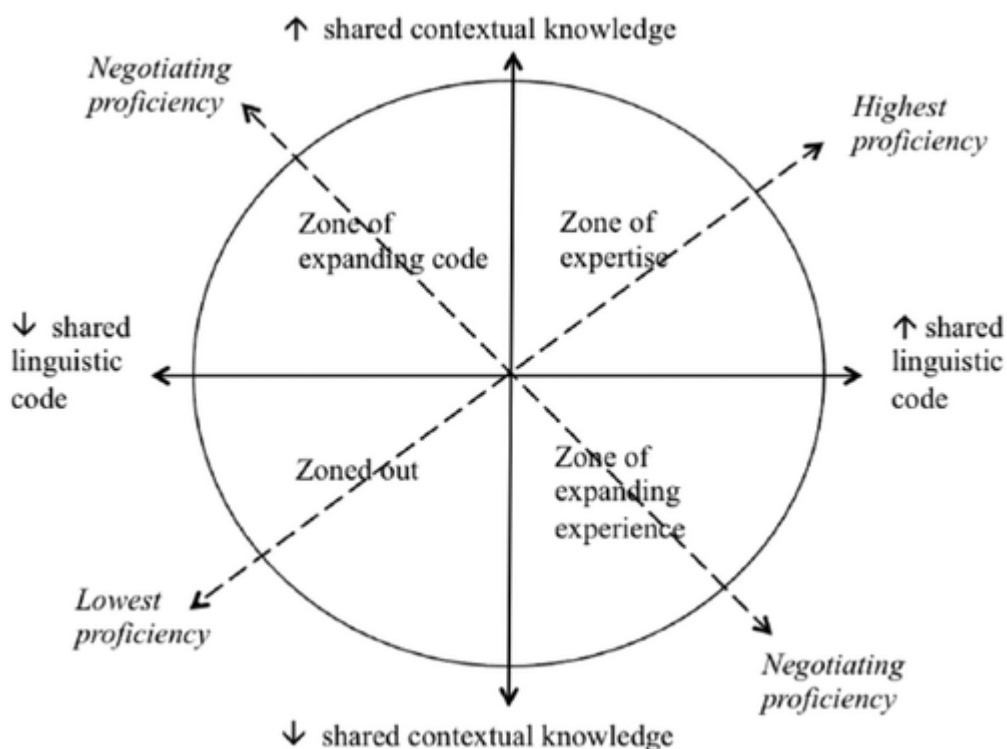
Figure 1: Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency. (Mahboob,2018).

The four zones of DALP include *Zone of Expertise,* where participant is in full control of linguistic code and their appropriate contextual use. In *Zone of Expanding Experience* participant is in control of linguistic code but not familiar with the context on the other hand in *Zone of Expanding Code* participant is familiar with the context of a situation but not with the linguistic code. In these two zones the participants have some skills to negotiate the context or code but are not fully aware of what is required from them. Mahboob (2018) suggests that multiple interactions in similar contexts with similar languages can make the participants expert in communicating effectively. Finally, in *Zoned Out* category participants have no knowledge of context as well as linguistic code and their proficiency is low to communicate in that context. Therefore, it is felt that n the context of present research Teaching English as a Dynamic language (TEDL) based on the principles of DALP, and subsequently developing resources for this purpose is appropriate rather than following English as Foreign Language (EFL) resources based on second language acquisition theories.

Moreover, the present research will approach the use of different languages from the standpoint of English as a Multilingua Franca (Jenkins, 2015), according to which "English is not seen as optional but is always potentially 'in the mix' (and) although it is always potentially available to everyone in the interaction, it is not necessarily used" (speech marks in original, p.75). The aim of the research is to explore the use, non-use, and partial use, of different languages by speakers, which in this case are the students and teachers (Jenkins, 2015, p.76.).The current research will have implications for pedagogy, as translanguaging (English and other regional/national languages) is a natural feature of multilingual contexts and, as argued by Jenkins, "should be regarded as normal language behaviour, and that the use of 'repertoires in flux' and 'language leakage' into candidates' English should not be penalised (while assessing them)" (2015.p.79). The next section highlights the issues surrounding the promotion of a national language in the context of Pakistan.

2.4 Languages in Pakistan

As proposed by Spolsky (2012) "language policy is an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation state". Nation states were created after colonial rule came to an end, in many global regions, after the Second World War. These nation states focused on the overt promotion of a single national language, which would act as an identity marker for their inhabitants. Like most of these nation states, Pakistan too focused on the development of a national language in this case, Urdu at the expense of other languages. Status planning of Urdu was carried out in the state constitution whereas the corpus planning of the same was delegated to linguists to meet the requirements of modern society (Kloss, 1966). It is declared in the official policy documents of the state, that Urdu would replace English once it was functionally developed. In this process, the relatively less powerful languages (Paulston, 1998) were neglected and it was assumed that the multi-ethnic and multi-lingual population would be integrated through Urdu as regional

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lingua franca. The dilemma was that Urdu was not the second language of many of the speakers but gained central importance in the state machinery, thus the majority of the population were marginalised from meaningful participation in state institutions (political, social or economic).

Many factors contributed to the rise of Urdu. The most important was to give Pakistanis the impression of the existence of a single indivisible republic, by assimilating the linguistically diverse peoples from the four provinces. The policy is coercive in nature, as minority language speakers are forced to shift towards Urdu. Though the state language policy proposes that regional languages can be used and developed in order to suit the institutional needs of the regional communities, the adopted strategies are actually a covert move towards the promotion of a single language. After the creation of Pakistan, (a political manoeuvre enacted ostensibly on the basis of religion), Urdu was promoted as the language which truly represented the nation's religious and political identity. Linguists in Pakistan followed the global trend of a 'one nation one language' ideology and considered it possible to conduct language planning like economic planning, but unfortunately the post-world war conditions led to failure of economic policies and also to the disillusionment of linguists.

A brief overview of the fractious history of the Pakistani state will serve to delineate and clarify the linguistic context of Pakistan. Pakistan has been criticised in the past by dissidents, for its policy of "Urdu Imperialism". After independence, Urdu was perceived as the language of "Mohajirs"[1] and preferred language of the educated Punjabi elite. The implementation of it as a national language was strongly resisted by Bengali intelligentsia. They started a popular movement called the Bhasha Ondolan which gained significant momentum by 1952. The language controversy involving Urdu and Bengali had not only created a deep wedge between the two wings, but

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[1] Mohajirs are the Urdu Speaking migrants from India.

also sowed the seeds of disintegration. Fractures started appearing after a plea to make Bengali a state language along with Urdu. The centrist leadership was not prepared to yield. The demand to accept Bengali as a state language was conceded only after a sustained movement resulting in many deaths. The state eventually had to cave in and it made Bengali the national language alongside Urdu (from 1955 to 1971). In 1972, in the fading years of a united Pakistan after the disintegration of Bangladesh, another linguistic issue in Sindh led to a formal urban-rural divide. Sindhi had been declared the official language (replacing Persian), in 1857, by the then commissioner, Sir Henry Bartle Frere. In the public-sector school system, the two distinct linguistic streams of Urdu and Sindhi exist but Urdu is the more dominant. In Pakistan linguistic divide contributes to linguistic stagnation as Urdu is promoted to the exclusion of other languages. This inevitably resulted in marginalisation of languages that are not in dominant positions.

Adequate provision for development of regional languages was made in clause (1) of Article 251 which states that "without prejudice to the status of the national language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language." This is supported by the fact that UNESCO favours linguistic diversity and it is stated on its website, that "UNESCO promotes mother tongue-based bilingual or multilingual approaches in education - an important factor for inclusion and quality in education. Research shows this has a positive impact on learning and learning outcomes. The Organization provides normative frameworks for language policy and education and shares good practices in bilingual and multilingual education and mother tongue instruction."

The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, and the UNESCO report of 1956 state that regional or mother tongue languages should be used in primary schooling for cognitive development and mental flexibility as well as for the maintenance

of cultural enrichment. However, due to the highly centralised policy adopted by Pakistan until recently, regional languages, mainly the mother tongues of different language speaking communities (for instance Pashto (15 %), Balochi (3.6 %), Seraiki (10 %), Sindhi (15 %) and Punjabi (44 %)), though spoken by a large population, are minority languages and delegated a lower status, and thus are primarily to be used as a 'home' language only (Mansoor, 2004).

2.4.1 The role of Nationalisation of Education in the Promotion of Urdu

Through the nationalisation of education, Urdu assumed the role of a link language. In Pakistan the state run schools have Urdu as medium of instruction. Which is the reason that Urdu became the unifying link language of the country though at the time of creation it was the L1 of only 3% of the population. According to a recent survey[2], in 2012-2013 the literacy rate for age 10 years and above was, 60%. Where Urdu is the lingua franca. Therefore, arguably Urdu has gained that status of the L2 of 60% of the population. This suggests that, people with different L1 shifted to Urdu.

Although, the constitution claims that all the citizens will be provided with equal opportunities the education system in general and the language policy in education in particular, is failing to deliver meaningful education to all. Since the creation of Pakistan, a dual system of education has been in place, which has further deepened the chasm between society's 'haves and have nots'. Due to a lack of appropriate resources for education provision in rural areas living conditions have improved little. The medium of instruction, according to current research (Rahman, 1999; Mansoor, 2002; Irfan, 2013; Mahboob, 2009) is one of the biggest barriers to the meaningful delivery of education to Pakistan's most needy. English as a medium of education is the

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[2] http://www.pbs.gov.pk/sites/default/files/pslm/publications/pslm_prov_dist_2012-13/education.pdf

key to successful survival in the current, highly competitive global climate but education in English has become a commodity that only the affluent upper class can buy, while the middle and lower classes, due to an inability to access this commodity, remain disadvantaged.

In Pakistan, like many other countries, language planning and policies in education have so far failed to materialise any concrete and beneficial changes (Nekvapil, 2006). Therefore linguists, in order to instigate change, are now focusing on the causes of the failure of these language policies. Instead of language planning, Nekvapil (2006) prefers the use of the term *language management* for the approaches that set value and direction for the language policy, as this term admits that continuous modification in these approaches is required according to the situation. However, the present study will use Spolsky's (2004) approach. His preferred term for language planning and management is *language policy* which involves the language practices, beliefs and management of a speech community. The present study will use Spolsky's concept of language policy for the analysis of language policy in the higher education context of Pakistan.

The approach adopted in empirical studies of language planning in Pakistan, has been top-down, but the failure of language policies shows that this approach is flawed. Hence, a move towards a bottom-up approach is advocated. It had been recognised that unless the considerations of other actors and agencies (for example educational requirements, mass media, the preferences of learners and parents and the requirements of minority language speakers) are taken into account, language planning would fail to deliver. Joshua Fishman (1990) in his model 'Reversing Language Shift' discussed the effects of these factors and agencies and their effects on the opposition of state imposed language choices in nation states. Moreover, the surge of movements for minority rights in the 1990s also supported the

bottom-up approach to language planning in many societies around the world.

In order to give a sense of membership to the masses, there is a need to accept and accommodate their linguistic reality and work for their betterment through a language that will eventually help them to survive and respond to the linguistic needs of globalised world. If welfare states want to exist and prosper, they need refrain from coercing whole populations to accept their 'well-intentioned' policy interventions and instead should recognise the localised needs of the populace. The elite and upper middle-class intelligentsia need to create policies which embrace the needs and realities of the whole population. This is how those from marginalised local communities can see themselves as part of a greater whole.

Another factor that contributed to the rise of Urdu in Pakistan was that state machinery took measures to ensure that Urdu was fully enmeshed in the official and governmental contexts. In Pakistan, more than the state, it is the media that has unfailingly promoted Urdu as the national language. As a result, it has permeated the most complex societal layers in all regional domains. In response to a recent development for making Urdu Pakistan's only language, great reliance has been placed on imbibing local and regional diction and vocabulary, thus creating more space and ready acceptability for Urdu. State-run organisations entrusted with the promotion of Urdu as an official language, tend to create a sense of alienation by introducing inscrutable terms. The argument against this is that when a state is well established it opens up to the rest of the world's languages and accepts their use in and fusion with their national language, as the French have accepted the influence of English borrowings after an initial stage of translating some technical terms into French (Wright, 2012).

Likewise, Pakistani learners now feel the need to have more proficient linguistic abilities to compete in the rapidly globalizing world on one hand, and to counteract the deteriorating state of education provided through Urdu as a medium of instruction on the other. Urdu is the regional lingua franca in urban regions   of many provinces, whereas the rural population are dependent on regional languages to carry out the business of their everyday life. It has been rightly pointed out by Wright (2012) that the linguistic reality in the post-nation state has changed: the focus is moving towards minority rights as well as the advancement of transnationalism which has given rise to the subsequent foregrounding of the English language. These factors have led to a re-evaluation of the role of the national language in the life of citizens.

English, as of today, is not the language of the elite. It has emerged as a functional language providing connectivity to the world at large. It is the vehicle of trade, transactions, and business and finance, and of information and communication technology, providing jobs for millions around the world. English, today, is no longer just a colonial language. It is widely accepted as the lingua franca of the 21st century, an abiding link with the knowledge-based global economy. Some of the best creative literature in English, much of it saturated in local linguistic nuance, is springing up in South Asia, the Caribbean and Africa.

2.4.2 Languages in Higher Education in Pakistan

Language planning and policy are inextricably linked to access to higher education and graduate employment, and viewed as key global issues in international development. Currently Pakistan has a large young population (60 percent) ranging between 16 to 23 years (Mansoor, 2015, in press), and therefore a large proportion of the country's population attend schools, colleges and universities. As a result the language policy for official and

educational purposes is seen by sociolinguists as being of critical importance for Pakistan's socio-economic development.

Pakistan is a multilingual country yet the education system has perennially assigned great importance to the English language, to the detriment of regional languages (Mustafa, 2011). This situation, is not significantly different from many countries in the context of higher education. The roots of the problem lies in the strict compartmentalisation of language use in the classroom. This approach to language use frequently leaves users at a significant disadvantage, especially if these users lack proficiency in the English language. The struggle between language domains has been, for many decades, associated with political and economic divisions and is the main reason for language shift.

There is little room for diversity in the educational domain. In Pakistan some experts in language policy in education believe that teaching only in English is equivalent to killing two birds with one stone: the child learns the content as well as the language in a single lesson. Nevertheless, there are others who have serious doubts about this practice and advocate a flexible approach towards the use of different languages in the classroom. The followers of the former paradigm believe in the theory that the language skills of second language learners of English are deficient and they stress the need for students to achieve a threshold level of 'Standard English', though whose 'standards', as pointed out by Jenkins (2014), is a question still to be answered. The followers of the latter paradigm accept that second language learners of English have their own idiosyncrasies and they are open to deviations from Standard English. This shift in perspective may revitalise language learning in countries like Pakistan where learners rely on their skill of memorisation more than on their creative abilities for language use (Mansoor, 2004; Manan, 2014). This situation requires language planners to focus on Vertovec's (2006, 2007) notion of the super-diversity a rapidly

globalising world. Most of the world population is bilingual or multilingual and they engage in the dynamic use of different languages in order to make sense of their world and communicate effectively with those who share all, or any, of these language resources with them.

Despite the fact that English is the official medium of instruction in higher education, only 49 percent of students from the public sector, and 68 percent from the private sector, reported English as their medium of instruction (Mansoor 2015). The results of the three major nationwide research studies conducted by the Mansoor during the last 10 years (2005-2015), are insightful in terms of the gap between the current de jure and de facto language policy, academic outcomes, sociocultural outcomes and the failure of not addressing the issues of access and equity as well as development. The students reported highly positive attitudes towards English (an instrumental attitude, highly motivated by its utility in higher education and work). Respondents also held certain positive attitudes towards Urdu as it facilitated access to higher education, whereas, generally negative attitudes were reported for their mother tongue (other than Urdu) and its utility for education. This is in line with Hornberger's postulation that, "…languages are understood to live and evolve in an ecosystem along with other languages, to interact with their socio-political, economic and cultural environments, and to become endangered if there is inadequate environmental support for them in relation to other languages in the ecosystem" (Hornberger, 2003b.p.323).

Mansoor (2004,) suggests that for a language policy in education to be successful, far more research in areas of language and education are necessary. In self-reports and interviews of students it was seen that a bilingual approach to education (Urdu and English) was being practiced in the classrooms of Pakistan (Mansoor,2015). Of interest was teachers' use of a blend of English and Urdu when teaching English, since there was a

demand for this practice from students, however students also blamed their English teachers for their poor proficiency in spoken English (Mansoor, 2015).

As stated earlier the approach towards the medium of instruction in higher education in Pakistan has been the topic of research in language policy for about two decades, and due to two main reasons, no satisfactory solution has been found. Firstly, due to the commercialisation of education a child is treated as an object and knowledge, a commodity and the intellectual and human development of the child is ignored. Secondly, the policy experts have limited information about the fundamental realities of the classroom and hence the recommendations suggested by them cannot be implemented in spirit (Irfan, 2013). The present study will focus on the first-hand experience of learners who are exposed to English as a medium of instruction. The purpose is to explore how the use of multiple languages in the class affects the learning abilities of the learners.

Though Pakistani universities officially are required to impart education in the English language, due to the presence of regional languages of some learners and the presence of Urdu as national lingua franca, it is rarely the case that English is the only language encountered by learners in their classrooms. The focus on restricting either English or Urdu as a medium of instruction limits full use of learners' language resources. Recent studies show "ways in which educators are promoting flexible languaging in teaching, transgressing the strict structures of dual language bilingual classrooms, as well as going beyond the traditional view of separate language literacies" (Garcia and Li Wei, 2014). It is this approach that the present research aims to explore in the context of Pakistani higher education.

Pakistan, being a post-colonial state, continues to follow the legacy of an education system where 'standard language' as codified by British educators,

is enforced through the text books of their own design. The education system in Pakistan does not openly admit that the variety of English language that is practically used for teaching in universities is not the Standard English. Students are confounded by the differences between the variety of English used in classroom practice   and the variety of English seen in text books and formal assessments. In addition, the unofficial use of Urdu and regional languages in the classroom further complicates the linguistic environment at HE level. The core problem here is that learners are assumed to be a homogenous group and their linguistic diversity is ignored. In actuality the extant diversity of language practices (as explored by recent research (Blackledge and Creese, 2010)) needs to be encouraged in multilingual environments like Pakistan, in order to enable students to draw from their rich linguistic repertoire in the meaning-making process.

2.5 Summary

This chapter presented a discussion on the development of national languages in the post-colonial era, in nation states. The focus was to explore how national states, through education, media and effective state administration, aimed at homogenisation of linguistically diverse groups. However, due to globalisation, language and its use has evolved from being a static, monolithic idea into a dynamic and fluid tool of self-expression. It then brought into focus the issues that language policy in Pakistan is facing in the domain of education. The next chapter will elaborate the language policy discussion with reference to EMI.

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CHAPTER 3: THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE POLICIES IN ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION UNIVERSITIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter starts with a brief discussion on the various theories of language policy and the evolution of language policy as a field of research. This section further discusses language policy in higher education (henceforth HE) and explains why it is important to explore the relationship between language provision and HE. The next section explores the theoretical frameworks of current research and goes on to review the literature on the role of English language policy in education, specifically focusing on HE around the globe. This leads to the discussion of the de facto English language practices and academic English language policies in English as medium of instruction (henceforth EMI) universities. Then it leads to a discussion of EMI policies and factors that hamper the implementation of these policies in the context of HE in Pakistan. The last part reviews English language policies, and related literature, in EMI universities in Pakistan from a linguistic perspective thus justifying the rationale for the current study.

3.2 Language Policy as an Area of Research

Language policy, as an area of research, captured the attention of social scientists after Second World War. Since that time the field has flourished exponentially .The section below will discuss how language policy research contributed to the development of languages in societies in the last couple of decades.

3.2.1 Defining Language Policy, Language Planning and Language Management

Language policy (henceforth LP) as a field of inquiry, dates from the mid-point of the 20th century. At that time researchers began to study the effects of language planning on education, which for many years had been marginalised in language research. (Schiffman, 2012). As discussed by Spolsky (2012) the field of LP emerged after the Second World War, when social scientists were developing economic plans in newly established states. Linguists played an integral role in developing language policy based on "… an officially mandated set of rules for language use and form within a nation-state" (p.3).

Language policy and planning (henceforth LPP) is, according to Ricento and Hornberger (1996), as complex and multi-layered as an onion: a metaphor used to illustrate the dynamic and multidimesional nature of any language policy. Therefore, different scholars have labelled the layers of the 'onion' that constitute the field, differently at different times. However, the present study will use the terms "language policy", "language planning" and "language policy and planning" interchangeably. In what follows below, I will discuss how the field has evolved since the last half of the twentieth century. In doing so my aim is to bring into focus the complexity of the field of language policy research and justify my use of Spolsky's (2004, 2005) eclectic approach to LP (see detailed discussion in 3.2.3). Owing to the dynamically complex nature of the activity of language planning, Spolsky (2004) proposed to call the activity *language policy* (my emphasis), with three inter related components namely language practices, language beliefs and language management (García and Menken, 2010).

Language policy conventionally has been assumed as the top-down language planning of a particular language in a multilingual society, or a particular *variety* of a language (that is perceived to have higher status) in a monolingual society (Jenkins, 2014). Initially, Haugen (1959) introduced

the concept of language planning as "the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community" (p. 8). This was known as 'corpus planning' (Kloss, 1969). Later, the field saw a move towards investigating the use and function of languages, and hence evolved into 'status planning' (ibid). However, the work in LP in the 60s and 70s has been criticised for not taking into account the political and ideological aspects of language planning (Johnson and Pratt, 2014). Ricento (2000) points out that the political and ideological aspects of language planning play a central role in reinforcing linguistic hierarchies in favour of major colonial languages. Moreover, the use of a structuralist approach for investigating LP in the 70s and 80s is questioned for assuming language norms are static and not dynamic and changing with time through contact among users (Jenkins, 2014). This is one of the many reasons for the failure of a top-down language policy, adopted for teaching the English language from the vantage point of English as foreign language (see further discussion in section 3.3).

The structuralist approach was eventually replaced by a more critical approach to LP investigation, specifically in light of the work conducted by Ruiz (1984). Ruiz proposed that three main orientations guide language planning in education: (i) the *Language as a problem orientation*, which assumes linguistic diversity as a problem to be overcome, hence transitional policies promote linguistic and cultural assimilation. (ii) the *Language as a right orientation*, in which students' right to their mother tongue is negotiated often in contested contexts and therefore one-way additive bilingual education may be promoted. (iii) the *Language as a resource orientation*, in which the promotion of linguistic democracy and pluralism is emphasised through multilingual education polices that may include two-way additive bilingual education for both the majority and the minority of language speakers. With a clearly postmodern approach, Ruiz's (1984) work predicted the critical work in language policy by suggesting,

> Orientations are basic to language planning in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues . . . they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate. In short, orientations determine what is thinkable about language in society. (p. 2).

At approximately the same time, Cooper (1989), aptly portrayed language policy as a kind of social planning which is inherently ideological and political. Thus, he conceptualised language planning as a multi-layered phenomenon that is based on "activities [that] move upwards as well as downwards" (p. 38). Furthermore, Cooper (1989) analysed the goals of LPP as "deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocations of their language codes" (p. 45). Hence, the work of Cooper (1989) added, *acquisition planning* to the corpus/status distinction of language planning (Johnson and Pratt, 2014. Italics in original). Moreover, Shohamy (2006) suggests that LP initiative is politically motivated. She criticises it, as "... the primary mechanism for organizing, managing and manipulating language behaviours as it consists of decisions made about languages and their uses in society" (p. 45).

The field of LP evolved down the years on the basis of a multitude of approaches. Menken and García (2010, p. 249) sketch a brief history of how the field received labelling. Initially it was named "language planning" (Cooper, 1989; Eastman, 1983; Ferguson, 2006; Haugen, 1959, 1966; Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Kennedy, 1983). Then "language policy" by (Corson, 1999; Ricento, 2006; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2004; Spolsky & Hult, 2008; Tollefson, 2002). Still others labelled it as "language policy and planning" (Hornberger, 2006; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996) and as "language policy and language planning" (LPLP) by (Wright, 2004). All these researchers focused on the forms and functions of language policies in speech communities in one way or another, over a period of approximately 50 years. The following table presents, although in brief, the "Language policy and planning goals: an integrative framework" by (Hornberger, 2006, p. 29),

which illustrates the general types of policy planning approaches 'on form' and 'on functions':

Table 1: Language Policy and Planning Goals: An Integrative Framework (Hornberger, 2006, p. 29).

Types	Policy planning approach (on form)	Cultivation planning approach (on functions)
Status planning (about uses of language)	Officialization Nationalization Standardization of status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual communication – international, intranational
Acquisition planning (about users of language)	Group Education/School Literary Religious Mass media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Shift Foreign language/second language/literacy
	Selection Language's formal role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*	**Implementation** Language's functional role in society *Extra-linguistic aims*
Corpus planning (about language)	Standardization of corpus Standardization of auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization (new functions) Lexical Stylistic Renovation (new forms, old functions) Purification Reform Stylistic simplification Terminology unification
	Codification Language's form *Linguistic aims*	**Elaboration** Languages' functions *Semi-linguistic aims*

In short, the field of LP developed a planning approach which sought to solve language problems and provide solutions to the social problems of newly established, linguistically diverse, nation states (Fishman, 1968). Hornberger (2006) proposes that language policy and planning have distinct roles though both of these components have a non-linear inter-linked relationship.

Nekvapil (2006) prefers the use of the term language management, after Spolsky (2004) first suggested it, for those approaches that set the value and direction for the language policy, as he admits that continuous modification in these approaches is required according to the situation. After considering these differing but inter-related concepts of language policy, language planning and language management, for the purposes of the present study, I will use Spolsky's (2004) approach, where he, instead of language planning and management, prefers the term *language policy*. Spolsky (2005) suggests that education is a key field for researchers to explore language policies. Walter and Benson (2012) second Spolsky's opinion and regard the domain of education as the "most sensitive to the choices made about language" (p. 300). The possibility of deliberately changing language status through corpus and acquisition planning makes education an important domain for implementing such changes (Tollefson, 2008). Thus, given the importance of the domain of education for studying language policy, the next section will explore the issues pertinent to language-in-education-policy.

3.2.2 The Policy of Language in Education

Education is a social artefact: it is fundamentally impacted by the social and economic circumstances of any given period , therefore, education policies and the values associated with those policies change according to the socio-economic climate of a given location or point in time (Kogan, 1985). However, the dynamics of language-in-education policies (henceforth LIEP) are produced by not only the interaction of educators with government officials, educational bureaucracies and external socio-political and economic conditions, but also by the internal experiences, beliefs and ideologies of teachers and the students (García and Menken, 2010). This latter point is central to the current investigation . This thesis will follow Spolsky's (2004) theory of LP using an integrative and dynamic approach to explore language policy and associated issues in the domain of education, specifically higher education . HE is more complex than other educational levels owing to its international nature (and consequent broad range of stakeholders), thus its

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language policies merit further investigation, particularly in relation to English language policies. The current investigation contributes to research in this field, through its exploration of how teachers and students actively play the role of language policymakers, rather than being passive followers of the language policies handed to them from governmental and educational authorities. García and Menken (2010) explain the role of students and teachers by using the metaphor of expert cooks, who use their own judgement about the appropriate ingredients and techniques when cooking a dish, disregarding recipes provided by external sources. Similarly, teachers, (and I propose students too), despite the language policies given by language managers, make independent decisions about language use, according to the situation in any given context (García and Menken, 2010). Below is a brief discussion of how, until recently, the role of teachers as policymakers has been ignored in the research on LIEP .

In one of the earliest works on LIEP, Kennedy (1983) acknowledged the centrality of the teacher in the successful application of national education plans. The limitation of this work is that education is discussed as a social issue rather than being discussed as a teaching and learning process (García and Menken, 2010). Cooper (1989) theorized education, for the first time, in the form of acquisition planning as a type of language planning. He mentions Prator's (1967, in a personal communication) idea of the process of framing and implementing language policy as a spiral process that starts with high authorities and descends in widening circles through ranks of educational practitioners who either support or resist putting the policy into practice (in García and Menken, 2010) . However, Cooper does not elaborate the role of teachers; instead, the focus is on how language policy can bring a social change. In a similar manner, Wright (2004) conceived of acquisition planning as language policy and a means to engender competency in languages , whether they be national, official or a medium of education. Nonetheless, the role of the teacher and students in language policy making and implementation did not receive any attention in this research.

Initially, the focus of LIEP research is language policy at macro-level, as LIEP policymakers face the difficult task of planning goals and strategies that are linked to, and are affected by, larger political, social and ideological frameworks. For instance, LIEP refers to laws, customs, and traditions, many of which are unwritten (Kaplan, Baldauf and Kamwangamalu, 2011). These can be in the form of unconscious preferences or conscious implementation of judicial and political decisions (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Therefore, LIEP has enormous implications for several of the 'basic myths' which comprise the legitimating function of the state and of the education system (Dale, 1989; Reynolds and Hargreaves, 1989). More importantly, Kaplan (1990) points out that all the language policy models that he is aware of, insist that LIEP is subsidiary to national education policy, and is rooted in the highest levels of government (Egginton and Wren, 1997; Hornberger, 2006; Kaplan, 2009).

Therefore, to implement effective language policy, unique socio-cultural, political, economic and historical factors need to be considered. Nonetheless, researchers have highlighted that, in addition to the forces that influence language planning at macro level, forces at micro level also shape LIEP. Language planning at micro level is unplanned, unrecorded and ignored (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). Hornberger (1996) focuses on unplanned micro-language planning while exploring language revitalization in American indigenous communities. She proposes the term bottom-up policies explaining that language policies do not always flow from top to the bottom. Nevertheless, this is not seen from a critical perspective in language policy research in the years that followed. For instance, research contributed by Corson, (1999) recommends how to teach national language, maintain regional and heritage languages and teach the English language. Tollefson, (1991, 2002) focuses on the social and economic inequality of opportunities that arise because of LIEP. Moreover, García and Menken (2010) criticize the linear spiral of LP proposed by Prator (in Cooper 1989) that extends from the narrow authoritarian top to the wider base of practitioners and suggest that the spiral is in fact dynamic.

The concept of ecology of language (Haugen, 1972) suggests that there is relationship between the language and the psychological and sociological environment of the language users. Building on the foundation of the ecological approach to language policy, the dynamic relationship between the components that flow from top-down, bottom-up and side-by-side needs investigation in 21st century (Garcia and Menken, 2010). Moreover, Garcia (2009a) explores the fluid symbiotic relationship between acquisition, status and corpus planning. She argues that it is not possible to differentiate between the planned (or unplanned) language policy dictated from above and the interpreted and negotiated (or planned) policy formulated below . In addition to such ambiguity , the beliefs and ideologies of the policymakers influence both these levels, making the situation even more complex.

Research exploring the role of teachers, reports them to be the "soldiers of the system" and "servants of the system" and "bureaucrats that follow the imposed (policies) unquestionably" (Shohamy, 2006.p.76, 79). Nonetheless, stressing the crucial importance of the teacher's role , Johnson and Freeman (2010) comment that teachers are not merely the implementers of language policies. Teachers' social contexts, for example where they were educated and trained , and their ideologies, beliefs and attitudes, profoundly affect language education policy. Therefore, in order to accurately frame language-in-education policy, it is not sufficient to focus on the policymakers who develop official documents in education ministries. Rather, it is vital to research the influence of other agents that influence policy making such as teachers, students, textbook writers and test makers. Moreover, research on how students negotiate and interpret these policies as per their needs, will provide constructive feedback for the evolution of an appropriate and efficacious language policy. Hence, the aim of the present research is to explore teachers and students' perceptions about the existing language education policy in the context of higher education. It will explore prevalent and preferred language practices, as language-in-education policy is the product of the teachers and students' co-constructive activity and the

dynamics of the context in which that activity occurs (Garcia and Menken, 2010). In short, the current research will investigate the attitudes and beliefs of the students and teachers themselves, because they are the legitimate agents for changing current, prescribed language policies.

In the next section I will discuss the language policy theoretical frameworks proposed by Spolsky (2004, 2005) as it underpins the current research. Moreover, I will discuss Ball's (1993) and Shohamy's (2006) concepts of language policy as these are interrelated to Spolsky's concept.

3.2.3 Language Policy Frameworks: Ball, Spolsky and Shohamy

Language policy is the process of language choice (Spolsky, 2009). To understand language policy, Haugen (1987) suggested an ecological model that correlates social structures and situations with linguistic repertoires or speech resources (Blommaert, 2010) of the speakers. However, given the complex nature of language policy, it is difficult for scholars to find a definition of language policy that can be unanimously agreed upon (Hu, 2015; Karakaş, 2015). Formulating policy is a "deliberative process of forming practical judgements" as a result of which "deliberative judgement emerges through collective and interactive discourse" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003, p.21). Thus, policy making in a modern, complex and plural society is often considered unwieldy, unscientific and irrational (Ball, 2006).

My aim, through the present study, was to explore university level English language policy in English as medium of instruction (henceforth EMI) contexts. However, I did not focus on the formal policy documents. Rather, I focused on what are the predominant language ideologies (covert ideologies as suggested by Shohamy, 2006) of the policymakers, i.e. heads of the institutions, as well as the teachers and students themselves, that reinforce the current EMI policies in classrooms on a daily basis. In addition to this, I was keen to explore what the actual linguistic practices of these policymakers are. Thus, as explained above, the present study employed

Spolsky's (2004) theory of language policy as a theoretical framework. This theory of language policy subsumes three independent but interrelated elements namely, i. Language practices, ii. Language beliefs, iii. Language management. These three components of Spolsky's framework meet the research objectives of the present study as these take into consideration the activities of policymaking authorities at the 'top' and the teachers and students at the bottom (see Cots, (2013) and Jenkins, (2014) who used the same framework in their studies of EMI in HE). Furthermore, it can help in explaining the language needs, attitudes and language choices of the teachers and learners in the classroom on the basis of rule-governed patterns approved by a speech community (in this case HE). After explaining why I chose this theory, I will turn to elucidate Spolsky's (2004) language policy theory.

Language practices, the first component of Spolsky's framework, embodies the actual language policy in any given setting, even if the participants in that setting do not accept its existence (Spolsky, 2009). These language practices explain the patterns of linguistic choices in a regular and predictable manner, where 'choices' means the observable choice of linguistic features such as the variety of language, its formality and the use of agreed rules. Language practices formulate the linguistic context in which languages are learned; therefore, language practices are crucial to language management (Spolsky, 2009).

Language management is the second component of Spolsky's framework. Spolsky (2009) uses the term management rather than planning. He believes that 'language planning' as a concept was used to solve the social and economic problems in the post-war era, but categorically failed, thus the term is, for the most part, avoided. Nonetheless, the education sector is centrally planned even today and perhaps that is why it is so problematic (ibid). Language management, Spolsky suggests, is an explicit effort, stemming from the claim of authority by an individual, group of people or an

institute, over the participants in any domain, to alter their linguistic practices and beliefs (Spolsky, 2004).

The third component of language policy is language beliefs, generally considered to be the ideology regarding the language and its use by the authority holders. The predominant beliefs that strongly influence language policy are, for instance, the presumed statuses of certain languages, varieties or features. The ideology that attributes prestige to languages is based on the number of people who use it and the associated socio-economic benefits.

The aforementioned components of Spolsky's (2004, 2005) LP theory suggest that Language policy emerges as a result of complex ecological relationships amongst various linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables, and factors. This may explain Schiffman's (1996) observation that there is a discrepancy between stated language policies (de jure) and language practices (de facto). Spolsky (2005) notes that teachers fail in enforcing grammatical correctness on students and seldom "language management has produced its intended results" (2004, p.223). This assumption has implications for the current study and may explain why contradictions occur between policy makers' decisions and lecturers and students' practices regarding the use of English (for detailed discussion see section 3.3). Hu's (2015) research conducted in the context of China corroborates Spolsky's findings. It observes that teachers fail to achieve the planned goals (imposed by 'top down' authorities), feeling them to be irrelevant to their local context. Empirical research (Wang, 2008; Smit, 2005; Martain, 2005) reinforces the mismatch between planned policies and actual practices on ground level because of the ideologies of the teachers, owing to their previous experiences. Moreover, policies are vague, teachers may interpret them differently, and lastly language practices of others influence ideologies about the choice of language (Hu, 2015).

Although, Spolsky conceived the three components of LP framework, two of these components bear relevance to Ball's concept of policy (Bonacina-Pugh,

2012, Jenkins, 2014). Ball (1993) suggests two types of concepts of policy, which are, *policy as text* and *policy as discourse* (p. 10). Ball proposes that *policy as text* is "textual intervention put into practice" which is problematic for the subjects in a given context, as it narrow downs the "range of options in deciding what to do" (Ball, 1993.p.12). Contrarily, *policy as discourse* deals with "what can be said and thought...who can speak, when, where and with what authority" (p.14).

Discussing language policy explicitly, Bonacina-Pugh (2012) relates Ball's concept of *policy as text* to Spolsky's (2004) component of language management. She points out that according to the concept of policy as text, the choice of language use is affected by an "authoritative statement (verbal or written) of what should be done" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, p. 215). Such policy is the "declared language policy" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 68). Hence, language managers play the role of "mediators of policy ... [and] are relied upon by others to relate policy to context or to gate keep" (Ball, 2006, p. 45). They influence language use in practice. Bonacina-Pugh (2012) further suggests that policy as text is the main concept on which traditional LP research is based. Traditional LP research presumes that language diversity is a problem. Consequently, language policy scholars focused on finding solutions to the problem of linguistic diversity in post-colonial countries, by planning language policy. Discussing the use of English language specifically, which is also the main concern of the present work, Jenkins (2014) maintains that the notion of diversity-as-problem is the illusion that leads to negative attitudes towards non-native uses of English even in the present day.

Furthermore, Bonacina-Pugh (2012) links Ball's (1993) concept of policy as discourse to Spolsky's (2004) concept of language beliefs . Policy as discourse or language beliefs affect language choices of the people. It has been termed "perceived language policy" by Bonacina-Pugh (2012), building on Shohamy's (2006) concept of "declared language policy". Policy as discourse informs the tradition of Critical Language Policy Research. For

instance, she refers to Tollefson's (2002) work, which explores language planning and policy as an ideological process that maintains the status quo between the majority and minority of language groups. It identifies the ideologies that control policy as text and thus linguistic practices. Concerning English language use, Jenkins (2014) makes the very relevant observation that, although Non-Native English Speakers (henceforth NNES) constitute the majority of English language users, ironically their use of English is treated in much the same way as that of a minority language . Additionally, Bonacina-Pugh comments that policy as discourse also underpins the ethnographic approach to LP research whose objective is "to investigate language policy creation, interpretation and appropriation" (p.215). As an example, she cites Johnson (2010) who explores policy texts at the local, federal and national levels and the discourses of educators in interviews about the bilingual education language policy in the US. Interestingly, language policy is conceptualised as "an interconnected process generated and negotiated through policy text and discourse" (Johnson, 2009.p.159).

Spolsky's model of language policy, likewise, foregrounds Shohamy's (2006) conceptualisation of extended language policy, where she elaborates "the contested nature of the societal mechanisms" that manage, organise and manipulate language practices (Dafouz and Smit, 2014.p. 5). Shohamy (2006) comments on the role of these mechanisms to implement the "hidden agendas" of language policy (p.52). She notes that the scope of LP research should embrace not only the "declared and official statements" but also preferably examine "a variety of mechanisms that determine, create and manifest the de facto policies" (p.54). These mechanisms are at the centre of "the battle between ideology and practice" (ibid), within Spolsky's three-component framework. According to her, these mechanisms are the real devices - both overt and covert - "for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies" (p.53). She proposes a "list of mechanisms between ideology and practice". These are "Rules and regulations, Language educational policies, Language tests, Language in public space and Ideologies, myths, propaganda and coercion" (p. 56). Spolsky's

conceptualisation of language policy and Shohamy's language mechanisms (language rules, language education policy and tests) fit the aims of the present study. These will help in examining the de facto practices in EMI universities in Pakistan. In the Higher Education context, institutional language policies are imposed on students, from the start of their course , until their graduation, through mechanisms like the use of English as the language of instruction or as a requirement for acceptance to these institutions.

Apart from his three components, Spolsky further asserts that although language policy accounts for the linguistic choices of an individual, it is a social phenomenon, as suggested by Saussure (1931), and therefore, these individual choices need the approval of the speech community. The size of the speech community is variable as is its   essence, for instance it can be social, political or religious. Thus, Spolsky (2009) uses the notion of domain (Fishman, 1972), as the term speech community is not a clearly defined organizational unit. Domains have language policy, and aspects of this policy are internally and externally managed (Spolsky, 2009). Each domain consists of three features: participants, location and topic (Fishman, 1972). The participants, are defined by their social roles and relationships and not as individual beings (Spolsky, 2009). Second, is its typical location; domains connect the social , and the physical, i.e. they connect people with places and vice versa, in a given location . However, for language choice "the social meaning and interpretation of location" is more relevant than its physical location (Spolsky 2009, p.3). He adds that if there is a lack of congruence between participants and location, then it results in discomfort, which shows the existence of certain norms of communication in every domain. The third feature of Fishman's domain is choice of topic, however Spolsky (2009) expands Fishman's concept and incorporates the concept of communicative function (the reason for using a language) .

Thus, the objectives of the present study are to explore English as medium of instruction policies and analyse how teachers and students orient to these

policies. The decision of participants about what is appropriate to the domain influence their regular language choices (Spolsky, 2009). Participants in this study are non-English-major lecturers, students, and heads of institutes. Thus, to explore how content teachers implement language policy in Pakistani universities, data for the present research is collected from EMI institutes, which are the domains of the present study. There is a lack of research in the context of Higher Education settings in Pakistan on the de facto classroom language practices and their implications for EMI policies. Therefore, this current investigation seeks to investigate this mainly unexplored and undocumented area, with the hope of shedding some light on language policies and their implementation in this specific locale.

In the next section, I will explore issues that are relevant to English as a medium of instruction in European, Asian and Pakistani contexts.

3.3 English Medium Instruction (EMI)

Due to globalisation, higher education institutes have adopted the means of internationalisation through EMI to meet the linguistic demands of learners and teachers from different language backgrounds. EMI has gained significant traction in HE globally but recent literature shows that it is still far from being clearly defined due to its context dependant nature (Walkinshaw et. al., 2017; Knagg, 2013). Likewise, Macaro (2013) states that the meaning of EMI is still evolving. Taguchi (2014) describes EMI as "a tool for academic study...a by-product of the process of gaining content knowledge in academic subjects" (p. 89). Airey (2016) notes that there is no consensus on the definition of EMI. However, Airey conceptualised a language/ content continuum to elaborate the difference between EMI and apparently similar approaches to language and content teaching. According to his model, EAP has language goals and CLIL has both language and content goals, whereas EMI is learning of language associated with content. Walkinshaw et. al., (2017) suggests that for successful implementation of EMI, in the same institution a marriage of convenience between language experts in EAP

courses, and content experts in EMI courses, would enable both parties to attain their aims. They note that EAP and EMI are exclusively concerned with the English language in the academic domain, unlike CLIL that gives equal weight to content and the languages (L1 and L2) of the learners.

Nevertheless, there is growing concern regarding the ownership of the English language in EMI non-Anglophone contexts (Kirkpatrick, 2017; Mahboob, 2017). With the increasing demand of EMI in different contexts, the question of "which or whose English" needs attention (Jenkins 2013; Taguchi, 2014). The rationale for this is that in contexts where English is not the L1 of the majority of stakeholders (for example, in numerous international HE settings), English language use might have a negative impact on the use of local languages (Kirkpatrick 2014). What follows is a discussion of the repercussions of internationalisation and EMI on HE globally.

3.3.1 Mobility and EMI

As mentioned, education is a social artefact and it responds to the changes in the social world. English has gained the status of a global lingua franca and in order to respond to this predominant trend, the English language has been widely adopted in Higher Education settings (Van Parijs, 2011). As a consequence, post-secondary education around the globe mainly depends on the English language to disseminate knowledge (Jenkins, 2017). Jenkins asserts that, the notion of 'globalisation of higher education' is, in its essence, the 'globalisation of higher education *in English'* (p.502. her emphasis). Furthermore, she comments that content teaching in the English language in universities occurs not only in English dominant countries but also in countries where English is neither the first nor official language (ibid). The aim of universities in these countries is to attract students from overseas and simultaneously to offer courses in the English language to the non-

mobile home students through the phenomenon of 'internationalisation at home'. Therefore, in global higher education, the term 'mobility' implies dual meanings 'mobile *people* and mobile *language'* (ibid, her italics). Although a general assumption is that language and people travel concurrently, in higher education (in both EMI universities and offshore campuses of Anglophone led universities), it is seen that people remain in situ and, instead it is language which travels (Jenkins, 2017).

For the purposes of my study, I focused on the role of the English language in content courses in universities in Pakistan, where English, for political and historical reasons, is the medium of instruction in universities but it is not the dominant language of communication. Thus, the Pakistani HE context combines the dual concepts of mobile language (English) and non-mobile people (the locals who attend the HE institution). Nevertheless, there are cases where the English language and international students are both mobile, for instance a survey in "Inside Guide – Pakistan" (British Council, 2013), reported that over 25,000 Pakistani students were expected to pursue higher education at colleges and universities abroad in 2013-2014. These universities and colleges primarily use English for instruction, as it is the world's lingua franca in a myriad of diverse settings (Widdowson, 1994). Moreover, a common observation is that, more often than not, these diverse settings do not include a native speaker of English (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011; Mauranen, 2012; Björkman,2013; Jenkins 2014). Consequently, English language is "appropriated" (Canagarajah, 1999) and "renationalized" (McKay, 2002) to suit local tastes . Likewise, Pakistani students instead of pursuing education in normative inner circle countries are, according to recent statistics, selecting countries from outer and expanding circle nations ; over 5000 Pakistani medical students were studying in China in September 2012 (British Council, 2013). Similarly, there were about 100 Pakistani students in the National University of Singapore, studying subjects such as health, engineering, computer science, law etc. (British Council, 2013). Hence, based upon the future needs and goals of the learners use of English, one can take this as an opportunity to problematize

the predominant use of English of the inner circle countries (mostly the British and north American English varieties) for academic purposes in higher education.

Although, the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation are used to refer to fundamentally the same phenomena, Maringe and Foskett (2010.p.1) claim that these concepts are divergent , specifically if used in the domain of higher education. They use the term globalisation to refer to "the creation of world relations based on the operation of free markets" and use the term internationalisation concerning universities to mean "the integration of an international and intercultural dimension into the tripartite mission of teaching, research and service functions of higher education". Jenkins (2017) suggests universities are responding to the phenomenon of globalisation through the phenomenon of internationalisation. She goes on to note that most universities encourage the intake of international students rather than staff as a means of self-promoting their international outlook. Literature on internationalisation reveals a number of motivating factors in the process of internationalisation. These include increasing the cultural understanding of home students to compete more effectively in a globalised job market and to exchange resources, knowledge and research with other universities through mutual collaboration (Altbach and Knight,2007;Maringe and Fosket,2010). However, the chief motivation for these universities, it is claimed, is financial gain and not internationalisation in real sense of the term (Wilkinson, 2013). Ferguson (2007) and Coleman (2013) support this viewpoint and assert that the 'international' dimension of these universities comes before the 'intercultural' dimension for the simple reason that the former attracts financial dividends for the universities, whereas the latter merely addresses the needs of the students , (Jenkins, 2017).

Furthermore, different universities have become 'international' in various ways. These include launching joint education programmes, recruiting increased numbers of international students, setting up offshore campuses, exchanging of staff and students with the aim of joint research ventures and,

most importantly, introducing EMI (Altbach and Knight,2007; Van Damme,2001). Moreover, Institutions that adopt an EMI policy in the instruction of content courses, vary in their socio-cultural and linguistic contexts. Alexander (2008) classified international programs into three types: *replacement*, *cumulative*, and *additional* programmes. As the name suggests, in replacement type programmes, English is used, from beginning to end, as the medium of instruction. The teachers and learners are assumed to be proficient users of the English language and thus able to fully comprehend the course content in English. In the cumulative type, English gradually expands its role as medium of instruction with the concurrent increase in the proficiency level of the learners.In contrast, in the *additional* type, English as medium of instruction is used alongside local languages, the aim of which is to support the local language skills of the learners. While probing into the English language policies at EMI universities, I will largely build my discussion on Alexander's (2008) *replacement* type, in which teaching, research, and testing activities, are achieved entirely in English. In the context of current research, the English language plays a significant role as the language of text-books (Lei and Hu 2014), classroom activities and interactions. It is used alongside other regional languages.

Recent research literature on EMI is replete with examples of varying degrees of use of English and local languages in multilingual classrooms. Preisler (2009), and Bolton & Kuteeva (2012) researched parallel the use of English and local languages. Sert (2008) researched receptive use of English where supporting materials (e.g. lecture notes, course books and written exams) are presented in English, and the general medium of instruction is the local language. Nevertheless, in some institutions certain programs, such as engineering, business and management, and social sciences, are offered in EMI either fully or partly, to varying degrees (e.g. Wächter, 2008; Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, 2014). Since research on EMI is investigating a range of global contexts , many such examples of different trends of English use exist. However, literature on EMI in HE shows that native English norms are considered the most appropriate even in multilingual classrooms. For

instance research on teaching methods reveals that team-based learning and critical reflective journals could help students from diverse backgrounds learn effectively (McGrath-Champ et al.,2013; Edmead,2013).

In a similar way, many studies have explored various issues that arise due to the use of English in global HE, however, one recurrent concern is that in these studies, native English norms are predominantly the reference point for discussion, and university students are regarded as learners of the English language rather than legitimate language users (Hu,2015). For instance, while researching written English skills of Chinese students in an EMI context, Chen (2009) observes that the metadiscourse of their writing depends on contextual and disciplinary factors. However, Chen compares Chinese students' English with NS students' English while analysing her data and advocates that Chinese students remedy their English. Likewise, Daniels, (2013) explores the writing difficulties of doctoral students in an Australian university. Daniels's research, based on capability theory, suggests that writing groups can be helpful in improving students' academic English writing skills. Nonetheless, both these studies assume that native English norms are the right reference point.

Empirical ELF research in international HE contexts supports the fact that a traditional, normative orientation to English language use is ill suited to communication in HE (e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Kirkpatrick, 2014; Doiz et al., 2011), HE authorities have not yet assimilated the implications of these empirical studies (see 3.3.2 for detail). For example Jenkins (2014) remarks that the diverse teacher / student make-up in international universities has far-reaching implications, specifically in assessing the English language skills of the students. She suggests that an English as an academic lingua franca (ELFA)approach suits the purposes of English language use in international HE settings as it legitimises NNES students' English use (ibid). In the following section, I will review the literature on EMI in European contexts for the sake of understanding the rationale and conceptualisation of EMI, as

well as exploring the issues associated with the implementation of EMI in classrooms from teachers' and students' perspectives.

3.3.2 EMI in European Universities

One of the most noteworthy consequences of globalisation on European HE is the introduction of EMI courses with the aim of creating a borderless HE academic regime across 46 countries. This has been achieved through facilitating the mobility of students and staff (De Wit 2006) by means of the Bologna process. In addition to this, the establishment of European Higher Education Area (EHEA) has fortified the image of universities as global institutions and its goal is to encourage international research collaboration, curricular harmonization and staff and student mobility (Dafouz and Smit, 2014). However, Jenkins (in 2017) argues that the findings of the 4th Global Survey of International Association of Universities, on the internationalisation of HE, shows that internationalisation has failed to develop in an integrated and comprehensive manner across these institutions (De Wit 2015). Moreover, the introduction of EMI has educational and linguistic consequences, which are given little attention until a language problem arises, at which point institutional language policies are finally invoked (van der Walt, 2013).

To make the matter more complicated, many EMI programmes are introduced with little recourse to research on the relationship between language and content (Wilkinson and Zegers, 2017). In response to the challenges created by the introduction of EMI in Europe, the association of Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE) was established. ICLHE conferences have produced research that is diverse in focus which sets out to explore this new educational approach . Current research in this area includes studies on foreign language issues, educational (genre) theories, new literacy and cultural studies, and language management policies (Jacobs, 2013). As, this research is focused on language policy, I will focus on studies that are relevant to exploring the language

practices and beliefs of teachers and students. In what follows below I will summarise the findings of research that investigated teachers and students' orientation towards EMI and EMI policies and will also include teachers' and students' comments on their experience with EMI.

Given the complex nature of HE and EMI courses, there is often confusion around the role of teachers and students whose first language is not English. Maringe & Foskett (2010) propound the theory that lecturers and students that study, conduct research and transfer knowledge through English are users of English and not the learners of English (Björkman, 2008a; Mauranen, 2003; Ljosland, 2011; Pilkington-Pihko, 2010). Further, in non-English major disciplines, teachers and students use the English language as a tool to deliver their academic goals and therefore, as a term, *user* best defines them (Taguchi, 2014). However, the shift to using language is cumbersome, since a student is required to be an 'active user' of the language rather than knowing it only theoretically (Hirvensalo, 2012, p. 8; Karakaş, 2015).

In addition, Hirvensalo, (2012) argues that although content teachers' and learners' focus is not on learning English the unstated burden of teaching the English language is implicit in language policies of many universities. This has negative repercussions for lecturers' use of English as lecturers are forced to follow a particular variety of native English, because they do not wish to be negatively evaluated for their subject knowledge (Karakaş, 2015). A recent study in a Danish EMI university corroborated this by demonstrating that students perceived lecturers with high English skills to be more competent in lecturing skills too (Jensen, Denver, Mees, Werther & Business, 2013). Moreover, many local students, study in EMI in non-Anglophone countries with the aim of simultaneously enhancing their language proficiency and gaining high levels of academic knowledge (Shohamy, 2013; Wilkinson, 2013). In this way, they attain an additional status, i.e. a learner-like user, whether this label is applied consciously or not . This learner-like status may incite students to aim for a native speaker

model, despite the kinds of English embodied within their linguistic repertoire. The tendency among EMI students towards native varieties of English finds support from a range of empirical studies (e.g. Doiz et al., 2011; Inbar-Lourie & Donitsa-Schmidt, 2013; Suvinitty, 2007).

It is generally believed in academia that good academic English is equivalent to Standard native academic English (Jenkins, 2014.). The reason for this is that SE levies a considerable influence on academic writing (Mauranen, 2006a). The fact remains that the number of NNES is greater than NES in HE in both Anglophone and non-Anglophone countries, therefore a redefinition of good academic English is required. Given the diversity of academic writing contexts it is proposed by Mauranen (2012) that "[s]ince writing cultures vary, there is no universal standard of 'good writing'" (p. 241). In EMI settings, English is used as a tool to achieve academic goals, therefor good academic English can be so defined based on an evaluation on the effectiveness of its communication, as proposed by Greenbaum (1996). According to this idea, effective communication is achieved through clear and appropriate use of the resources available in any language and culture. Hence, conformity to certain standard conventions and styles does not make good writing (Björkman, 2010, 2013). Karakaş (2015) notes that " good writing is founded on the tenet of conveying meaning and content in a plain, intelligible, and clear manner to the reader" (p.28). Hence, the use of culturally specific writing styles is acknowledged as an essential tool in developing the effective academic writing skills of the NNES (Mauranen, 2012; Maringe & Jenkins, 2015). Finally, good writing skills are not necessarily inherent in the speakers of certain (British/American) Standard English varieties , as suggested by Ferguson (2007) "the native speaker and the non-native speaker start as novices" (p. 28). Likewise, Mauranen (2006a) argues that at the beginning all practitioners of academic English are new to its use and "there are no native speakers of academic English" (p. 149).

 The same is true for spoken English too as good spoken English implies that people belonging to different lingua-cultural backgrounds will show

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variations whilst speaking English in academic contexts. Björkman (2011) and Mauranen (2006b) argue that the aim of good academic spoken English should be mutual intelligibility and understanding and not compliance to the predominant standards of native English. In HE contexts lecturers and students are required to complete a range of academic tasks through English, but if they aspire to speak like NESs they may not be able to achieve the main aim of their academic goals. Hence, Karakas (2015) suggests, "[w]hat should be thus given prominence in good academic language use is conducting successful communication and getting things done in the intended ways, without being concerned much about the presupposed conventions of academic English, often benchmarked against StE" (p.29). Likewise, Academic English can be defined as the ability to communicate content knowledge of any given subject in clear, simple and intelligible English following the recommended guidelines of any academic activity (e.g. publishing journal articles, books, conferences), without being constrained by the native English academic norms.

Although teachers and students' find EMI useful at HE level, research literature has highlighted issues related to difficulties with the use of English in multilingual classrooms. In this regard, studies have shown that teachers and students have limited proficiency in English language in content classes, which impedes their performance (Doiz et al., 2011). Moreover, research in the German HE context reveals that due to lack of appropriate language training and the limited ability to use English to express subject knowledge, EMI instruction is not convenient (Erling and Hilgendorf, 2006). To this effect, studies report that NNES subject teachers spend more time to preparing and delivering lessons (Vinke, 1995; Thogersen and Airey, 2011). It is a common practice in EMI classrooms that languages other than English are used to convey and explain concepts. For instance, in Sweden, parallel use of Swedish and English is encouraged in classrooms, but Kuteeva (2014) claims that 'parallel use of language' remains an impractical guiding principle because its implication and applications are not clear. Although, EMI is researched extensively in the European HE context, it is surprising that

language issues in these studies are not explored from an ELFA perspective with the exception of a small number scholars (e.g. Kuteeva, 2014; Jenkins, 2014, Björkman, 2013; Mauranen, 2012; Smit, 2010). I will elaborate Jenkins (2014) study further as it offers an in-depth exploration of the language issues from an ELFA perspective rather than the native-English-normative perspective.

The student participants in Jenkins (2014) study criticised NES teachers and students alike for their use of English. These participants belonged to diverse range of backgrounds (China, Korea, Chile and Mexico) but were like-minded in raising issues relevant to NES teachers' use of English. A case in point is the use of idiomatic language that is not understandable by non-native speakers. Likewise, they were critical of the use of jokes pertaining to English culture, from which NNESs felt excluded. Some students criticised the way their tutors   presented lectures, their delivery being either too quick or too quiet. Moreover, the same tutors prohibited students from recording lectures. Students observed that some teachers tried to adjust their speaking style according to the linguistic requirements of the multilingual international students, but in the Q/A sessions the same tutors failed to adhere to this approach. The students experienced many lectures as though the content were being delivered through some type of 'filter' (Jenkins,2017). While commenting on their NES fellow students, most of the NNES students observed that in seminars and group discussion, NNES fail to participate on equal footing with NES. The oft-quoted reason was that NES students talk too quickly and refuse to accommodate NNES owing to their delayed 'catch-up' with discussions. NNES students stated that the very presence of NES teachers and staff made them uncomfortable, thus their confidence level dropped in classroom communication. Jenkins (2017) interestingly calls it 'colonialism at home'. When probed about the English language policy and practices of the university, the subject teachers in her study remarked that no stated policy existed and they considered NE to be most appropriate kind in HE. Even though they were flexible towards NNES English, they considered it not to be a legitimate use of English.

In addition to the afore mentioned interview data, Jenkins (2014) explored websites of 16 European universities to analyse their orientation towards English language use in academic settings. Almost all of these universities either explicitly or implicitly are inclined towards Standard English (British or north American varieties) although they recruit students mostly from non-Anglophone countries. On the subject of academic written English, Jenkins (2017) maintains that these universities often referred to remedial help to improve NNES English in tune with the standards of native academic English, and are oblivious to the research findings in the field of critical academic writing (Canagarajah 2002,2013) or implications of ELFA research relevant to academic writing (Mauranen, 2012; Flowerdew, and Wang, 2015). Moreover, she explored English language entry tests because although, university English language policies are not stated, tests are a stronger proof of the ideology that underlies the policy (Jenkins 2014). Despite the fact that English is used as an academic lingua franca, the admissions process of nearly all 16 universities studied required students to have attained to certain levels in IELTS or TOEFL, which as Jenkins observes, are "national, pure and simple" with respect to English language. Hence, the increased diversity in the university population fails to trickle down to classroom practices in terms of English language use and has implications for the fair treatment of NNES students.

3.3.3 EMI in East Asian Universities

The last decade or so HE in east Asian countries has seen the introduction of massive internationalisation programmes designed to meet the economic and social needs of the future generations in response to the rapidly growing phenomenon of globalisation (Kirkpatrick, 2017). A point to note is that the EMI programmes in East Asia are far less common than in European countries as European EMI institutions mainly in US, UK, Australia, and Canada recruit the majority of Asian students (Jenkins, 2017). Therefore,

East Asian countries have introduced internationalisation through *external* and *internal means* to improve the standards of education for home students as well as to attract international students (Walkinshaw et al.,2017). *Internal means* promotes an increase in additional language (mainly English) programmes and scholarship opportunities for international students. Likewise, *external means* refers to opportunities of academic mobility which are encouraged through joint education programmes with foreign countries (Kirkpatrick, 2017; Hu, 2015).

 Unlike European HE, the chief motivation for internationalisation in East Asian countries is not driven solely by financial gains: a case in point is Japan where home students and international students pay similar fees (Brown 2004). In this regard, research evidence shows that these institutions have opted to pursue internationalisation in order to boost their image, increase the competence of their home students for an international free market, to enhance the English language skills of the home students and to attract international students (Brown, 2014; Byun et al., 2011;Kirkpatrick, 2014 a; Manh, 2012).

EMI in East Asia has spurred both positive and negative debates. Nguyen et al. (2017) discusses the influence of the National Foreign Language 2020 project in the Vietnamese context. They report that the implementation of this project has not been successful at university level due to a number of factors such as low English language entry standards, lack of appropriate skills for English language instruction of teachers and the importation of unsuitable learning materials from overseas. Nguyen et al. (ibid.) argue that the policy of EMI implementation in the HE institutes in Vietnam has suffered from poor conceptualisation at the policy level (macro) and implementation at institutional (meso) and classroom level (micro). At the end of their case study of an E-university, they recommend that in order to meet the ambitious politico-economic goals of internationalisation, institutional prestige,

development of revenue and human capital, an informed and ongoing communication among all involved parties is important (Nguyen et al., 2017). Because EMI is not a simple solution to achieve the aforementioned aims of Vietnamese government, they note that there is an obvious need for consistent and ongoing language support for students and teachers to handle the manifold language and academic skills requirements necessary for EMI.

Similarly, in the context of Taiwanese HE, a number of investigations (Chen and Kraklow, 2015; Yeh, 2014; Chang, 2010) of the attitudes of teachers and students to EMI reveals a positive orientation to this new method of teaching. Students believe that their English language skills in general and listening skills in particular have improved due to the implementation of EMI. Nevertheless, questions are raised about the English language proficiency of content teachers and students alike, that makes teaching through EMI challenging. The literature reverberates with suggestions such as preparatory classes, intercultural activities, and seminars for faculty members to prepare students and faculty to meet the curricular needs. To train non-native teachers of English to overcome their anxiety and become more comfortable teaching in the EMI environment (Chen and Kraklow, 2015; Yeh, 2014).

Likewise, in the context of Korea, research shows that lack of proficiency skills in English negatively influence the performance of students in high-level academic activities (Kim, 2017). Kim (2017) analysed an extensive volume of research papers, newspaper articles, books and internet sources on EMI in Korean tertiary education. She suggests that for successful implementation of EMI, students and teachers need to be given the option to choose EMI courses only after careful consideration of their capabilities and preferences. Kim and Shin (2014) suggest that effective language support systems for teachers and students are required in universities to help both groups in the Korean HE context.

Studies reveal that freshmen faced more problems in understanding content subjects in EMI as compared to older students, consequently, teachers are forced to cover less content material with students during their first year of study (Byun et al., 2011). Moreover, more than 50% of teachers reported in the same study that they do not use English exclusively in their classrooms. This contradicts the compulsory EMI policy in Korean HE, which stipulates that students must complete five EMI courses before degree completion. Teachers expressed the belief that the use of Korean helps the students to grasp the lesson contents more effectively thus improving the quality of education.

This finding corroborates the findings of another study in the context of Hong Kong (Evans and Morrison, 2011), where teachers were found to use a mix of Chinese, Mandarin and Cantonese languages in EMI classrooms. Translanguaging and code-switching into national and local languages in classrooms has been shown to be helpful in a number of ways, for example, explaining the background and content knowledge, clarifying difficult points and managing students' behaviour (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Flowerdew et al., 2000;). However, international students in EMI classrooms are resentful of the use of Korean language (Kim et al., 2014). In addition to this, concerns are raised about the content knowledge and experience of teachers in their field because an over emphasis on good English skills often risks students' full comprehension of subject knowledge being overlooked (Byun et al., 2011).

Hino (2017) explores the use of EMI for learning of EIL in Japanese HE. He developed his discussion against the backdrop of projects such as Global 30 and the Super Global Universities Project that are tasked with raising the profile of top Japanese Universities. He discusses four different courses of EMI. Based on his data, he recommends a lingua franca model for learning /

using English as opposed to a native speaker model. He argues that in any authentic educational scenario, interactive skills in EIL are the requirement of a linguistically diverse context. Likewise, Moore (2017) supports the use of L1 for successful classroom presentation tasks by Japanese students. He draws his conclusion in reference to a somewhat 'deficit perspective' on L1 influence on additional language use in the classroom. His study is valuable as it emphasises the benefit of L1 as linguistic resource for boosting Japanese students' English proficiency in EMI contexts.

McKinley (2015) notes that the Global 30 project failed as not enough international students enrolled on them. Moreover, the EMI courses in this project disregarded the local Japanese students and were exclusively designed for international students. Likewise, McKinley argues that the Super Global Universities Project that replaced Global 30 Project presents difficulties. In his study, staff criticised the liberal arts EMI course as an importation from American programs incompatible with its aim to promote Japanese culture (Kirkpatrick, 2014). Therefore, Kirkpatrick (2017) points out that the lack of coherent national education policies and institutional language policies is the root cause of the failure of these EMI programs. Key issues related to the implementation of EMI programs, for instance the language proficiency of teachers and students and availability of appropriate resources, need attention. In addition, there is a need of clear policy guidelines that accommodate stockholders' concerns for implementation of EMI programs in universities (Kirkpatrick, 2017).

One needs to ask, therefore, in a globalised HE where students often belong to diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds, do subject teachers need only English language skills, and if so, then what kind of English language skills do they need ? To this end, Kirkpatrick (2017; 2014b) suggests that international universities should encourage multilingualism rather than restrict it. Moreover, compulsory English language courses are needed to help students

in their academic activities. In addition, a shift to an ELF perspective for assessing the English language skills of students is more suitable for multilingual contexts as opposed to a native speaker / Standard English perspective (Kirkpatrick, 2017).

Research literature that explores EMI in the context of China reverberates with similar findings to those conducted in Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan. The demand for graduates with proficient English skills increased after China joined the WTO in 2001. According, to the latest figures released by the China Scholarship Council, approximately 292,611 international students from Korea, the United States, Japan, Thailand, Vietnam, Russia, Indonesia, India, Pakistan and Kazakhstan were enrolled in 660 universities across the country in 2011. Chen et al. (2011) analysed internationalisation indicators in 71 Chinese universities and report that there is variation in the extent to which internationalisation is adopted in leading Chinese universities and other universities. Moreover, they reveal that 3.7 % of the student population in these universities is international and EMI is used in 9.3% of content courses .

It is noteworthy that in China, EMI is carried out through either exclusive use of English or through partial use of English language, but power point slides and textbooks are available in English for many content courses. The use of a mix of Chinese languages and English in content courses is criticised by scholars (Peng, 2007; Cai, 2010) as it is believed that EMI should improve the English language skills and content knowledge of the students (Xu, 2008). This leads to another concern regarding the teaches' role: in the EMI classroom they are burdened with not only teaching 'content' but also with the additional role of being a language teacher. Similarly, Trent's (2017) study discusses issues related to content teachers' multiple roles in a university in Hong Kong. Trent's qualitative study reveals the challenges that academic staff have to deal with in Economics and Finance EMI courses.

Trent argues that due to a conflict between lecturers' professional interests and students' academic interests, lecturers are reluctant to invest time in developing students' linguistic proficiency. Moreover, content lecturers do not feel sufficiently competent to address the English language problems of students as they believe this to be the discrete role of language teachers. However, the most strongly voiced concern of these lecturers was a lack of allocated time for delivering EMI courses.

With regard to the low English language proficiency skills of students and teachers, similar concerns to those of other east Asian countries, are voiced in the Chinese context. Pu and Jue (2008) in their study indicate that EMI negatively affects academic activities. Concerning the English language skills of students, CET scores (College English Test) are the recommended criterion for assessing the students' language proficiency in China. However, there are doubts if CET is fit for the purpose as a gatekeeping test it is supposed to test (Hu, 2015).In the same manner, Moore (2017) in a case study of Cambodian HE discusses assessment in EMI. He critically evaluated the assessment practices used in several English MOI programs. He notes that issues of teacher agency, learner engagement, assessment for learning and quality control are the challenges raised when establishing meaningful assessment in EMI programmes in developing nations .

The next section will explore EMI in HE in the context of Pakistan. Research in HE education of Pakistan reveals many of the same issues as in European and East Asian contexts.

3.4 EMI in Pakistan

EMI has been used in the HE domain in Pakistan since the creation of the country. Although, Urdu is the national language in HE Urdu could not replace

English due to reasons that are discussed in detail in section 3.4.1. However, there are problems in EMI that negatively influence the academic performance of teachers and students alike. Therefore, research on the perceptions of stakeholders i.e. teachers, students, parents, head of universities and departments shows that due to poor English language skills, students and teachers' academic performance is low. This leads one to ask if the problem lies only in the system of HE or if one needs to question the kind of English that is used in EMI for instruction and assessment. This is discussed in the final three sub-sections.

3.4.1 Contextualising EMI policies in HE

English, as a colonial language, came to South Asia when the British East India Company landed on the shores of Mughal India. As the British Empire replaced the Mughal Empire so Persian was replaced by English as the language of arts and sciences (Mahboob, 2017). English also became the language of state institutes, for instance, the legal, and educational systems. Since gaining its independence from the British in 1947, Pakistan has followed a three-language policy: Urdu as the national language, English as the official language, with one language recognized for each province (Canagarajah & Ashraf 2013). This policy is adopted in education, where schools are either English as a medium of instruction, Urdu as a medium of instruction, or, in the case of some schools in Sindh and KP, the provincial language is used as the Medium of Instruction (MOI). In the context of universities, however, the primary language of instruction is English across the country (Mahboob, 2017).

Prior to the Eighteenth Amendment introduced in April,2010, the policy space for the education sector was restrictive for provinces. Although the Constitution identified education other than higher education, as a provincial subject, in practice not only were education policies developed by the federal government, but they also prevailed in areas including curriculum, standards setting and training. In the wake of the Eighteenth Amendment however,

provinces are now responsible for developing education policies that reflect political and sectoral priorities and that are closely aligned to the specific needs of the provinces.

Two main amendments have been inserted in the constitution related to the provision of free and compulsory education to all the children of age group 5-16 years up to secondary level:

• Article 25 A: Right to Education…. The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 5 -16 years in such manner as may be determined by law'.

• Article 37 (b): remove illiteracy and provide free and compulsory secondary education within minimum possible period.

Table 2: Changing Medium of Instruction Policies (Manan, 2015)

Policies/ reign	Languages to be taught	Year
National Educational Conference (Rahman, 2004a)	Urdu as lingua franca; provinces to introduce Urdu and regional languages	1947
Second education conference (Rahman, 2004a)	Regional languages at primary level and Urdu at secondary level; no policy for English	1951
Sharif Commission (GOP, 1959)	Regional languages till grade 5; Urdu as compulsory subject from grade 3; elite English-medium schools exempted from policy	1959
Yehya Khan (GOP, 1969)	Urdu and Bengali introduced a medium of instruction; regional languages overlooked	1969
Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (GOP, 2005)	Urdu as a medium & regional languages	1971-77
General Zia Ul Haq (GOP, 1979; Rahman, 1997)	The rise of Urdu; regional languages mentioned, but not taught; all private schools were to switch over from English to Urdu medium except the elite English-medium schools; Arabic as a subject from class 6th	1977-88

Nawaz Sharif (GOP, 1992)	Multilingual policy introduced in practice— Urdu as a medium, English as subject from grade 6, and regional languages alongside Urdu and English	1992
National Education policy (GOP, 2009a)	Urdu as a medium; regional language; math and science in English or Urdu from grade 5 onward; after five years of the policy, all subjects shall be in English; Arabic also emphasized	2009

According to the 2018 report of the five years of education reforms of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa[3] (Henceforth KP), KP has shifted their medium of instruction to English. Starting from class 1, KP government introduced the content of the textbooks in English three years ago. Each subsequent year, the textbooks for the next class were translated and now the content being taught in government schools up to class 4 level is in English. However, for such a radical change it is imperative to know the efficacy of the policy. How have teachers coped with such a change, to what extent are they complying in instruction, and how has it affected pupils in learning is important to assess in such a system wide change.

According to 1998 Census, 74 per cent population of KP speaks Pashto whereas 3.9 per cent Seraiki, 1 per cent Punjabi, 0.8 per cent Urdu and 20.4 per cent speak other languages. A more recent household survey by Annual Status of Education Report (ASER, 2012) shows that the four commonly used languages in the province are: Pashto (77 per cent), Hindko (11 per cent), Seraiki (3.5 per cent), Chitrali (3 per cent) and others (5.5 per cent). Coleman and Capstick (2012) in their case study in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa recommend the use of regional languages in schools. A study by the ASER (2012), which was based on a survey involving 13,702 households in 23 districts of KP, showed that 45 per cent households in KP preferred Pashto as medium of instruction whereas 39 per cent preferred Urdu as the medium of instruction in schools. This indicate that the decision of the KP government to change the

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[3] Accessed on https://elections.alifailaan.pk/wp-includes/file/KpEducationReport18.pdf

medium of instruction to English is not aligned with the demands of parents and other stakeholders in the province.

KP government argues that the change in medium of instruction will bring public schools at par with private schools. However, uplifting of the standards of public schools requires consideration of factors such as school resources, curriculum, teachers' motivation, training and accountability, parents' education and socioeconomic status.[4]

According to the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education, 2009, cited in Mahboob, 2017), 68.3% of government schools use Urdu as the MOI, 15.5% of educational institutions in Sindh use Sindhi as the MOI, 9.5% use other languages (Pushto, Balochi, Arabic etc.), and 10.4% use English as the MOI. There are no accurate statistics for private schools, however estimates based on reports from ASER (2012), Coleman and Capstick (2012) and Mansoor (2003) suggest that over 70% of private schools across Pakistan use EMI. However, most universities in Pakistan use English as the MOI for the majority of the subjects taught. Mahboob (2017) in a recent study points to the fact that variations in the MOI at the school level suggest that students entering HE are likely to have varying levels of proficiency in English. Therefore, the limited number of government EMI schools and the extensive use of EMI in higher education, signals a certain degree of misalignment between the government schools MOI policy and the HE EMI policies.

All educational policies and reports of education committees between 1957 and 2009 support English as a medium of instruction in HE (Irfan, 2013). English is considered necessary for HE because educational material is available in the English language. According to language , the recommendation made in the Sharif Report in 1959, the process of transferring to Urdu from English as a medium of education at university

level would need to take place over a fifteen year period. A fact which emphasises the point that a wide range of materials would need to be translated for the adoption of Urdu as a medium of instruction (UMI). Zia ul Haq's regime imposed Urdu as a medium of instruction in schools, with the hope that in the long run, Urdu would ultimately become the medium of instruction at university level too, but that idea of the need for a changeover has remained until now, just an idea.

Mansoor (2005) has also reviewed the above situation and points out that various education policies focus on improving the quality of education through administrative reforms. According to her, depending on the development of teaching materials in the national language, the long-term policy had been to introduce Urdu as Medium of Instruction in HE. The period assigned to the transfer from English MOI to Urdu MOI in higher education has varied in a range of reports, that is, 15 years in the 1950s and again a 15 years period was proposed in the 1970s (University Grants Commission, 1982). However, Irfan (2013) observes that latter day national education policies have abstained from discussing the issue of MOI in HE as it results in controversial debates. In this regard, it is common consensus that the decisions made concerning language policies have emanated from the short-term political interests of the rulers (Siddiqui, 2012).

Policy makers in Pakistan have encouraged the role of English in universities, nevertheless, conflicting views regarding the position of English lead to deviations from the avowed policy of using only English in the classroom (Annamalai, 2005; Bunyi, 2005; Luk, 2005; Martin, 2005a; Probyn, 2005; Rajagopalan, 2005). Moreover, researchers (e.g., Bari 2013; Rahman 2010) argue that the dual policy of EMI in private elite schools and UMI schools (the majority of government schools), disadvantages students from lower SES (socio-economic status) backgrounds and perpetuates current socio-economic class differences. The common and valid argument from these researchers is that students from higher SES backgrounds have access to better English language education and other resources, which leads to better

performance at universities, which in turn promises access to better jobs and resources. On the other hand, students from lower SES backgrounds do not have access to good English language education and are largely excluded from these opportunities. Thus, it is important that the Higher Education Commission and Ministry of Education focus on medium of instruction as an important variable in students' education (Malik, 1996). These concerns were analysed in a number of studies, which explore the perceptions of the main stakeholders about the medium of instruction in HE in Pakistan. It is to these studies that we now turn.

3.4.2 Perceptions towards Language and MOI in HE

A major incentive to learning a language are the potential economic benefits that may accrue in terms of increased income. In Brudner's (1972) terms languages are of use wherever there are jobs available; people will learn whatever languages are necessary to access the employment market. According to Mansoor (2004), in Pakistan, the most lucrative jobs require proficiency in English. The mother tongues of Pakistan are considered economically unimportant. Students also make use of English in both informal and formal domains despite their limited proficiency in the language (Mansoor,2004). She believes that English is also seen as very useful for higher education as all content materials are presented in English. Students show a strong desire to study in English as a medium of instruction and as a compulsory subject (see Table 3). Table 3 shows student preferences for EMI at various stages of education in both private and public institutions.

Table 3: Students in favour of English medium of instruction in various stages of education (Mansoor, 2004 p.351).

Stages of English language acquisition in Pakistan	Percentage of 1420 students attending public institutions	Percentage of 716 students attending private institutions
Primary	29.2	59.4
Middle	31.6	53.5
Secondary	35.6	55.0

Intermediate	52.2	61.5
Graduate	49.4	68.7

Mahboob (2002, p.30) observes that although admission policies in universities do not explicitly state that students with English medium backgrounds have better chances of gaining admission to various programmes in universities (like the University of Karachi), it is important to note that most of the students attending universities do have EMI backgrounds. The figures in her research support the conclusion that informants consider English the most important language for their academic and professional careers. Urdu is considered important only for primary education and 73.5% of students asserted that English should replace Urdu in universities (Mahboob, 2002). These attitudes reflect the low status assigned to Urdu when compared to English. English is a language of economic prosperity and progress while Urdu is seen as a domestic language (see Table 4).

Table 4: Attitudes to which medium of instruction (Mahboob, 2002, p.30)

Questions	Respondents	Yes	No
Is it important to study English?	255	98.8%	1.2 %
Should English be the medium of instruction for primary education?	250	76%	24%
Should English be the medium of instruction for high school education?	248	94.4%	5.6%
Should English be the medium of instruction for university education?	250	94.4%	5.6%
Is it important to study Urdu?	254	89.4%	10.6%
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for primary education?	246	63.1%	34.6%
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for high school education?	246	37%	63%
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for university education?	245	26.5%	73.5
Is it important to study your first language other than Urdu?	50	44%	56%
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for primary education?	50	10%	90%
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for high school education?	50	4%	96%
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for university education?	50	0%	100%

In a more recent study, Irfan (2013) explored the perceptions of and attitudes towards EMI of 451 post-graduate students and 35 teachers in Master of Education programs in two public universities in Lahore, Pakistan. In both these universities, the undergraduate programs in education use Urdu as the MOI whereas the postgraduate (MA) programs use English as the MOI. Some relevant findings from Irfan's study are presented in Table 5.

Table 5: MA Education students' preferences for MOI in Irfan (2013)

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
English is essential for HE	2.20%	1.30%	28.20%	64.30%
English should be used as MOI in MA Education programs	8.85%	9.70%	40.80%	25.75%
English is used as MOI in my program	4%	24.60%	39.20%	17.30%
Urdu is used as MOI in my program	2.90%	20.80%	42.60%	12.60%
Using English with teachers	14.20%	37.50%	20.60%	4.70%
Using Urdu with teachers	2.20%	11.10%	49%	25.30%

The results suggest that, regardless of the official policy, the actual programs are not explicitly conducted in EMI. Respondents stated that both English and Urdu are used as MOI. In fact, more respondents stated that they used Urdu with their teachers than English. In summary, the selected results from Irfan's study show that while English may be perceived to be the most preferred language of instruction in HE in the previous survey studies (Mahboob,2002; Mansoor, 2005), this preference does not necessarily imply that participants want EMI in their own context; and, even where they do, the actual institutional practices may be multilingual. In addition to the data discussed above, Irfan's study also looks at the question of 'which English' should be used in HE in Pakistan, an issue that will be taken up in section (3.4.4) of this chapter.

The above discussion of EMI in the context of Pakistan shows that so far there has been no research on language policy at university level that focuses on actual classroom linguistic practices. Moreover, research by Irfan (2013) explores the perception of postgraduate students only, whereas the aim of the current research is to explore the perceptions of both teachers and students about the use of EMI in a multilingual HE educational setting. Discrepancies between de-facto and de-jure English language policy has been researched in the context of China (Hu.2015, Wang, 2008). Thus, inspired by these studies the present investigation will examine the linguistic behaviour

of students and teachers in content subjects. The next section will evaluate literature on the relationship between EMI and academic performance in Pakistan.

3.4.3 EMI and Academic Performance

Since there is no statistical data available to ascertain the relationship between EMI and the academic performance of teachers and students, Mahboob (2017) suggest analysing this relationship through secondary indicators. Below is a discussion of three such indicators, 1) Students' language backgrounds, 2) students' English language proficiency, and 3) research publications by Pakistani academics.

Pakistan has a linguistic diversity of 0.802 on the Greenberg index (Lewis et al. 2016). With regard to students' language background, Mahboob (2017) comments that 90% of public schools use other languages as MOI, whereas most HE institutes use English. This discrepancy leads to a misalignment between language policy at schools and universities. He further notes that the levels of students' linguistic skills in different HE institutes varies on the basis of department, ranking and the private/public status of the institute. This variation is exhibited in Irfan's (2013) and Mahboob' s (2002) studies, where 80% were from Urdu medium of instruction schools in a low prestige university in Lahore, whereas 75% were from English medium of instruction schools in the most prestigious university in Karachi. Similarly, Mansoor (2003) reports that in private HE institutes 65% students have EMI background as opposed to the public sector where only 40 % of students have an EMI background. Students who enter EMI settings with no EMI background face difficulties with their assignments, lectures and writing tasks (Mahboob, 2014; Din 2015).

The second indicator is students' low English language proficiency. Mansoor (2003) conducted a survey to study the average English language scores in both public and private institutes. She reports the average score to be 40/100 for both categories of institutes. However, this is not again surprising as students from a non-EMI background go to universities and limited support is offered for English language and literacy skills within the universities (Shamim, 2011). In addition, presumably it is partly because English proficiency is assessed against a native English benchmark, which will be discussed in detail in section . To deal with the low proficiency skills in English language, it is observed that in most of the content lessons, teachers resort to the dichotomization of content and language and code-switching (which I conceptualise as translanguaging in the present study). However, Mahboob (2017) suggests that dichotomization of content and language is unnatural because it disallows learners to benefit from and contribute to knowledge of their discipline. Moreover, he notes that content is understood through language, therefore the choice of language affects how knowledge is construed. Furthermore, it is observed that in EMI courses, Urdu and regional languages are used more . However, there is scarce research on bilingualism in the Pakistani context and it is mostly focused on the evaluation of perceptions of the stakeholders towards bilingualism (Tariq et al., 2013). Moreover, rote learning and the use of multiple choice questions or short questions/answer are also used as strategies to allow those examined to progress, relatively unchallenged despite having low English language skills. Furthermore, research (Mansoor, 2003; 2005) reveals that teachers' English language proficiency skills are also low, and they, in fact face similar language related problems to those of their students. The net result is that these teachers cannot correct the English language deficiencies of their students, thus perpetuating this vicious circle of language-based academic problems.

Another study Shamim (2011), examines the relationship between students' English language proficiency and their socio-economic background. Her

findings show a positive co-relationship between her participants' socio-economic background and their English language proficiency skills. Thus, the socio-economic class divide is reinforced through EMI education, which is criticised by researchers as a system of linguistic and educational apartheid. In fact, English as a compulsory subject was condemned by participants in Mansoor (2005) for being the reason for 90% of students at secondary and higher secondary levels in rural areas, discontinuing their education. One important factor that all these studies neglected was to explore the kind of English that is required by teachers and students. Current English language content and tests are fashioned primarily on the norms of the standard variety of British English that encourage rote learning. The success rate in such tests reflects good memorisation skills rather than adequate English language proficiency skills. There is no research that explores if the current English tests are fit for the purpose they are supposed to test. The current study will contribute to this gap in EMI research literature in Pakistan.

The third indicator that may provide some insights into the impact of EMI on academic performance are research publications. There are several factors such as research training, infrastructure and support and access to materials that negatively influence research publication in Pakistan. However, Mahboob (2017) reports that several personal communications with academics and administrators in Pakistani universities, point out that the low English proficiency skills of teachers and PhD scholars makes it difficult for them to write in line with the genre requirements of journals. In Pakistan, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) monitors the quality of research outputs. Generally, the HEC uses the ISI (Institute for Scientific Information) Web of Knowledge (presently called Web of Sciences and includes Science Citation Index (SCI-Expanded), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts & Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI)) databases for monitoring the quality of research outputs in Pakistan. In addition to ISI ranked journals, HEC also recognizes some of the locally published journals, but all of these journals must be published in English, or, minimally (in the case of certain subjects)

publish abstracts in English. However, a closer look at the ISI database reveal that in Pakistan only 11 out of the 14000 journals are published and that too specifically in Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics. This contradicts the fact that the PhD studies produced in the social sciences are more than in natural sciences according to HEC website. The only study (Musthaq et al., 2012) that evaluates research productivity in Pakistan is related to the discipline of health and sciences. This study shows that Pakistan is producing far fewer articles in comparison to the international average, which reflects the low standards of medical education in Pakistan. This reinforces the argument that in EMI, low English language proficiency skills, lack of proper academic support and the low literacy and language profiles of the staff has a negative washback effect on university teaching /learning.

The previous section has discussed the impact of EMI on academic performance. The section below will continue this discussion but with a focus on the nature of the English language in Pakistani academic settings.

3.4.4 Which English in EMI?

Almost all of the studies that explore the issue of EMI in Pakistan take a standard normative approach towards the English language. Moreover, they advocate a perspective on English that is based on the World Englishes paradigm. For instance, none of the above studies explores the needs of English language users/learners in local and global contexts simultaneously. These studies gravitate towards examining the kind of English that will fulfil English language needs locally. A case in point is the study by Irfan (2013), which proposes the adoption of Pakistani English norms in education and assessment in Pakistan. Her analyses are based on a survey where 79.6% of the 451 participants in her study, either agreed or strongly agreed to a preference for Pakistani English, and 85.4% either agreed or strongly agreed

with the view that their teachers speak Pakistani English. However, the solution is not so simple. On one hand, Pakistani English can help students in general communication and reading and writing in their immediate context; but, on the other hand, Pakistani English will limit their abilities to comprehend and contribute to academic literature written in academic English, published globally. Therefore, Mahboob (2017) suggests there is a need to develop a broad understanding of language variation and how it relates to educational issues. He suggests a framework of language variation, built on four dimensions along which language vary.

Thus, Mahboob's model challenges the traditional monolithic approach to English language and advocates that English usage is affected in a fluid and dynamic way by factors such as user, use, mode and time. Out of the four dimensions, he uses three to develop his framework. Figure 2 shows Mahboob's three-dimensional framework.
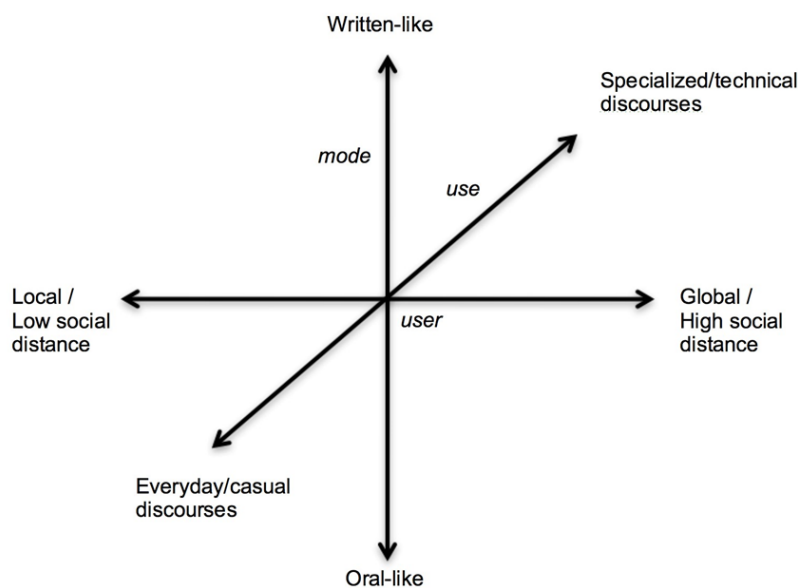
Figure 2: Mahboob's (2017) Three Dimentional Framework of Language Variation.

Mahboob suggests that the 'user' cline of the language variation model can be based on 'low' vs 'high' social distance, for instance people who have minimal social distance may use language in unique ways with each other. This may

not be clear to others, however, while interacting in situations with significant social distance local linguistic features may be avoided for the purpose of clear communication[5]. Likewise, the 'use' dimension of the model explains language variety as 'everyday/casual' discourses (e.g. talking about the weather) or as 'specialised/technical' discourses (e.g. talking about weather at a climate change conference). The third dimension, 'Modes' of communication includes aural, visual, and mixed channels of communication (multimodality). Mahboob ignores the fourth dimension of time, as he does not consider it critical in its application to contemporary educational issues.

Based on different combinations of users, use and mode, he proposes eight broad domains as shown in table below.

Table 6: The eight (broad) domains of language variation.

	Domains	Study in linguistics	Example
1	Local, oral, everyday	Dialectology, World Englishes	Family members planning their vacation
2	Local, written, everyday	Dialectology, World Englishes	Old school friends exchanging e-mails with each other
3	Local, oral, specialized	Anthropological linguistics; (needs more attention)	Members of an Aboriginal community talking about the local weather system
4	Local, written, specialized	(Needs more attention)	Newsletter produced by and for a community of farmers in rural Australia
5	Global, oral, everyday	ELF (English as a Lingua Franca)	Casual conversations amongst people from different parts of the world
6	Global, written, everyday	Genre studies; traditional grammar	International news agencies reporting on events
7	Global, oral, specialized	ELF; Language for specific purposes; genre studies	Conference presentations
8	Global, written, specialized	Language for specific purposes; genre studies	Academic papers

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[5] They have many shared social factors, e.g., age, education, ethnicity, family, gender, location, origin, religion, profession, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, etc.

This table gives us an understanding of language variation across these eight domains. He suggests a pedagogy that is flexible to incorporate students' local languages (domains 1 and 2), and help them to develop language needed in global everyday (domains 5 and 6) and global specialised contexts (domains 7 and 8). He further suggests the adoption of The Scaffolding Literacy in Academic and Tertiary Environments (SLATE), project initiated in Hong Kong. This intervention project provided helpful feedback to students as it aims to provide language and linguistic support to NNES (students and staff) to improve their language skills so that they can contribute to academic and professional communities. Concisely, he is proposing a pedagogy that will support a globally oriented English language development.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed language policy in general and language in education specifically, and have outlined the theoretical frameworks that underpin this study. Moreover, a discussion of EMI policy and its various aspects in non-native English contexts (European and East Asian) have been elaborated, to provide a background discussion of essential elements of EMI. Following this, the current chapter addressed evidence about EMI policy at university level in Pakistan and discussed those factors that influence language policies and which hinder the formulation and implementation of an effective language policy.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The last two chapters outlined the theoretical frameworks and the literature that guide this research. The current chapter deals with the research design of this study. First, the objectives and research questions are outlined. In the next section, research methods and the underlying rationale for the choice of selected methodology are discussed. Next, the research tools along with the justification for the selection of each research instrument are explained followed by a summary of the pilot study. The chapter then moves on to elaborate on the data collection process, and concludes with a discussion of the researcher's role, research ethics and trustworthiness of the current research.

4.2 Research Aim and Questions

As suggested in the previous chapters, there is a need to research EMI in Pakistan HE from a global Englishes perspective. Thus, the present study attempts to answer the following research questions:

RQ 1.What are the orientations of content teachers and students towards Medium of Instruction (MOI) policies in HE context in Pakistan?

RQ.2. How do the content teachers and students perceive EMI policies and practices in HE context in Pakistan?

RQ a) How do content teachers perceive their own and other content teachers' English abilities? How do they evaluate their students' academic English abilities?

RQ b) How do content students perceive their own and other content students' English abilities? How do they perceive their teachers' academic English abilities?

RQ c) How do content teachers and students perceive EMI policies related to students and teachers in the university?

The First research question attempts to explore the orientations of content teachers and students towards the language policy of higher education and investigates how far the MoI policies take into consideration the multilingual context of Pakistan. The second main question focuses specifically on teachers/students' perception of English as Medium of Instruction (EMI). It is complex and therefore contains further sub questions that assist in answering it. In order to answer it, RQ2a) aims to discover how the participant teachers see their own, their colleagues' and their students' use of the English Language in order to achieve the shared goal of learning different content subjects. RQ2b) aims to discover how the participant students see their own, their colleagues' and their teachers' use of the English languages in order to achieve the shared goal of learning different content subjects. Through RQ2c) the study aims to examine the perceptions of stakeholders i.e. teachers, students and heads of institutes, regarding the language tests, admission and recruitment practices of members of teaching staff. I am keen on finding out how the multilingual context influences the participants' orientation towards the choice of a certain type of English to see how English and other languages work together in assessment and recruitment processes while one is learning a content subject. In order to investigate this the study explores the perceptions of the participants regarding what actually happens in the EMI classroom, how EMI policy is enacted in the classroom how much English or other languages are allowed and used in the classroom and finally, to see to what extent the teachers and students are tolerant of their non-native English use.

4.3 Why a Qualitative Approach?

I approached the setting with the concept of the "repertoire in flux" introduced by Jenkins (2015). "Repertoire in flux" is a notion which espouses the idea that the language we speak is highly malleable: it assumes that interlocutors influence each other's language usage in the process of communication. It is arguably how English is practised in a lingua franca context. In naturally occurring conversation, rather than consciously choosing one or the other language form, participants choose language resources flexibly and dynamically as and when they are available (Jenkins, 2015). However, in EMI classrooms content teaching and learning happens bi- or multilingually. Therefore, there is tension between English as the only language of instruction in HE in theory and actual multilingual practices in classrooms. In order to capture a holistic understanding of the stakeholders' opinions, it was helpful to collect data through interviews and focus group discussions and memos that are relevant to the current research in the field.

In line with the above stated research questions, which are largely exploratory and open-ended in nature, Qualitative Inquiry (QI) was adopted as the methodological approach for this investigation. In fact, the methodology is widely recognised for its ability to respond to 'what' and 'how' questions in relation to a phenomenon (Ritchard, 2003; Silverman, 2011). In multilingual classroom contexts, participants use languages in a dynamic way for pedagogical purposes. Therefore, it cannot be assumed that there is a single answer, a single truth or a single way to describe such myriad linguistic experience. The theoretical framework of the present study consists of two frameworks; translanguaging as a pedagogical practice (e.g. Creese, & Blackledge, 2010, Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012; García, & Wei, 2013) and Language Policy Framework (which includes language practices, perceptions and language management mechanisms proposed by Spolsky, 2012) in EMI settings. These frameworks emphasize the importance of the context for language practice. QI provides a chance to see in depth, the process that frames language choices of teachers and students in EMI

content classes. The theoretical frameworks requires a social practice approach for investigating perceptions of the participants towards classroom translanguaging. Hence, the interviews and focus groups conducted are informal and semi-structured. The research tools and the rationale for using them is further explained in section 4.6.

QI is concerned with achieving a better understanding of certain aspects of lived experience (Richards, 2003), by investigating "the meanings that people attach to phenomena (actions, decisions, beliefs, values, etc.) in their social worlds" (Snape and Spencer, 2003: 3). Attempts to make sense of those meanings from people's 'own' points of view (Bryman, 2008), and the achievement of qualitative in-depth understandings through the production of thick descriptions and learning about people's circumstances, experiences or perspectives in naturalistic rather than artificial settings, are also characteristics of qualitative research (Snape and Spencer, 2003). More importantly, QI often requires interaction between researcher and participants, and allows flexibility in design for new unexpected issues or information that may arise (ibid.).

QI is valuable for studies in which both outcomes and processes (Bryman, 2008; Snape and Spencer, 2003), such as attitudes and their formation or construction (Barbour, 2007), are relevant. QI allow participants to express understandings and evaluations of the issues under scrutiny through their choice of words. Secondly, QI is preferable when seeking the variety of forms that a particular topic can assume in the minds of those studied (e.g. multilingualism, language choice and practice) in particular spatial-temporal contexts, rather than working solely with pre-ordinated and fixed concepts or aiming for large generalisations (Bryman, 2008). QI is also especially suitable for the exploration of complex social concepts such as the ones involved in this study (i.e. translanguaging), since the diverse and numerous 'variables' influencing such phenomena cannot be easily predicted, accounted for, or controlled quantitatively (Dörnyei, 2007; Richards, 2003).

4.4 Case Study Approach

The case study can be considered a semi-ethnographic approach in the way that it also aims to obtain rich and thick data and to understand the research participants' behaviour over time. However, one major difference between semi-ethnography and case study is that the former interprets the culture, values and actions of a particular group as a whole while the latter focuses on appreciating the issue of individual subjects or entities (Creswell 2007; Duff 2008).

Creswell (2007: 73) defines the case study as "the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e. a case within a bounded system)". It requires in-depth description of the participants' experiences and stories of a situation (Duff 2008; Johnson 1992; Merriam 1998; Nunan 1992; Stake 1995; Yin 2003). An investigation of a collective number of cases can look into bounded social entities such as communities, institutions, organizations, cities or even nations (Duff 2008). Yin (2003) identifies three types of case study for different purposes: *exploratory*, which generates hypotheses leading to further investigation; *descriptive*, which provides a description of different events of a phenomenon and *explanatory*, which presents "how" and "why" incidents happen. In this study, descriptive and explanatory types are incorporated during different phases of the fieldwork by triangulating several methods such as semi-structured interviews and focus group conversations. Moreover, triangulation of different perspectives from each individual case is attained in this study (Duff 2008). What makes the case study a suitable approach is its ability to ascertain the role of EMI in the multilingual context in higher education. Examining three individual cases from each multilingual institute can comprise a completely bounded case pertaining to the chosen context.

4.5 Research Context and Participants

The present study aimed to collect data from diverse settings to contribute to the research gap in EMI literature in Pakistan. The study employed a

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qualitative case study approach and accordingly it was crucial to conduct naturally occurring conversations with the participants during the fieldwork. The participants are postgraduate content students and teachers at three different post-graduate institutions in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa (KP), Pakistan. I chose these university teachers and students in view of their use of English as the medium of instruction for studying content subjects, in addition to the use of Urdu and Pashto for classroom instruction and learning. Therefore, the notion of similects (Mauranen, 2012) in ELF studies seems to be relevant to the participants' use of English in the multilingual EMI context of HE. That is, from the standpoint of similects, speakers from the same L1 background retain among themselves a shared element in their use of English due to the same-L1 influence. However, this similarity does not develop into a variety of English (Mauranen, 2012). The reason is that students and teachers from the same L1 do not develop their English through interaction in English with each other or what Mauranen (2012) calls a second order contact. In the current research the language of intra-national communication is Urdu but Urdu is not the L1 of the majority of speakers. Therefore, in university settings teachers and students from different linguistic backgrounds use English for academic purposes (both spoken and written). As a result, their English develops through interaction with speakers of differing L1 influences. For example, a Pashto L1 speaker may interact in English with L1 speakers of Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi and the like. Hence, if Pakistani English is assumed to be influenced only by Urdu, then it ignores the diverse linguistic background of English users that influence their English language use in academic settings, therefore, the notion of Pakistani variety of English needs to be reconsidered.

Participant teachers in the current study had several years of teaching experience and many of them had highest professional degrees thus their reflections on their experience provided insightful information. Moreover, participant students, who are at the highest academic domain, reflected on the use of their English language skills and the role of EMI in university settings as compared to its use at school and college levels. It is important to

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note here that one of the three Pakistani institutions, where I conducted interviews and focus group discussions, is located in Peshawar, the capital of KP, It is anonymised as institute C whereas the other two are located in Mardan. They are anonymised as institute A and B. On the one hand, the data collected in Peshawar is representative of the settings where there are better conditions to support EMI. These settings include availability of resources such as text books, internet access, and linkages with non-Pakistani universities. On the other hand, the data collected in public university ,anonymised as institute A, in Mardan is representative of the under-resourced settings where the majority of the students come from backgrounds in which they were not taught through EMI in previous years of schooling. Moreover, they are not subjected to as much English exposure at public institutions as students who study at private institutions.

A further point to be made about the three institutions is the diversity of teachers' and students' linguistic skills, as this is crucial factor in influencing the use of EMI for classroom instruction. Although the institute in Peshawar is private, and it recruits students with good English language skills, it also recruits students with comparatively weak English skills from under-developed areas in KP, through various scholarship programmes (for instance, the Prime Minster's Scholarship Programme 2013). Therefore, it is believed that institute A and B has students with better English proficiency skills but these institutes also recruit students with low proficiency in English language in order to provide support to the competent students from underdeveloped regions on quota seats. The diversity of students' language skills therefore poses problems for the EMI classroom, which this study attempted to examine.

 Moreover, the institute B in Mardan and institute C in Peshawar recruited couple of foreign students. In institute B, two classes had foreign students. One had one student and the other class had two students. These were ethnically Canadian Pakistanis who came back to Pakistan to complete their professional medical degree after their A levels in Canada. Similarly, institute

C had one class that had one Afghan student in one of the class. Since, these students did not understand the regional language i.e. Pashto, so they had difficulty understanding their subjects whenever teachers resorted to the use of regional languages in class.

Another factor influencing my choice of institutions was their close proximity to my hometown; it was very easy for me to access them for research. In addition, I had friends and colleagues at those institutions who helped me gain access to the research participants.

The research participants in the present study were selected purposively as well as through snowballing. I used purposive sampling as it provides information rich cases that are important for in depth study. These cases "illuminate" the questions under study (Patton, 2002. p. 230), although, this mode of sampling has some pitfalls as most of the participants tend to be similar. However, I recruited participants from the disciplines of medicine, business, sociology, computing and political science to bring diversity to the sample (Bolton and Kuteeva, 2012). Moreover, I used snowball sampling for recruiting more participants for interviews and focus groups after some of the prospective participants refused to participate. Throughout the fieldwork, I continued recruiting potential participants for focus groups (students) and semi structured interviews (teachers) in order to obtain information about the participants' linguistic practices and use of different languages in settings of English as Medium of Instruction.

4.6 Research Instruments

Qualitative research aims to provide rich or thick description of a specific community or culture by being highly engaged in the participants' daily lives (Dörnyei 2007). For this purpose, multiple data collection techniques including semi-structured interviewing and focus groups are encouraged to address a wide range of issues. It is important to triangulate methods to obtain different sources of information regarding the same phenomenon

(Cohen et al. 2011). Therefore, to enhance the validity of the present study, multiple sources of data collection i.e. interviews and focus groups are used. These are discussed in detail in the following sections.

4.6.1. Semi-structured Interviews

Aiming neither to test the hypothesis nor to evaluate, the core purpose of using interviews in education and the social sciences, as Seidman (2013) contends, is to understand the lived experience of other individuals and how they make sense of that experience. As Kvale (1996) puts it, "if you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?" He further adds that interviewing people assist the researcher "to understand the world from the subjects' points of view" (p. 1). Interviews allow the researcher to enter individuals' inner worlds and probe aspects that cannot be directly observed, such as their feelings, motivations, beliefs, perceptions, thoughts, intentions, and their interpretations of the world around them. Interviews can, additionally, be the right means to reconstruct past experiences that cannot be replicated, or other current events that preclude the presence of an observer (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). Interviewing, as Merriam (2009) argues, is "probably the most common form of data collection in qualitative studies" (p. 86). She further comments that interviewing is the best technique to use when conducting an intensive case study that involves few participants.

Conventionally, interviews were viewed as pipelines for transporting knowledge, where the interviewer asks questions and interviewee provides answers. However, DeMarrais (2004) defines an interview as "a process in which a researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study" (p. 55). In congruence with this perspective, some researchers have reconceptualised interviews as a social practice that is locally and mutually constructed (e.g. Talmy, 2010). Similarly, Mann (2011), in his critical review of the use of interviews in the field of Applied Linguistics, views interview as an active meaning-making process in

which "interview talk is inevitably a co-construction between the interviewer and interviewee" (p. 9). In the current investigation, I approached my interviews as social practice.

Moreover, in the literature, different types of interviews have been categorized in various ways. The most prevalent categorization in qualitative research, however, is based on the degree of structure in the process of interviewing: namely unstructured interviews (informal conversational interviews), semi-structured interviews (general interviews with a partially guided approach), and structured interviews (standardised open-ended interviews) (Cousin, 2009; Dörnyei, 2007; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002; Willis, 2008). At one end of the continuum is the open-ended unstructured interview. Even though the researcher usually prepares opening questions, this type of interview does not follow predetermined interview question topics or wording. In other words, there is "no detailed interview guide" since each interview is conceived of and rendered differently (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 136). This style of interview most closely follows a conversation-like approach to data gathering. The main reliance in unstructured interviews is on the social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee where the researcher does not exert much control over the conversation's direction. Questions here are spontaneously generated from the flow of the conversation.

 This interview type is employed when the researcher has too little or no knowledge of the phenomenon to ask relevant questions. At the other end of the continuum in the highly structured interview which is actually, as Merriam (2009) describes it, "an oral form of the written survey" (p. 90). This kind of interview limits the researcher to predefined questions, and "all respondents are asked the same questions with the same wording and in the same sequence" (Corbetta, 2003, p. 269). Arguably, the nature of these interviews does not allow the researcher to fully understand participants' perspectives and to explore their worlds. Therefore, structured interviews

are commonly used to collect sociodemographic data, such as age, gender, and educational qualifications (Merriam, 2009).

Like most interviews in applied linguistics research, the interview type employed in the current study falls between the above-mentioned two extremes; it is the semi-structured interviews (Dörnyei, 2007). According to Hancock and Algozzine (2006), semi-structured interviews are particularly well-suited for case study research and have been previously if not widely used in EMI studies (Jenkins2014; Smit, 2010; Khan, 2013). On the one hand, I prepared an interview guide with suggested questions and themes to be covered to create a formal structure. On the other hand, it was 'semi-structured' as the order of the interview questions and wording changed according to the direction of the interview.

Moreover, I asked additional questions when unanticipated issues came up during the interview. As, Dörnyei (2007) claims, the semi-structured interview is best employed when the researcher has sufficient knowledge of the studied phenomenon and wants to explore it in more depth and breadth without being limited to ready-made response categories. Cousin (2009) also asserts that semi-structured interviews "allow researchers to develop in-depth accounts of experiences and perceptions with individuals" (p. 71). Furthermore, Silverman (2011) notes that less structured interviews, utilising naturally occurring conversations, can give access to more meaningful responses and useful data. Therefore, it is essential to have an 'ice-breaking' period at the outset to establish a good relationship with the participants before an interview proceeds (Cohen et al., 2011; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

In this study, seven participants from each institution had a one-hour, face-to-face semi-structured interviews-with the researcher. Unlike other interview techniques (e.g., telephone interviews and online interview), face-to-face interviews allowed the interviewer to gather extra information through exposure to non-verbal cues, such as voice, intonation, and body

language. Such cues can reveal much about the interviewee's attitudes and emotions. Face-to-face interviews also "offer the possibility of modifying one's line of enquiry" (Robson, 2002, p. 272). Whilst interviews are a good resource for accessing participants' perceptions, orientations, and feelings about the area of research. They, nevertheless, have some disadvantages. First, the data maybe biased due to social desirability factors, as a face-to-face interview might make it difficult for the participants to express their real thoughts (Arksey and Knight, 1999). The second disadvantage is the interviewer exerting undue influence on the interviewee's responses (Denscombe, 2003). Third, the topic under research might become obvious after the initial questions and the interviewee may not be honest in their responses. Therefore, to minimise the effects of these limitations I established a good rapport with the participants and it is noteworthy that the participants were enthusiastic to talk about the research topic. Interviews with the teachers were helpful to answer RQ 1, RQ2a & RQ2c.

4.6.2 Interview Procedure

For this study, I designed an interview guide (see Appendix 3 238 for the pilot interview guide) for the interviews with open-ended questions and probes to stimulate teachers to share their views and narrate their stories. I piloted the interviews with two colleagues and after some suggestions changed the interview guide for the main study to avoid complexities and misunderstandings. I used explicit questions to avoid digressions during the discussion and replaced concepts such as like 'Global Englishes', 'ELF', and 'translanguaging' with easier to understand terminology.

The interviews were conducted from March 2016 to June 2016. The interviewees were contacted first through friends. After that, I arranged appointments with them to discuss my research, and once they agreed to take part, I asked their email and phone numbers to book a time slot for a one-hour interview whenever they were free on campus. All the interviews

and focus groups were conducted on the premises of the institutes. After getting the participants' consent, they were informed through email about the booked rooms and timings of the focus groups and interviews.

The interviews ranged from twenty-five to ninety minutes. At the start of every interview were asked to use whichever language they were comfortable in speaking. As a result, they used a combination of English, Urdu and Pashto, three languages I shared with them. During the interview, teachers were asked about their past language learning experiences, teaching experiences, educational role models, and teaching beliefs. Moreover, they expressed their reflections upon their present experiences as 'non-native' English language speaking teachers in the EMI context and the impact of external factors e.g. assessment policies, curriculum planning and others' perceptions of them as professional teachers. An interview guide (See Appendix 4.239) was used to facilitate a comprehensive and systematic exploration of the themes under investigation. Careful consideration was taken of the need to be flexible in using the interview guide with different participants. All interviews were audio-recorded in mp3 format. The background information of the interview respondents is in Table 7.

Table 7: Profile of the interview participants.

Institution	EMI Course	Name	M/F	Linguistic Background	EMI Experience (years)	Foreign study/Visit experience
A	Tourism	T1	M	Pashto	4	Yes
	Statistics	T3	M	Pashto	5	No
	Economics	T7	F	Pashto	5	Yes
	Archaeology	T12	M	Pashto	3	Yes
	Business Management	T16	M	Pashto	5	Yes
	International Relations	T19	M	Pashto	3	No
	Human Resource management	T21	F	Urdu	2	No

	Physiology	T2	F	Pashto	9	Yes
	Community medicine	T4	M	Pashto	12	No
	Micro-biology	T6	M	Pashto	2	Yes
B	Bio-Chemistry	T8	F	Urdu	10	No
	Anatomy	T13	M	Pashto	14	Yes
	Pathology	T14	M	Pashto	5	No
	Pathology	T15	M	Pashto	6	Yes
	Information Technology	T5	M	Urdu	5	No
	Business Management	T9	F	Pashto	3	No
	Computer sciences	T10	M	Urdu	5	No
C	Human Resource Management	T11	M	Urdu	20	Yes
	Business Law	T17	M	Urdu	12	No
	Sociology	T18	F	Pashto	15	Yes
	Political Science	T20	M	Pashto	3	No

I conducted semi-structured interviews of seven teachers (not language teachers) at the beginning of the semester in one institute. In the other two institutions, the interviews were conducted simultaneously. As these two institutions were located close to each other, I made full use of the free time, as I was aware of the security threats and its consequences for educational institutions. The focus of these interviews was to explore the multilingual participants (teachers) perceptions of English and other languages as a medium of instruction. Although, the initial plan was to record twenty-five hours of semi-structured interviews, some of the participants did not contribute due to personal reasons, thus twenty-one interviews were collected for analysis.

4.6.3. Focus Groups

Berg & Lune (2012) state that focus groups 'are a useful strategy either as a stand-alone data-gathering strategy or as a line of action in a triangulated project' (p.164). Hennink (2007) also notes that focus group discussions are now increasingly used 'as a tool to inform policy and practice' (p.1). With the emphasis on interaction between participants, 'focus groups can provide insights into attitudes and beliefs that can be understood more holistically' (Carey & Asbury, 2012, p.17). With these comments in mind, and with the knowledge that focus groups usually concentrate on a specific topic which can be discussed in-depth by participants (Hennink, et al., 2011; Berg & Lune, 2012; Bryman, 2012; Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013).

 I designed the focus group prompts with the aim of receiving data for RQ1, RQ2b & RQ2c (see Appendix 6.243 for focus group tasks). As the participants were members of the same academic community within their institutes, the focus groups allowed the participants to discuss and raise issues, challenge each other and hear dissenting opinions, which resulted in rich, in-depth, detailed data (Hennink, et al., 2011; Berg & Lune, 2012; Bryman, 2012; Morgan, 2012). As Bryman (2012) notes 'it is a central tenet of theoretical positions like symbolic interactionism that the process of coming to terms with (that is, understanding) social phenomena is not undertaken by individuals in isolation from each other. Instead, it is something that occurs in interaction and discussion with others.' (p. 504). There is therefore an emphasis on the co-construction of meaning in focus groups as a means of intersecting between what is said, and how it is said (Morgan, 2010). In order to connect these processes, I relied on Morgan's (2012) two basic forms of interaction in focus groups: i.e. Sharing and Comparing, followed by Organizing and Conceptualizing. These techniques allowed for a movement from general to specific. Overall, these processes helped in defining the role of co-construction 'not only as the way in which participants pursue their discussions but also as the key to pursue our own research goals' (Morgan, 2012.p. 175).

While literature on focus groups tends to vary in its opinions as to the optimal number of participants, other factors beyond actual numbers play a role in deciding group size (Hennink, et al., 2011; Carey & Asbury, 2012). Although, literature suggests that the use of acquaintance groups has some disadvantages, for instance, reluctance among participants to disclose sensitive information due to ethical issues such as confidentiality, not voicing disagreement and lack of explanation of common information. Hennink (2007) points out the benefits that can arise from such a situation. The use of a pre-existing group can elicit 'naturally occurring data, as the group reflects an existing context in which conversations occur and debate and discussion is natural' (p. 117). She also notes how a greater level of detail can arise and debate can easily be encouraged in pre-existing groups. Abma & Schwandt (2005) note that focus groups are well suited to cultural contexts that privilege the communal over the individual. Therefore, acquaintance focus groups were selected for two reasons. First, Pakistani students, like most Asian students, are in general, strongly influenced by the Eastern tradition of giving precedence to the communal over the individual. Second, based on my experiences as a student, I believed that participants would be confident to voice their feelings and perceptions in familiar group setting. However, I was mindful of turn taking and involving quieter participants in the discussion, and therefore, I participated in the discussions occasionally. This is discussed as the limitation in section 7.3.

4.6.4 Focus Group Procedure

Twelve focus group interviews were held, four in each of the three selected institutes. All the focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed. I introduced the topic of multiple language use and EMI to participants before the discussion started. Moreover, prompts related to MOI and EMI were displayed on PowerPoint slides for their referral.

It was assumed that five participants were enough to obtain in-depth data. See Table 7 and Table 8 for participant profiles of the FGs. However, I was conscious about factors such as time and availability, which dictated the group size. I faced no-shows and unavailability, which is why participant were over-recruited through snowball sampling whereby recruited participants brought their friends to the interview session).

Table 8: Anonymised Institutes

A	Public University
B	Medical College
C	Business School

Table 9: Anonymised FGs and Participants

1	A1	Salma, Bisma, Rabia, Sumaya.
2	A2	Hasan, Uzair, Saqib, Omair, Awais.
3	A3	Sadaf, Momi, Zoha, Ani, Zafar.
4	A4	Sofia, Brekhna, Zeeshan, Jawad, Asad.
5	B1	Usman, Sara, Jamil, Ali, Naila.
6	B2	Ziggi, Hamza, Ateeq, Faheem, Sadiq.
7	B3	Talha, Amir, Waqas, Hamad, Ponam.
8	B4	Chela, Maryam, Abdullah, Khizar, Arshad.
9	C1	Imran, Salman, Faizan, Jibran.
10	C2	Farhan, Kamran, Adnan, Mahnoor, Noor.
11	C3	Sana, Yusra, Fatima, Zalla, Uzma, Sheema.
12	C4	Basit, Abdul, Gula, Zeenia, Ryan.

This researcher's role in the focus group proceedings was examined carefully prior to arrival in Pakistan for my fieldwork. I proceeded as a researcher/moderator (Savin-Baden & Howell Major, 2013) asking questions and prompting discussion. The fact that I am an 'insider' in the culture and

share a common language with the participants gave me an edge in conducting the focus groups. The outsider position-compared to an insider one-as Hennink, et al. (2011) note, can lead to a lack of spontaneity and may dissolve the proceedings into a question and answer session which eventually eliminates interaction between participants, a crucial aspect to the process. Furthermore, the participants were informed at the beginning that they could choose the language of interaction. Speaking in the language of their choice enabled them to share their true feelings comfortably. This is in line with the aim of qualitative research, which is to allow participants' to freely air their perceptions and views. Therefore, a set of prompts was prepared which encouraged group interaction and diminished the researcher's voice in the interaction so as not to influence the participants' voices unduly.

All the participants were over the age of 18 and came from different linguistic backgrounds (see Apendix 7 244 for participant profile). They were taking content courses through EMI. I observed them and tried to build rapport for the first few days. Once I was confident that the students were familiar with me, I chose five key participants. who were approached in person after class. Some of them agreed to partake, but in one of the institutions, I had to seek the help of teachers to find participants for the focus group activity. Four focus groups from every institution were conducted, each lasting approximately one hour. Prior to each focus group, participants were provided with more detail concerning the nature of the research project and what was expected of them as participants. The students were given prompts to explore their experience of learning through English and other languages as a medium of instruction. I hours worth of focus group interviews were collected. Two of the discussions lasted longer than an hour and one discussion lasted only for twenty minutes as the participants were unwilling to continue.

4.7 Analytical Framework

In the current study, thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) was employed as the main analytical framework for both the data sets of semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions. However, Eggins and Slade's (2006) *Analysing Casual Conversation Framework* was used in addition to thematic analysis to analyse the semi-structured interviews in depth.

4.7.1 Thematic Analysis

I selected the thematic analysis approach proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006), to analyse the twenty one semi-structured interviews. Thematic analysis is the most commonly used approach in qualitative analysis (Bryman, 2012). Its aim is to "identify, analyse and report patterns (themes) within qualitative data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79). Thematic analysis is not wedded to any predominant epistemological stance to knowledge construction. For instance, it can be an essentialist or a realist method, in which case it accounts for the reality of participants through their experiences and the meanings associated with it. It can be a constructivist method, which focuses on how events, meanings, realities, experiences, and so on, effect different discourses in society. Furthermore, it can sit in between these two methods. A case in point is critical realism (e.g. Willing, 1999) which recognises how individuals make meaning of their experiences, and how social contexts impinge on the meaning making process while focusing on the material and 'other' limits of reality (Braun and Clarke, 2006,p.81 their quotation marks). Therefore, thematic analysis is used with a variety of qualitative data to reflect on reality as well as to unravel the surface of reality.

Finding themes assists in reducing the bulk of qualitative data to meaningful units for analysis; it is flexible and partly systematic (Schreier, 2014). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest some points that the researcher needs to consider while attempting to identify patterns and themes. With regards to the importance of themes, they maintain that this depends on their prevalence

across both the data set and individual data item. However, the frequent occurrence of a theme does not necessarily entail that it is central to analysis, as there is no strict rule concerning what proportion of the data needs to instance an item for it to qualify as a theme. Moreover, the importance of a theme does not depend on how many data items express that particular theme, because a theme may recur more frequently in some data sets than in others. Therefore, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest adopting a flexible stance to decide what needs to be considered a theme, and not to lose sight of unique instances, as they may make important contributions to answering the research questions. Thus, the flexibility inherent in thematic analysis allowed the researcher to make decisions about the selection of themes given the richness and depth of the qualitative data.

Thematic analysis is not a linear process but one that involves cyclic stages. Several scholars have suggested different approaches with differing numbers of stages. For instance Dörnyei (2007) suggests a four stage approach, Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest six stages and Robson & McCartan (2016) suggest five. Whilst the essence of these approaches are broadly the same I chose to follow Braun and Clarke's (2006) approach. It has the following six-phase analysis procedure: 1) Familiarizing oneself with data that starts with data transcription, reading and a preliminary search for thematic patterns. 2) Generating initial codes, which entails assigning codes to extracts in the data sets, and, furthermore, similar extracts are assigned similar codes. 3) Searching for themes where similar codes are collated into potential themes and codes that were initially assigned are revised. 4) Reviewing themes through the construction of thematic networks or thematic maps for analysis. 5) Defining and naming themes through integration and interpretation of themes. 6) Producing the report.

Themes or patterns in the data are discovered through inductive or deductive coding approaches. A combination of data-driven and analysis-driven approaches were used in order to embed my research in a theoretical framework and to retain the uniqueness of the research project (Clarke &

Braun, 2006).To link the data with the research question, Rubin and Rubin (1995) suggest the analysis, should be underpinned by the research questions and objectives. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that it would be a major pitfall if there were a mismatch between the data and the analytic claims made, therefore, "a good thematic analysis needs to make sure that the interpretations of the data are consistent with the theoretical framework" (p. 95). It is for this reason that I used pre-established codes i.e. a priori codes from the research questions and interview guides. This is due to the fact that the coding procedure was inevitably influenced by my research questions, theoretical framework and background knowledge, and through reading the related literature (cf. Schreier, 2012) and because of my research interest (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014). However, the researcher was fully aware that new and unexpected codes i.e. empirical codes, would emerge from the interview data (Gibson and Brown, 2009; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Richards, 2003).

The data analysis process began at an early stage of data collection, during interaction with various pools of respondents during interviews (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). It is suggested that before coding, the data needs to be read many times (Miles and Huberman, 1994), so the transcripts were read multiple times with the aim of finding prominent topics. Substantiating Clark and Braun's (2014) assertion that "[c]odes capture interesting features of the data of potential relevance to the research question" via the analytic process of coding, I was able to capture both semantic and latent meaning in my respondents' assumptions, conceptualisations and ideologies.

Every data item was coded for features that formed the basis of repeated patterns in the data sets. Coding was achieved by labelling different segments of the text and broad themes apparent in the data. At the initial stage, data was coded for multiple patterns, which assisted in developing themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest researchers should code for as many potential themes/patterns as possible and code individual extracts of data in as many different themes as are necessary. During the reading, I

marked prominent data segments and identified key words in these segments research memos were also kept to include any thoughts, working ideas and interpretations of the codes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This facilitated the organisation of the codes and the provision of useful summaries of each analytical process. The process of revising, relabelling and reorganizing the initial coding in line with the research focus and questions generated elaborate analysis of the potential themes (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

I combined the key words into prominent topics/codes. The identification of the main topics was undertaken during the initial coding of the interview data. Furthermore, I refined the codes (Braun and Clarke, 2006) through more critical and deeper analysis and narrowed down the broad sets of codes into smaller sub-themes (Robson, 2011) by discarding redundant codes and merging codes that had many overlapping segments (Dörnyei, 2007). Therefore, I developed a three-level hierarchy of themes, sub-themes and basic codes/ topics (Attride-Stirling, 2001). In developing a three-level hierarchy, I observed principals of unidimensionality, exhaustiveness and mutual exclusiveness. In my coding frame, each main theme captured a unique aspect (i.e., unidimensionality), and each initial code (topic) was assigned to at least one sub-theme (i.e., exhaustiveness), but to only one sub-theme under the same main theme (i.e., mutual exclusiveness).

I elected to transcribe the audio recordings of the interviews and focus groups myself given that the transcription phase is a useful way to locate major or minor themes. Though it is time-consuming and tedious (Riessman, 1993), it is nevertheless considered a primary tool of the 'interpretive act' (Lapadat & Lindsay, 1999; Bird, 2005). In my study, I adopted the transcription conventions adopted from Jenkins (2007. see Appendix 2. 237) with some variation for interviews. In the initial transcriptions, I did not use commas but then after reading my transcripts several times I introduced commas in lengthy utterances to make these easier to read. Such decisions regarding the transcription stage are in line with Dörnyei's (2007) view of

transcription as an interpretative process in which the transcriber's own language ideologies come into play. Moreover, the context of the coded extracts was taken into consideration and hence, I decided to use Eggins and Slade's (2006) Speech Analysis Framework (see section 4.7.2) and some prosodic. Following Dörnyei's (2007) suggestion about the need "to create the feel of oral communication in writing" (p.247), prosodic features were added. These included features such as pauses, overlaps, emphasis and laughter, latched responses and some non-verbal features. The aim was to show how these non-verbal communication features affected the intended meaning of the respondents. It is important to note that I used field notes to support the analysis but I have not included them in the appendices for confidentiality reasons.

Transcription conventions adapted from Jenkins (2007) (simplified version)

(.)	Pause of one second or less
(2)	Etc. pause of 2 seconds etc.
xxx	Unintelligible word or words
CAPS	Stressed word
@	Laughter (length indicated by number of @)
P	Palwasha (the researcher)
T1, T2, T3 etc	EMI teachers
[ ]	Overlapping speech
?	Rising information
.	Falling intonation
Italic	*Urdu language/pashto language*
Bold	Important parts for analysis
=	One at the start and another at the end shows no gap between the two lines.
::::	Number of colons show lengthening of a syllable

Figure 3: Transcription conventions

I was interested in the in-depth perceptions of the participants concerning EMI and the use of multiple languages. Therefore, I did not restrict the interviews and focus groups to only English language rather participants were informed at the onset that they could interact in any language that was easy for them. In order to transcribe the resulting multilingual data, I chose to transliterate it initially and then translated it and added transcription conventions only to the extracts included in my analysis. After eighteen interviews and eight focus groups were completed, I transcribed only the relevant excerpts of the three remaining interviews and four reaming focus groups. Being aware that translation strips the data of important cultural and contextual details two Pakistani colleagues, who hold higher degrees in English, and teach at university level, were asked to cross check the transcripts for the accuracy of meaning conveyed, thus ensuring, as much as possible, the validity of my study.

Notes were taken while transcribing, to retain the contextual information of the participants' behaviour that was important to the meaning construction and to record my reaction to the data. All transcripts were saved on Microsoft Word, and imported into QSR NVivo 11following the guidelines in Silver and Lewins (2014). While re-reading the data in Nvivo, I created memos about my thoughts that helped me in deciding the usability of the parts of the data for main analysis. This helped in organising the codes in a structured way, in a meaningful framework.

4.7.2. Eggins and Slade's (2006) Speech Function Analysis Framework.

Eggins and Slade (2006) conceptualised casual conversation as being informal, humorous and in possession of no one pragmatic focus which contrasts strongly with formal conversations where the focus is sharp, singular and clear. By contrast, the interviews in my research are informal as most of the interviewees were colleagues and acquaintances. Moreover, what the interviewees say cannot be divorced from the embedded interactional context for exploring the latent meaning in their conversations. Therefore, to

access an interviewee's perceptions and concerns in an informal semi-structured interview, I found Eggins and Slade's (2006) Speech Functions Analysis Framework useful. One important factor is that this framework helps in analysing the functions of conversational moves, rather than linguistic features, therefore this framework seems applicable to original and translated data. It appeared to be the most relevant and effective approach for answering those research sub-questions which explore linguistic practices and teachers' perceptions towards EMI in universities in Pakistan.

 I used Eggins and Slade's (2006) Speech Function Analysis Framework as a secondary analytical method at points where discourse features in the respondents' utterances appeared to convey additional meaning beyond their surface level content. However, it is worth noting here that my main analytical method was thematic analysis, and Eggins and Slade's (2006) Speech Function Analysis Framework was used only where it was necessary to supplement thematic analysis to accurately evaluate the results.

In the current research, I approached the interviews as social practice phenomena rather than research instruments (Talmy, 2010). Therefore, I focused on how the meaning in the conversations were mutually co-constructed (Mann, 2011). I understand that decontextualizing respondents' utterances in conventional thematic analysis makes the interview a passive vessel of knowledge transference. Nevertheless, I agree with Talmy (2010) who argues that during the very process of knowledge transference the interview is constructively transformed. My aim is to explore how respondents use language in order to identify their underlying ideologies, and to reveal the power relations in the socio-historical context (Richards & Schmidt, 2002). Again, this further justifies my use of Eggins and Slade's (2006) Speech Functions Analysis Framework to analyse the participants discourse moves. Leung (2012) and Jenkins (2015) used this framework in educational settings, which fortifies my choice for similar reasons.

Eggins and Slade's (2006) model accounts for analysis of casual conversation moves and is based on Halliday's systematic functional account of dialogue (1984, 1994). This model is comprised of three core conversation moves: *opening, continuing and reacting moves*. *Opening moves* "function to initiate talk around a proposition" (ibid. 1994). Opening moves comprise of *attending* and *initiating* moves. *Attending* moves are geared to capturing the attention of the intended interlocutor whereas *initiating* moves are employed to give or seek information or opinions. Concerning my analysis, topics that were initiated by the interviewees were important for them in the discussion. In my analysis it was assumed that a participant undertook an initiating moves towards topics that were of significance for that participant. *Sustaining* moves "keep negotiating the same proposition" (p.15) and are practised by either the current speaker (*continuing*), or by another speaker who takes a turn (*reacting*). *Continuing* moves include *monitoring, prolonging* and *appending* moves. *Monitoring* moves are used to know if the interlocutors are following the conversation or invite them to partake in the conversation. *Prolonging* moves are used if the speaker expands on what s/he has said earlier through explanation by clarifying, exemplifying or restating the prior move.

Speakers use *appending* moves if they re-gain their turn and expand on their earlier contribution. In my research, it was interesting to note how participants sustained and expanded topics by either prolonging or appending moves. Lastly, to sustain "negotiating the same proposition" of the initiating speaker, *reacting moves* are used (Eggins and Slade, 2006:195). These are categorised into *rejoinders* and *responses*. Each of these can be either *supportive* or *confronting*. To be precise, *responses* "just negotiate what is already on the table" and move the conversation towards a conclusion, on the other hand *rejoinders* are used to elicit deeper responses by "demanding further details" which are seen as *supportive responses*, or can be *confronting*, by "offering alternative explanations" (ibid.207).

Supporting responses encompass developing, engaging, registering and replying moves. *Developing* moves are executed when the speakers expand on a prior move with an aim to conclude an exchange. *Engaging* moves are employed through simple agreement. *Registering* moves enable an initiator in the conversation to take the next turn without expansion (e.g., "Ah, that lady."). *Replying* moves shows the inclination to agree with the initiator (e.g., "Oh, yes."). *Confronting* responses include *disengagement* and *replying* moves. *Disengagement* is obtained by keeping silent in an exchange. Whereas *replying* includes contradiction, disavowal, disagreement or withholding response (e.g. "I don't know") whilst concluding the exchange. With regards to my analysis, how the interviewee supported or confronted me provides a clue to their perceptions about what I was investigating. According to Eggins and Slade's (2006: 202) model, interviewees' high level of acceptance can be seen through their use of developing moves that sustain and expand a certain topic. Likewise, respondents' confronting responses, through replying and disengaging moves, show rejection.

Similarly as stated previously, *rejoinders* are also classified as supporting and confronting. *Supporting rejoinders* are further categorised as *tracking* moves and *subsequent* responses. *Tracking* moves in turn are sub-divided into checking, confirming, clarifying and probing moves. Checking, confirming and clarifying occurs when another speaker seeks ;1)re-explanation of some part of a prior move (i.e. checking), 2) the verification of what s/he indicates having heard (i.e. confirming) or 3) additional information to understand a prior move (i.e. clarifying). Whereas probing occurs when another speaker expands his prior move but seeks confirmation of his/her expansion. Following responses may be supporting by resolving, repairing or acquiescing with previous moves.

However, *confronting rejoinders* include challenging and subsequent responses. *Challenging* moves are further classified into detaching, rebounding and countering moves. As evident, a *detaching* move closes an ongoing discussion. Whereas, *rebounding* moves question the "relevance,

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legitimacy or veracity" of a previous move (Eggins and Slade 2006: 212). Countering moves show "an alternative, counterposition or counter-interpretation" (ibid). Subsequent responses can be confronting if prior moves are unresolved, refuted or re-challenged. This helped me in my analysis as the respondents' rejoinders either supported through probing or confronted by detaching and rebounding what I investigated, and provided clues to the concerns and ideologies which influence their perceptions about prevalent language policies and practices.

The use of the Speech Analysis Framework made it possible to analyse the coded themes that were intertwined in the interactional context. Any discourse embedded in socio-political and historical context is influenced by ideologies and power relationships. In relation to the current research, it was worthwhile noting if participants followed the dominant/hegemonic discourse and its associated ideologies or whether they create alternative realities through subordinate-counter discourse (Scherier, 2012). Furthermore, it was helpful to analyse how my participants perceived certain accents, dialects, or varieties of English as privileged or under-privileged based on their personal experiences, beliefs, future professional growth aims, and others' expectations.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

The fieldwork lasted for three months between mid-March and end of June 2016. I discussed my research plans in detail, in advance, with the institutes' heads and had their formal approval to conduct the study in addition to consent from all lecturers and participants., The semester started in the beginning of March, therefore I stated my research almost two weeks later. I introduced myself on the first day of class and explained my research to the students. I observed the classroom instruction and identified the students for focus groups in the first two weeks. During this period, I built rapport with the students. There was little potential risk of the participants having psychological or physical discomfort. However, the participants were

informed that they had the right to withdraw from the research at any stage if they felt uncomfortable. Moreover, they were made aware that if they wanted any part of the audio recording to be deleted, they had the right to request this at any time. Regardless, the participants (teachers and students) were excited to talk about the issues relevant to EMI and the question of Medium of Instruction.

4.9 Issue of Trustworthiness

Researchers of any kind need to assess and test the rigor and quality of their research. A number of commentators including Silverman (2013), state that reliability and validity are two central concepts which are necessarily addressed in any discussion on the credibility of scientific research. However, the standards that can be used to identify high quality interpretive research are considerably more varied, and less clearly defined. Arguably, the most coherent and well-known are those of Guba and Lincoln (1989) who proposed and developed standards of authenticity and trustworthiness, different but 'parallel to' the reliability, validity and objectivity standards of positivist research (Golafshani, 2003). Therefore, in qualitative studies, the terms dependability and consistency often parallel the reliability of the quantitative paradigm, while credibility is more closely associated with validity (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Golafshani (2003) furthermore, argued that the terms validity and reliability are not viewed separately in interpretive research but are encompassed by the terms: trustworthiness, transferability and credibility.

Silverman (2013) suggests that one of the ways to bring credibility to a qualitative research is through triangulation. The term 'triangulation' is often employed in research to mean the use of multiple types of evidence and multiple types of research instrument to explore a single problem or single set of problems (Denzin 2000). In the current study, triangulation of evidence is used with the assumption that the "use of different sources of information will help both to confirm and improve the clarity, or precision, of

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research findings" (Lewis and Ritchie, 2003: 275). Consequently, the data collection procedure is developed throughout multiple data sets for the sake of increasing the credibility of the study. Furthermore, prior to the main study, I conducted a pilot study to amend the research instruments as needed and to test the research design in order to increase its validity and reliability (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2013).

Regarding transferability, Taylor and Medina (2013) argue that it can be maintained by providing sufficient rich description for the reader in order to compare the social setting of the research with his/her own social context. Accordingly, this current study strives to offer detailed information about the research design and instruments, the results (including quotes of participants), the environment/context of the research and the process of analysis, to enable the reader to judge its transferability to another context or setting.

4.10 Summary

This chapter discussed the research methods and procedure. It addressed the process of triangulating the data through multiple sources in order to strengthen the validity of the current research and to explore EMI in multi-lingual contexts in Pakistani Universities. The study uses multiple tools in order to capture in depth insights about the use of different languages and analyse how the participants orient towards the flexibility of their linguistic repertoire for achieving understanding of their subjects. The next chapter will present the data analysis procedure and results of the semi-structured interviews with participant teachers.

CHAPTER 5: INTERVIEWS DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the findings from the interviews with lecturers and managerial heads of the institutions. It explores the teachers' personal perspectives towards EMI in depth. The first section begins with the data analysis methods and procedure adopted in this study. The later sections of the chapter expand on data presentation. The chapter evaluates teachers' perceptions about issues related to English language policies and practices, its proficiency and use, and its role and status in the higher education context.

5.2 Findings

This section provides a rich explanation of the data findings. The five main themes mentioned below are not strictly separate and inevitable overlaps exist between the central themes. As, mentioned in section (4.6.1) interviews were conducted in English as well as Urdu and Pashto, therefore the extracts included in the analysis report are, in part, translations. For the sake of readability, fillers such as 'like', false starts and stutter such as 'uhu' and 'mhm' have been omitted. I have also discarded the prosodic features of my questions, comments and interjections. I analysed only the prosodic features in the responses of my participants. Prosodic analysis was undertaken with the aim of acquiring a deeper understanding of the perceptions of my participants (Jenkins, 2007).

I conducted 21 interviews with teachers of various disciplines and heads of institutes (see full profile of the participants in section 4.6.2.). This chapter pertains to RQ1 and 2 (a and c) from the teachers' perspective.

RQ 1.What are the orientations of content teachers and students towards Medium of Instruction (MOI) policies in the HE context in Pakistan?

RQ.2. How do the content teachers and students perceive EMI policies and practices in the HE context in Pakistan?

RQ a) How do content teachers perceive their own and other content teachers' English abilities? How do they evaluate their students' academic English abilities?

RQ c) How do content teachers and students perceive EMI policies related to students and teachers in the university?

The analysed data is presented in terms of emerging sub-themes and main themes. All the themes are supported with quotations and extracts from the transcripts. The final stage outlines conclusions reached, based on the analysed data. My initial coding produced 45 emergent topics. I grouped these topics under 12 sub-themes and finally I combined these 12 sub-themes into 5 main themes (for detailed thematic framework See Appendix 5 p.241). There were no predetermined themes, though it is acknowledged that approaches taken to categorisation of themes may have been influenced by my research questions, theoretical framework and background knowledge gained through the literature and my research interests.
 The five main themes and twelve sub themes are as follows:

1. Perceptions about English as medium of instruction

- Reasons for flexible approach
- Lack of learning materials in local languages

2. Translanguaging

- Reasons in favour of translanguaging
- Reasons against translanguaging

3. **Perceptions about teachers English**

- Positive perceptions of self for EMI

- Normative perceptions

- Non-Normative perceptions

4. Perception about English of the students

- Normative perceptions
- Flexible perceptions about spoken English
- Error correction

5. Perceptions about their university's EMI policies

- English language policies concerning students
- English language policies concerning teachers

5.3 Perceptions about English as Medium of Instruction (MOI)

The participants across the entire data raised concerns about the use of English language as MOI. Out of the twenty-one participants, six did not see any problem with English as medium of instruction. They had positive opinion of EMI in the current scenario in their respective institutes. However, fifteen participants elaborated different concerns related to EMI in a multilingual setting. Although, the default and prevalent mode of teaching in HE is EMI, the participants voiced   concerns with the use of EMI. For instance, these **participants perceived the ability of students to understand lectures in English to be insufficient**. The following example is from interview with T1 from institute A, a former chair of the department who was, at the time of interview, teaching a Tourism and Hotel Management programme. He initiated a discussion regarding his experience as a PhD student in the UK and the differences that exist between the Pakistani and British education systems. This then led to a discussion regarding his students' English levels. He appended and tried to expand his view that, his students lacked the skills to fully understand lectures delivered only in English. When I probed him about his experience with EMI, our discussion

moved towards students' inadequate English skills. The following excerpt illustrates his feelings concerning his students' lack of English language skills.

Excerpt 1: T1-A

1	T1: In the beginning (.) I tried to teach them in English (.) and I also
2	instructed my staff to do the same (...) because of the nature of the field
3	that we have (.) **Our students' communication skills are very POOR**
4	**@@** and the field is very challenging (.) If they are going to join hotels (.)
5	which most of them will (.) people will expect very strong
6	communication skills from them (.) Their content knowledge will be
7	judged later (.) that is almost in every field.
8	P: Yeah! so
9	T1: I practiced it for almost one year that is 2 semesters (.) then I realised
10	that the students are NOT GETTING me (.) Why are they not getting me ?
11	This is WHAT I started asking the guys to find out how many students
12	comprehend me (.) HARDLY 5-7 per cent followed me the rest did not
13	(...) I inquired about the reason that what is wrong with my teaching,
14	besides that I used very simple language (English) (.) The problem was
15	that they could not understand my ENGLISH (.)5 to 7 per cent is nothing
16	compared to 100 per cent. So if THAT MUCH students could not keep up
17	then why would I use English.

In this excerpt, TI is talking about his experience with using just English in the classroom, but due to students' inability to comprehend his lessons he was questioning if he should continue with its use. He expanded the topic by making a point that students have POOR, English skills (1.3). This he said with an emphasis and laughingly, which suggests that he has very strong perception of the students' insufficient language skills. His laughter was, very likely sarcastic: at university level the general expectation of students is that they should, at the very least, be capable of understanding lectures in their field of expertise. Later in the interview, T1 claimed that he taught exclusively in English only towards the end of the course, with the aim of improving students' language skills prior to graduation. T1's perception, that teaching exclusively in English will improve students' English language abilities, stems from the ideologies that guide many knowledge claims in additional language learning (ALL) literature. For instance, immersion models, the monolingual principle, and maximum exposure hypothesis. In

the developing world, foreign educationalists and their knowledge claims are unquestioningly accepted, followed and subsequently implemented (Lin, 2012). In developing and post-colonial countries like Pakistan, teachers often consider the teaching methodologies of developed, monolingual societies as the most appropriate in ensuring improved English language learning and the effective delivery of content subjects. However, this is not the case as expressed by T1. He elaborated that HARDLY five to seven percent (1.12) of the class understood him when he addressed them in English. The stress on the word "hardly" and the idea of quantifying his class into a "percentage" seems to further emphasise his perceptions concerning students' insufficient English language skills.

With regard to the issue of weak language skills of students, in another interview, T2 initiated a discussion regarding   the problems faced by students while delivering academic presentations in English. **Whilst they used spoken Urdu or Pashto for explanations they were unable to make their power point slides in Urdu or Pashto, because written Urdu or Pashto are not used in EMI classrooms**. Here when I initiated the topic of students' performance in presentations, T2's reply was as below:

Excerpt2: T2-B

1   T2 : [....] for power point slides English is the only way but in verbal
2   explanation in presentation they can use [Urdu]

3   P: they can use [Urdu]

4   T2: YEAH **(.) it is natural** (.) they can use Urdu or Pashto.

5   P: why?

6   T2: (because) my **primary focus is on HOW to communicate effectively** (.)
7   **secondary focus is on the use of English language** (.) when it comes to
8   my subject the focus is on how much the students understand (.)

The above excerpt shows the difficulty that students have to face when delivering and preparing for their classroom presentations. Due to the fact that Pashto/ Urdu is not used for making power point slides, they have to rely on the English language. I agreed with T2's assertion that students can use local languages in oral presentations for explanation and communication (1.3). T2 prolonged her move and elaborated that it is normal for the students to use Urdu, which is demonstrated by the emphatic YEAH (1.4) on her comment that Urdu is natural. When I probed for the reason for her views, T2 enhanced her earlier remark saying that as **content teacher her expectation from her students is for them to understand the subject matter rather than use English accurately**. The theme of the content teacher's dual role as both language and content teacher emerged clearly from the data (see section 5.6 for detailed discussion). T2 exhibited a **flexible approach towards the use of multiple languages for content learning.** However, this does suggest that students have to make more effort to simultaneously understand the content knowledge in one language and then present it in another.

Eleven participants (T1,T3,T7,T18,T9,T15,T14,T19,T20,T21,T11) shared the view that students' spoken skills are not good. This has been discussed in section (5.6) in detail, with regards to teacher's perception of the academic English skills of their students.

More discussions on the same topic with other participants revealed another related issue: **that of the lack of availability of learning materials in local languages.** Out of the fifteen participants who commented that student' English language skills are poor, Thirteen participants (T1,T2,T6,T7,T8,T9,T11,T12,T13,T17,T18,T20,T21) dismissed the option of local languages as an alternative medium of instruction. While elaborating on the topic of a recent court order[6] regarding the implementation of Urdu as

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[6] http://www.supremecourt.gov.pk/web/user_files/File/Const.P._56_2003_E_dt_3-9-15.pdf

medium of instruction in higher education, T5 from institute C, discussed at length the fact that there are **neither resources nor the will amongst educators to generate materials in Urdu/Pashto**. The reason suggested by T5 was that such materials were not seen to be of benefit to the students in the future. This is evident from the following excerpt of T5.

Excerpt 3: T5-C

1	T5:	The idea of implementing Urdu as a medium of instruction is not
2		possible because it is practically impossible to arrange journals and
3		research and all academic related material (.)**We don't have that**
4		**MUCH RESOURCES.**

5	P:	Translations into Urdu, Pashto (…)

6	T5:	NO we don't have that much resources to arrange all international
7		journals on HEC's website for the sake of a scholar's research(.)we
8		cannot afford the cost of two journals, **the system is also inefficient**
9		**and the resources are also lacking** (.)Yes (.) **its UTILITY** ? (raising
10		his hand and eyebrows) (…) The system has a lot for the corrupt (.)
11		but for research(.) it does not have anything to offer (.) this is one
12		reason (.) If you say that you are fully devoted even then you do not
13		have that much resources to bring **everything and feed it in Urdu**
14		(…) most of the people even the government now, say that it should
15		be Urdu and they give example of many countries like Germany,
16		Russia and Iran (.)

17	P:	yeah true=

18	T5:	=They have books and translations (.) the interesting thing@@@ is
19		**that the verdict, in which the chief justice declared that URDU**
20		**SHOULD BE the official language, THAT ITSELF @@@ was in**
21		**English.**

Here T5 is very concerned about the potential lack of resources in the Urdu or Pashto languages if they replaced EMI. He thinks that it is practically impossible due to the lack of efficiency extant in the current system. He remarked that provision of research to the local students in local languages would be too costly. In this reasonably extensive turn (1.6-1.16) he attributed the reason for this inefficiency to the institutionalised corruption currently prevalent in the domain of education. T5's contribution here suggests that the funds for educational purposes are not spent appropriately

thus negatively impacting the possibility that research material may be made available in local languages. This implies that even if teachers are devoted (1.12) to the difficult job of translating and writing textbooks and research papers etc. in Urdu and Pashto, they will not get enough financial support to sustain their efforts in the long term.

Moreover, he eagerly sustained his turn and enhanced the discussion by referring to the utility of using Urdu for research purposes, he is doubtful, (which is evident from his raised brows and movement of hands (1.9-1.10)), about the usefulness of research produced in local languages. This indicates that, in his opinion, the scope of the research will be limited because it will not be of interest to the wider community of researchers that do not speak Urdu/Pashto. Furthermore, T5 is implying that subject specific terminology or registers are better developed and used in English. If Urdu/Pashto are used as research languages, then the entire research terminology in different disciplines will need to be coined in these languages. He appended his point by referring to other nation states, for instance Germany and France, where national languages are used in higher education, but he points out that aforementioned nations have developed their languages for research purposes. Additionally, the aforementioned states do not have a post-colonial legacy. He seems to be suggesting that, in academic domain, English is the general language of research and enquiry. His ironic remark concerning the fact that the very court order (1.17-1.19) that required the implementation of Urdu in higher education, was rendered in English, suggests that it is impossible to replace the English language in official domains including Higher Education.

5.4 Translanguaging

The respondents agreed that the use of local languages is inevitable during classroom instruction.   A number of reasons were suggested. The most

frequently quoted was that **their students find content difficult to understand**. For instance, T20 from institute C said "*... I think, that the idea is not clear to them... because of the difficulty level of the subject (...) I am switching it (language) unconsciously.*" Almost all of the participants were of the opinion that **local language facilitates comprehension of the content.** They noted that, when no alternative explanations available to them in the English language, they resort to using local idioms and proverbs in Urdu/Pashto, as these better convey their intended meaning. It emerged during the many discussions that most of the teachers used local languages due to the low English proficiency of the students. This trend was common in all three institutes. Below is an excerpt in which a teacher advocates the use of local languages, alongside English, in EMI classrooms.

Excerpt 4: (T6-B)

1 2	P :	Sir could you please talk about your experience while using English as a medium of instruction.
3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15	**T6** :	Yes sometimes you feel that the vocabulary of the student is less (....) because sometimes we have to speak the non-medical language (.) which is called the **layman language**, so the medical language is well understood by the student but the (3) this you can call **the original English language** (.) sometimes there is a problem (5) it is sometimes difficult for the teacher(.) So I think if we have to stick to this English Language in our lecture we should start it from the primary level (.) And the problem is that, it's true that we can have this in our schools but you know that **we don't speak English in our homes, we don't speak English in our societies, in our** <u>Hujra</u> **system**[...] so it becomes a bit difficult that most of the people who know their vocabulary is good [...] but that they can't express themselves in English[...]
16	**P :**	Ok! so when there is a problem do you use Pashto or Urdu or...
17 18 19	**T6 :**	Yes, we have to? At times, we have to switch to the Pashto and mostly to the Urdu because majority of the students they can understand Urdu.
20	**P :**	like...[When do you]=
21 22 23 24	**T6 :**	=[YES. When you] want to explain something sometimes you yourself find it difficult to explain it in English. So that's why you have to come to, like say the, sometimes there are the (*jo Muhawiray jo hain)* **as the idioms** (...) that is mostly the things,

| 25 | you want to relate something to that so it is very difficult to |
| 26 | explain sometimes. |

In this extract, the teacher is citing students' lack of vocabulary in English as the primary reason for his using a blend of local languages in EMI lessons. Moreover, the respondent used the terms layman's language (1.5) and original English (1.6-1.7) which might refer to Standard English. Deeper analysis of these terms reveal that he hedged his use of terminology at this point, possibly in an attempt to 'soften 'his implication that only Standard English is the 'original' English, as if aware that the social context of the teachers and students does not allow the use of the term 'Standard English'. He appended his move and elaborated that EMI at university level is dependent on effective learning through English at primary level. Therefore, T6 considered it practical to use idioms or proverbs in local languages in order to relate the content matter to the linguistic context of the students. T6 is flexible and accepts the dynamic nature of language. **It appears from his extended response that he considers multilingualism in classroom as an asset for the students.**

Moreover, T6 does not feel restricted by the EMI policy of the institute. Here the respondent is exercising his agency in choosing language according to the needs of the classroom. While discussing the same topic with another Teacher, T5 from institute C responded to my question about translanguaging in the classroom by suggesting that **it is not always advisable to use local languages in a linguistically diverse class**. T5 said:

Excerpt 5: T5-C

1	"It is not advisable to switch from English to regional language and skip
2	Urdu, as recently three students from another lesson complained
3	against the use of Pashto by another teacher in the class because they
4	could not understand it."

T5 like supported the use of languages other than English, but cautioned against the use of regional languages, as some of the students feel excluded. Teachers like T5 and T6 from institute B exhibited flexible and positive views towards multiple language use for the same lesson, depending on the local needs of the students. **This shows that most of the teachers perceived languages as a bank of flexible and hybrid tools to understand content subjects.**

Likewise, T18 from institute C thought that students use regional language resources for developing clarity in their conceptual knowledge of the subject. She explained how one of her students used a verse from a Pashto poem in his final exam paper and she was sufficiently convinced of the relevance of that verse that she awarded him a high grade.

Excerpt 6: T18-C

1 2	**P:** Have you ever had an experience of a student writing in languages other than English in their exam?
3 4 5 6	**T 18:** Yeah, once my student, I gave them a question in Sociology (.) how far you think luck is the main factor in upward mobility? and he asked if he could use Pashto verse in his answer (.) I said that oh fine if it suited him then and I gave him full marks(.)
7	**P:** (…) I would like to=
8	**T 18: =** I can like give you that verse that he used. You want it?=
9	**P: =**I just wanted to=
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17	**T 18: =**Write it down, it was so convincing that I had to give him full marks because it was very right, it was not that he couldn't answer in English but he had that **specific thing** which he taught would be relevant and I really liked it. His (…) entire paper was in English. (*Aqal ma ghwara* *bakht ghwara Rehmana, Aqal mand da bakhtawaro ghulaman e*)O Rehman! Ask not for intellect but for luck, the wise are the slaves of the fortunate (.) So I really liked that thing and I gave him full marks but it was not because he couldn't communicate in English.

In the above excerpt, T18 used a sequence of appending moves in order to exemplify her personal experience while engaging with the topic. She was enthusiastically narrating an incident that happened 15 years ago. Her latched responses, shows her high level of acceptance of the proposition of the effective use of multiple languages. Similarly, teachers discussed the topic of local and English language, T10 from institute C supported multiple language use in class discussions. It was interesting to note that students have different linguistic needs once they start their life outside of educational settings. Teachers were aware of students' language requirements in local scenarios. Therefore, they did not advocate using English as the only option, rather it appeared that teachers encouraged the use of multilingualism amongst their students. For instance in the following excerpt, T15 from institute B initiated a topic that is very unique to medical students in multilingual regions like Pakistan.

Excerpt 7: T15-B

1 2 3 4 5 6 7	T 15:	You know it's very difficult, if they are going to appear in fellowship exam, sometimes they are given a patients who cannot understand Urdu (...) Pashto and most of the time they go for exams to Karachi and there patients speak Sindhi and if the student doesn't know Sindhi he will not be able to extract proper patient's history and would failed. They (examiners) don't provide the person...
8	P:	translator
9	T 15:	Yes, you don't get translators? No
10	P:	Ok
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19	T 15:	we encourage foreign Afghan students (...) belonging to Hazara to learn Pashto (...) as they will take patient's history in Pashto (.)It will not be in English or Hazara language (...) and most of our doctors learn Persian language and other languages in which they interact with the patients. So it is a sort of a communication skill for the doctor. If I go to Sindh I will have to learn Sindhi, if I go to Punjab, I will have to learn Punjabi (...) because it's my skill. Yes, regional (language) IS MUST because you cannot see patient.

T15, elaborated a very interesting instance that shows the importance of learning regional languages. He expanded his move by exemplifying how, if students are unfamiliar with regional languages, they would risk failing their final fellowship exams. In his interview, he acknowledged the importance of the English language but at the same time emphasised that the **English language should not replace local languages even at tertiary level, as many students have to live and work in regions where a knowledge of local languages is essential**. Moreover, participants acknowledged the fact that the students that they receive are from public, private and madrassah schools and hence have varied proficiency skills. In addition to this, the linguistic diversity of the region also makes choice of language complicated as students from faraway places sometimes do not understand Urdu or English .

However, T7,T8,T9,T11,T12,T13,T15,,T17, agreed with the accepted official discourse of language in education policy in many postcolonial societies that asserts the view of language as stable, monolithic (uniform), reified (concrete) entity with clear-cut boundaries. **They supported the view that in order to operate in the global market, students must learn to operationalise their knowledge in the English language.** A case in point is teacher T7 from institute A who used only English in her classes. In time, the majority of her students transferred to other multilingual classes where they found the mix of languages more readily facilitated learning. She explained that:

Excerpt 8: T7-A

1	T7:	I am more confident when I am delivering my lecture in English. I
2		feel that I am going as **per the requirement**. If **something is**
3		**written in English, you have to follow the English language (…)**
4		**students should not be allowed to answer you back in Pashto,**
5		**Urdu or any other language.** They should be motivated, they should
6		be **strictly** motivated, to answer you back in English."

Her opinion is deeply rooted in the ideology that English language learning is only truly possible in monolingual settings, where immersion in the English language is the only path to proficient English use. T7 is referring to requirements that are expected by university policy (though she does concede that she has never actually read this document). It seemed that T7 **perceived translanguaging to be a result of students' or teachers' lack of English competence**. T7 expressed strong adherence to the use of only English and appeared to demonstrate a sense of pride in following the policy requirement while, arguably, compromising students' understanding.

Like T7, there were teachers who held the same view at the start of their teaching, however, after realising the low linguistic proficiency of the students, the majority of them changed their teaching strategy. Nevertheless, six teachers (T7,T8,T9, T17,T10,T21) perceived **translanguaging as an inappropriate strategy and thought of it as a compensation strategy rather than a communication strategy**. For instance, T17 from institute C commented "(…) *the solution to the problem (.) i believe, is not that we switch our medium of instruction to Urdu but we need to target it in a way so that students' difficulties with English language are addressed".* T17 is not satisfied with the strategy of changing the medium of instruction, rather he believes that proper measures were required to improve students' linguistic proficiency. Similarly T10 from institute C concurred the view supporting the use of only English as a medium of instruction. While elaborating his response, T10 said *"I think we should work on English (…) because currently we are giving graduates to the market so we need to prepare them for the existing situation. So we should focus on English more".* He explained that if we want to develop and implement a national language, that this must be undertaken at primary and secondary level not at tertiary level because at the tertiary level students are groomed and prepared for the global market.

5.5 Perceptions about teachers' English

In all the interviews, teachers expressed their views quite elaborately about their own and their fellow teachers' English language skills. This showed that they were willing to discuss the relationship between teachers' linguistic proficiency and EMI courses. Most of the participants commented on their fellow teachers' English skills in comparison to their own. T1,T2,T4,T5,T6,T7,T8,T9,T10,T13,T15,T17,T18 thought that they had sufficient English language skills to communicate in EMI classes and assumed that **they are competent users of the English language as a tool of communication**. I discussed the use of language in research and T1,T2,T4,T5,T6,T7,T8,T9,T10,T13,T15,T17,T18,T11,T12, agreed that **English is the language used by the wider research community**. Furthermore, my participants revealed their **preference for Standard English**. They **held normative perceptions about their written English**. They considered SE norms to be the benchmark for intelligible academic writing aimed at a wider academic audience. A case in point is T6 from institute B, who was comfortable with his English proficiency skills. In a chat before the interview he proudly expressed his research publications. In the following excerpt I asked him about any problems that he might have faced while publishing in the English language :

Excerpt 9: T6-B

1	**P :**	Sir, you talked about your research, that you have conducted
2		research so what was your experience in terms of English language
3		when you were writing your research paper. Did you face any
4		problem from the reviewers…
5	**T6:**	No, not so much. Usually (10), sometimes you feel that the spelling is
6		our issue but not the rest of the things.
7	**P :**	Not the rest of the language, it's not a problem?
8	**T6:**	Yes (…)
9	P:	Are students trained for research?

10	**T6:**	I think (...) coaching classes (...) can be provided by the hospital (.)
11		like say there is a class on research and methodology from the
12		College of Physicians and Surgeons and these type of activities **are**
13		**very necessary for the research for students and staff** (.) I think
14		we should have these in our colleges (.) I have taken a class for
15		Research and Methodology while training for FCPS (.) similarly these
16		(pointing at the two students sitting next to him) (...) are post-
17		graduate students, Dr. (NAME) and Dr. (NAME) they have attended,
18		workshop on Research and Methodology (.) it is ONLY provided by
19		the college of Physicians and Surgeons (.) and RECENTLY, our
20		university (NAME) have started this programme for Research and
21		Methodology (.)

In the above extract, T6 commented on the topic of academic writing and I referred to our earlier conversation about his experience. However, T6 gave a withholding response to my open-ended question. This implies that he is not willing to talk about more fundamental issues as suggested by the long pause of ten seconds (1.5) followed by his mention of spellings being the only concern despite the fact that publishing research is a tedious process. T6 is satisfied with his use of English for research purposes and perceives spelling difficulties to be the only area of deficiency. Which contradicts his argument regarding the **need for research training courses for staff members** (1.13).

When I initiated the topic of academic writing, he strongly supported English language use and elaborated "*if students go to America, they would need English for academic written and spoken purposes in international scenarios*". Here it is interesting to note that academic communication in international settings, for him, is limited only to the American context, and I assumed that he perceives American English to be the global standard. Moreover, the same participant in his interview raised **the need for research skills coaching for students.** He voiced concern regarding lack of coaching classes for research. He appeared to be disappointed that it was ONLY (1.19) the College of Surgeons and Physicians, until recently, which offered such classes. Whereas his own University started it RECENTLY (1-1.20). His stress on

these words showed empathic concern, while elaborating his views on research activity.

In a similar vein, T4, in the excerpt below, willingly shared his experience regarding the lack of facilities for research in the medical field. He expressed, without reservation that appropriate resources and opportunities are not provided for potential researchers.

Excerpt 10: T4-B

1	T 4:"since 1974, when we entered into secondary education, then
2	intermediate, then graduate level, we have **never been provided any**
3	**chance to go for research (.) So that's why we have no interest and**
4	**we have no facilities (.)** The facilities are scarce, (unintelligible words)
5	resources are scarce and if **your abilities are not tapped out then how**
6	**can you utilise (**.) It means we, never tried to tap the students'
7	capacities. Even when **we were students, we were not tapped out**.
8	**P:** So there is no general trend towards research?=
9	**T: =**No

T4 keenly responded when I initiated the topics of research opportunities and the academic writing skills of teaching staff. He expanded the topic and criticised the system for **lack of research resources and the apathy of teachers towards imparting research skills to students.** This, he claims, is mainly because they never got the chance to *tap out* their research skills. In lines (1.5-1.7) he used a strong term when expressing the need for enhancing and developing research skills in foreign languages. T4 might mean that research skills can be tapped out by teachers and students but they need an external stimulus to activate their abilities. 'Tapped out' is an interesting metaphor as it gives the impression that learners and teachers are dormant vessels of research skills and need tapping to develop them.

Later, in his interview I probed him about the teaching resources that he preferred to use in teaching pharmacology to his students. He very confidently confirmed that he preferred text and resource books written solely by British writers and was not comfortable with Asian or other writers. He perceived that the use of British English in the medical field is the norm in Pakistan. This again is in clash with T1,T2,T5,T6,T7,T13,T14,T15, who confirmed that text books and resource materials written by American and British writers are challenging for the students, and teachers often recommend books written by Asian, Indian and Iranian writers instead. This seems to show that T4 held the very normative perception that British English is the standard.

Moreover, most of the teachers agreed that carrying out research in the English language is difficult for them. They compared their English linguistic proficiency with those who teach it as a subject. They accepted that they are not proficient users of the language and agreed that **they need expert English language teachers to proof read their academic work.**

Excerpt 11: T13-B

| 1 | T13: | ... and research is almost in English because ALL WRITING is in |
| 2 | | English= |

| 3 | P: | =All writing is in English?= |

4	T13:	=YES OF COURSE (7) regarding English we have no workshops or
5		seminars so it is needed badly (...) we talk in English but that **is not**
6		**that bookish English** and for writing (.) an article or thesis or say
7		research paper (3) **so for that accurate and proper English**
8		**technique in Academic English training is needed** (...) I think
9		simple (English) should be preferred, **but that also, there be some**
10		**standards**

| 11 | P: | Yeah obviously. |

12	T13:	Because I have seen articles and all these journals (.) so I think I may
13		suggest if I write an article so I should refer it to an English teacher, a
14		professor for review ?(.) So I think it will be better? we send it to our
15		supervisor but again they are from our field so they can speak? even

| 16 | they do correct some things ? but I think it's better to have an |
| 17 | overview of an English expert(.) |

In the above excerpt, T13 has a negative perception regarding the written academic English skills of teachers. In this excerpt, T13 expressed his expectations that they need to write "*accurate and proper English (1.7)*", which, interestingly, he calls "*technique (1.8)*". He was referring, perhaps, to academic writing strategies as he further suggested English training is needed, which was then emphasised on YES, OF COURSE (1.4). He took a long pause (7 sec in line 1.4) before elaborating his earlier move. It seemed that he was thinking out loud as a means by which to persuade himself of the truth of this statement. As he then shared a personal example of his own experience with different journals that required proof reading by an English language expert . These statements show that he held the ideology that Standard English is the appropriate and accepted norm to which students and researchers must conform.

From T13's remarks it can be inferred that **researcher's writing practices are influenced by the requirements of the publishers. This in turn influences their perception of their own academic writing skills**. In the above excerpt, T13 appended his move elaborately and rapidly with raised intonation in lines (1.13-1.14) which shows that he is convinced about his proposition regarding accurate, correct and bookish English as the desired standard lines 1.5-1.9).

Another factor that appears to be the reason for the normative perceptions of most teachers in this study is their previous educational experiences. In this respect, T1,T2,T6,T7,T8,T9,T11,T16,T17,T18 held positive self-images regarding their English use, in contrast to the negative self-image held by others . In the following extract, the teacher is not directly commenting on her own English but is judging her colleagues' English language as deficient.

Excerpt 12: T8-B

1	**P :**	when you deliver your lecture in English are you conscious about
2		your accent and the way you speak and your grammar?
3	**T8 :**	yes I do take care but as **I am brought up all in English**
4		**medium schools** and all my media of education was English
5		so **I am confident enough but many of our other doctors who**
6		**are not taught in English** who are not educated from English
7		schools, from English medium schools, they **DEFINITELY yes**
8		**have a PROBLEM with English?**

The above excerpt shows a very common and deep-rooted perception based on the ideology that **English medium schools/private schools are providing the best models for learning the English language**. These English medium schools are based on either American or British systems. Here the use of the expression *problem with English* (1.8) shows the respondent's view concerning the deficient English skills of colleagues' who had attended Urdu Medium of instruction schools. Likewise, in the following extract, another teacher, T9, holds a similar stance and although she did not explicitly accept American English as the standard, her reference to the American system showed that she perceives it to be so.

Excerpt 13: T9-C

1	**P :**	Do you find learning and teaching through English medium easy or
2		difficult?
3	**T9:**	Personally I feel it like easy. I find it very convenient to converse in
4		this language @@@because **all my education has been in English**
5		**medium** schools and where the mode of communication used to be
6		in English. For example, I have studied from (Name of institution)
7		(…) so over there we were supposed to speak in English (3) like my
8		academic background, we were required to converse in English. **Our**
9		**Principal was from US and we also had foreign faculty in our**
10		**school** (3) They were like, we didn't have any other option. Whereas
11		in college, university, yes mostly, the communication would take
12		place in English and I preferred it that way as well. Since I was more
13		comfortable with English.
14	**P :**	Ok. What do you feel about it as a teacher?

15	**T9** :	I think English should be(3) you know, student should be,(3) **it**
16		**should be a compulsion. I am using a very HARSH (?)@@@ word**
17		**but they should converse in English because English now is not a**
18		**language. It's a need. It's basically used as a parameter to**
19		**measure someone's competency (…)**

It is interesting to note that T9 expressed that her familiarity with EMI is related to her English medium education in school. She had referred many times to America in her conversation. It is implied in her comments that she possibly perceives that she acquired American English, as she referred to the foreign faculty and American principal of her school. It seems that she subscribes to the EFL paradigm understanding which promotes the idea of achieving near-native competence, and of primarily using English with its native speakers (Jenkins, 2006 a).

 While she was talking about how convenient it is for her to speak English she laughed, which seems to imply that she was reluctant to praise her own English language skills. She explained how her earlier education in school, college and university has shaped her opinion about her English proficiency. Moreover, when she asserted that English is the only viable academic language, she stressed the word HARSH (1.15) in a laughing manner. This might possibly suggest that she was aware of the unreasonably high standards of English she expected in academic settings (presumably benchmarked against American English), but was 'toning her words down' with laughter. This is in line with Pakistani culture where people do not feel comfortable while openly declaring their preferences. It does, however, appear to be the case that she perceives **English proficiency to be a measure of students' competence in a subject.** T16, in his interview expressed similar view where he expressed the belief that English language is used as a tool of discrimination in universities. T7 while elaborating the topic of the spoken skills of teachers, stated that, on the basis of accent, **students often make judgements about teachers' competence in their respective subjects**.

Commenting on teachers' English T18, T1and T16 initiated the topic of communicating in English with non-native speakers, while they were in UK and New Zealand. T18 remarked in her turn that while on her M.Phil. course in the UK, her French teacher's English pronunciation made *"communicat(ion) difficult...most of the students were not happy with that(...)"*. A similar comment was made by T16 about Chinese, when he stated that *"they don't know how to talk in English properly."* In response to my probing about **intelligibility issues with native speakers, both recalled having no communication problems with NES**. It can be interpreted that, while both of them did not explicitly declare native English to be a desirable standard, they judged international speakers of English against Standard English. It may therefore be the case that both of these participants' language attitudes towards international speakers of English are restricted by their limited experience in Pakistan. Additionally, these participants experienced communication with international students in the U.K and New Zealand, and, these being inner-circle countries, this may have instigated their retention of these perceptions.

I will now discuss the **sub-theme of positive perceptions** regarding L1 influence on teachers' academic English. T1, T2,T10,T14,T19,T21 did not associate their English with native varieties and were accommodating towards L1 influence on their English. these teachers were unanimous in their opinion that as long as they could communicate their content knowledge to the students, they were not concerned with their English language usage. In the following extract, T10 from institute C discussed the aspects of language that are important in their communication through English.

Excerpt 14: T10-C

1	**P :**	And if like, do you think it is more important for the EMI
2		teachers to sound like native speakers?
3	**T10:**	No, I don't think so that they have to sound like **American or**
4		**British.** It is just you speak in English (...) I have a teacher friend who
5		has a **very good accent** in English language but she told us that you
6		should not speak English the way Americans or British people use it,
7		rather however it's easy for you (.) And I am of the opinion that
8		YES::: it should be in our own natural way of talking English and (5)I
9		think, as a teacher, we should use **simple, simple words** as much as
10		possible.

T10 was more concerned about communication in English language in real life situations. **He was not concerned with the abstract concept of language accuracy and correctness in terms of pronunciation, native-like accent and fluency**. He did not benchmark his English against Standard English, but rather **was comfortable with how successful his communication was**. He stressed the use of simple words and did not agree with the need to align with the pronunciation patterns of American or British English. Thus, he did not dichotomise content knowledge from the English language with which he used to communicate it. Likewise, teachers like T10 considered their English of a sufficient standard and naturalistic . For instance, after I introduced the idea of ELF to T16, he readily agreed,

Excerpt 15: T16-A

1	*"It would be (good to have) English as a Lingua Franca in Pakistan. As there*
2	*are people who do not speak British American English or their accent is*
3	*different... so as far as they can easily communicate it's not a problem. The*
4	*practical need of understanding subject matter is met far better."*

It seems that for the purpose of intelligibility, teachers prioritised simplicity in diction and vocabulary (T10.L1.9) and did not consider L1 influence a barrier to using English effectively for achieving academic goals. They are

apparently untroubled by L1 interference, rather they accept it as natural way of speaking English.

In the following section, I will analyse teachers' perceptions about students English.

5.6 Perception about students' English

The data from the interviews showed that most of the participant teachers held a deficit approach towards students' English. It was interesting to note that teachers had similar perceptions about under-graduates: that they were not meeting the required standards of proficiency in English. They showed flexibility towards the students' reading and speaking skills but had strong normative attitudes towards their written English.

T15, in the excerpt below, generously expanded on students' ability to read journal articles and books in Standard English. T15 thought that books written by foreign writers are in Standard English and therefore difficult for students to understand. I initiated the topic of the course books that teachers prefer to recommend to their students, given their insufficient reading skills.

Excerpt 16: T15-B

1	T15:	Actually, when we were students we had books written by **foreign**
2		**authors (.) whose English used to be quite difficult.** Now most of
3		the books are the same (5) you can say the company (publishing)
4		hire those Asian authors and **those quality books are available in**
5		**very simple English** with diagrams and with all those material
6		which are available in those foreign authors' books (…) so now a
7		days books are a bit simple so they are helpful for them (students) in
8		their transition period. Then they gradually go to books that are
9		**entirely written by foreign authors**. They are in clinical classes.

T15 , in the above extract has elaborated his earlier proposition regarding the poor English language skills of the students. When I probed him about the text/course materials he responded that students are recommended local versions of foreign-authored books. In line (1.3) T15 took a pause of five seconds before he admitted the reason for suggesting local version of those books. He took time to process his thoughts before expressing important information. His silent pause conveyed his interest in the research topic. Most of the teachers in the data set accepted the fact that students find books written by foreign writers, which in this case are American and British writers, difficult to comprehend. They have developed a strategy of directing students to versions of the books (known as *guide books*). However, all the teachers regarded comprehending texts by foreign writers as a goal, and a sign of competence in the field. The term *"transition period"* (1.7) implies that using books authored by local writers to be a temporary phase in the student's academic development . In the above excerpt T18 is comparing the linguistic skills of current students and those of students when he attended university as a student himself, , and if we 'read between the lines' he appears to be of the opinion that students' proficiency and ability to understand foreign written books has declined with time. Thus he is raising a question concerning English language teaching at primary and secondary level .

Likewise, T7 exhibited a negative perception of students' academic reading skills. I initiated this topic to which T8 responded and enhanced her move, that Standard English is a barrier for students' comprehension.

Excerpt 17: T7-A

1	T7:	(Reading research articles) is very **much hard for the students** here
2		(.) it's a **barrier** (…) the papers from the foreign authors (.)you know,
3		**Malaysia, Iran and those kind, their language is simple** (.)People
4		understand it and people can interpret it (.)But the language that is
5		**followed by Americans specially that is very difficult and our**
6		**students cannot understand it (.)They need a lot of effort to**
7		**understand one paragraph only** (.) It was with our MS students
8		even, they were very much you know **pathetic** and then I just told

them to, first you need to learn the language and then you need to learn the concept. That was very true.

T7 is candidly giving her judgement that students' English language skills were 'pathetic' (1.8) given the students' inability to understand American writers, which she perceived to be the required standard. Moreover, she assumed that students need standard American English as a tool to decipher the content of the material. T7 referred to local writers and thinks that these writers aid the comprehension and intelligibility of the content. However, she seems to be suggesting that native English is the only acceptable standard for academic English. Six respondents (T2, T4, T14, T19, T20, T21) showed flexibility towards the use of local books whilst at the same time considering it not to be a good practice.

T7 accepted the fact that contextual knowledge is necessary and she emphasised the need for local examples to facilitate better understanding of content. "*Yes! Concept is that but you have to follow the examples from your own context, from your own environment and students would understand it. It's your bank of the words, bank of the incidents and their linkages.*" However, her approach towards embedding knowledge in context does not show her acceptance of non-standard English. **She is aware that local knowledge is important for clarification of concepts but she wants students to develop a bank of words and incidents and express them in Standard English**. However for practical reasons she shows tolerance for deviant language practices. She knows that students cannot meet her high expectations.

Similarly, T7,T9,T11, T12,T13,T17,T21, agreed **that students would not be able to communicate in *proper English* if they do not learn Standard English**.

In the excerpt below T9 from institute C explicitly commented on the future linguistic needs of the students if they visit foreign locations, for instance, American states. It suggests that she believes that students need to improve their linguistic skills according to American English standards, as they would need to communicate with NESs. She seemed to ignore the fact that these students meet many NNESs as well on exchange programmes like the UGRAD[7]. As a response to her I used a probing move to elicit her concept of proper English. She responded that generally students' grammar is weak. Thus, it can be assumed that T9 thinks that students can learn better grammatical rules while in contact with NES. It is noteworthy that she did not say this explicitly but her repeated reference to American English and repeated use of the term proper English suggests that she has a normative approach to the use of English language.

Excerpt 18: T9-C

1	T9:	I believe it, very, very important that I give all the lectures in English
2		and I encourage students to communicate with me in that language
3		(3) because we have this exchange programme by name of UGRAD,
4		**Most of them go to US, different states of US.** So over there, when
5		they go there they realise this thing that had they known English
6		**more properly there would not be so much of communication**
7		**gap.** So I think we are in bad need of **proper English**. It needs to be
8		promoted at every possible level. For example, when I take
9		presentations from students, over there I make it compulsion to
10		converse in English.
11	P :	what is meant by 'proper English'?
12	T9 :	By proper English I mean the **language barrier is there. They**
13		**cannot convey what they want to say properly or like again it's a**
14		**matter of like (…) exchanging information in a proper fluent**
15		**manner. Again it's a hindrance,** what can I say?
16	P :	Are you suggesting that their inter-personal skills are not good or
17		that their grammar is weak or…
18	T9:	**Grammar is definitely an issue**. Grammar is an issue because when
19		I check the papers you have no idea **the kind of grammar I go**

[7] UGRAD is an academic exchange programme where under and post graduate students are sent abroad for a semester or for one year to different universities.

| 20 | **through**. Again, they know the concepts but they cannot pen it down. |
| 21 | **They cannot write it down and that's the biggest barrier.** |

In the above excerpt T9 believes students' weak grammar hinders their communication and hence their fluency and comprehension. Teachers such as T9 actively supported Standard English. For example, T11 from institute C in the following extract, clearly states his strong normative view and wants his students to follow American or British English.

Excerpt 19: T11-C

| 1 | **P :** | do you support standard British American or do you support the |
| 2 | | kind of English that is effective to communicate with= |

| 3 | **T11 :** | =No I would go for the standard English. |

| 4 | **P :** | Standard English. Ok. so [when you are ...]= |

5	**T11:**	=[because it's not] just talking to each other,
6		like in social media you can use any type of language but the one we
7		are dealing with students, we are dealing with them so they need to
8		know the standard British English, British or American.

In this extract, T11 was drawing a difference between general and academic English (1.5-1.7). It seems that he perceived academic English to be the same as that of the inner circle countries. His latched responses demonstrated her interest in contributing to the topic. Similarly, another teacher T21from institute A also voiced a similar opinion: that his students need the kind of English language that they would use in America, hence his reluctance to allow them to use other languages in classroom presentations.

Excerpt 20: 21-A

1   **P :** In presentations what kind of languages do you allow?

2   **T21:** I usually **encourage my student to speak in Standard English**
3   because they have to sit in competitive exams[8] in which people give
4   **importance to English language**. So, suppose a doctor who is studying
5   in (Name of institute) is not for the local area like (CITY) **he may go to**
6   **America or anywhere in the world** then there is a problem for them.
7   So I usually prefer and I usually ask, **I advise my students to have**
8   **international language which is standard English**.

In both extracts above the T11 &21 perceived that the British or Americans are the owners of the English language, hence their legitimacy and authority. Although, T21 did not state it explicitly, the idea of going to America and using Standard English there arises (1.6), which suggests she considered international language synonymous with American English. **Furthermore, certain teachers held a discriminatory attitude towards students, based on their previous academic experiences with different media of instruction**. For example, T13 below accepted that students are judged on their previous mode of schooling.

Excerpt 21: T13-B

1   T13: "I think majority of the students nowadays who are coming to the
2   medical college they are from the private schools…and the medium
3   of their teaching is English, **so majority of the students are very**
4   **good in English. And those who come from the Urdu medium**
5   **schools there is a little bit problem in their English…"**

Here T13 benchmarked students' English as different rather than deficient. T13 accepted students' English, learned in private schools (American or British). Such teachers are under the influence of the ideology of authenticity (Woolard, 2005) which makes them believe that the authentic and valued speakers of the language are NESs. However, a deeper level of

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[8] E.g. CSS (central superior services) and PMS (Provincial management services) .These are competitive exams for federal and provincial jobs.

analysis reveals that these schools have Pakistani teachers whose L1 is not English, and furthermore, students do not come into contact with foreign teachers. Hence, the English that they learn or acquire is from second order contact, or they experience semilects (Mauranen 2012). Nevertheless, teachers like T13, find the English of the students who are from Urdu Medium schools problematic, which shows a deeply entrenched belief that Urdu is a poor medium of instruction, hence students from such academic backgrounds are perceived to be weaker. This further demonstrates the discriminatory attitude towards such students.

Having said that, the data also showed that, in general **teachers were flexible in their evaluation of students' spoken English**. These teachers were more concerned with the performance of the students in their content subjects. They were satisfied with the English of their students as long as they performed their academic tasks at the required level.

T1,T3,T5,T10,T14,T19,T20,T21 were accommodating towards their students' use of English. They were not concerned if students' English was close to British or American standard. For instance when asked if the teacher valued a student who is fluent in standard English or just didn't care about what kind of English they spoke, teacher T20 from institute C responded that he personally do not care about this. "*I need the explanation and in whichever KIND OF English language he is good and he can explain, that's ok.*" He benchmarked students English against different criteria. Teachers like him exhibited an optimistic and open attitude towards deviation from Standard English. The stress on KIND OF shows that he considers **deviation to be a natural feature of those who speak English as a second language**.

Similarly, T15 from institute B below, perceived L1 influenced English to be good enough for clear communication.

Excerpt 22: T15-B

1	**T15**:	I think, as far as my experience is, we get like **very cream of the**
2		**students** and they are all very good. Because in reaching here they
3		need to get good marks in SSC[9], they need to get good marks in FSc [10]
4		that includes language as well.
5	**P :**	So their classroom participation is=
6	**T15:**	=Good, they are very active (.) we get a little bit difficulties from the
7		Afghani students but they are also **good in English** only their *(sa we*
8		*warta)* what do we call it…
9	**p :**	Accent?=
10	**T15**:	=Accent is different.
11	**P :**	And do you mind if their accent =
12	**T15**:	=No…That's fine…We rather encourage them.

T15, enhanced his view in his successively latched supporting responses that prospective students are subjected   to a rigorous examination system and those who remain after this process do not face any problem in terms of language, except for possessing a different accent (1.10). Teachers like T15 adopted a positive and optimistic attitude towards such students, believing their English level was sufficient to carry out academic tasks.

On the contrary, teachers who expected students to follow Standard English, submit to the ideology that only native speakers are the authentic owners of the English language and all other users, irrespective of their first language, must comply with native norms. Such teachers judged students English by the native English yardstick and had negative and pessimistic views about these students' linguistic skills and proficiency .

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[9] Secondary school certificate exams
[10] Higher secondary school certificate exams

Another prominent sub-theme that emerged from all interviews related to the teachers' perception of students' **language errors**. It is noteworthy that teachers did not have a singular view on the correctness and form of written English language. T2,T4,T6,T7,T8,T9,T11,T12,T13,T16,T18 expressed a belief that students should learn the standard rules and mechanics of the English language. The reason for their preference for native English is that they believed it be the most legitimate and ideal variety of English. In the following extract, T2, from institute B, expressed her opinion on how she offered correction for students work.

Excerpt 23: T2-B

1 2	**P :**	when you assess students' work, written and oral work, do you pay attention to their language errors or you…
3 4	**T2 :**	Yes in written work I pay attention to it specially the spellings their way of presentation.
5	**P :**	And do you suggest correction to them and deduct marks?
6 7 8	**T2 :**	So it depends in **final exams so we cannot suggest**. But in stage system[11] we usually suggest spellings and sentences correction. I don't cut their marks in home exams.

Although T2 showed tolerance for her students' mistakes by not deducting their marks in home exams, she did not comment on how these errors are assessed in final exams. My assumption is that students might be penalised in their final exams for such errors. As she feels obliged to point out their errors and suggest amendments to sentence structure and spellings their written assignments in the home exams. However, the use of the word "but" (1.6) suggests that students are assessed differently in home and final exams. Moreover, she does not explicitly comment on if she penalised students in their final exams. This implies that she is not accommodating variation from Standard English language.

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[11] Internal exam system in medical colleges in Pakistan.

Similar concerns were voiced by T21 below after I probed her on how she assessed students work.

Excerpt 24: T21-A

1	T21:	so as long as I get what they are trying to say I am not very strict in
2		evaluating them (.)When we make the paper it is a blend of
3		everything it has MCQs[12], FILL IN THE BLANKS, TRUE/FALSE (.) I
4		match it with the subjective portion and if he is scoring very good in
5		the objective but not in subjective portion (.) then I see that language
6		is the barrier (.) student has studied but he cannot communicate, he
7		cannot convey it properly, so I give that student a bit of a leverage in
8		assessment, I don't get very, very harsh.

Although T21 had adopted her own strategy based on her approach towards the required English language proficiency of the students, it is crucial here to note how far MCQs, gap-fills and true/false items are perceived to be appropriate parameters for assessing the learner's ability to use the English language effectively for academic purposes. Moreover, she accommodated students' language errors not because she perceived them to be acceptable, as the word *leverage (1.7)* indicates a favour which she confers on students for practical reasons of not assuming the role of a language teacher.

Nevertheless, teachers candidly sustained the topic of error correction and elaborated that most of the time mature students do not have enough proficiency in written academic English. T10 subscribed to this notion, but was the only teacher interviewed who expressed the belief that content teachers share a responsibility with language teachers to build students' academic written skills.

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[12] Multiple choice questions.

Excerpt 25: T10-C

1   T10: (…) I DO NOT CUT marks for grammatical mistakes (…) I give them
2   correction that this is your mistake, this is not academic writing. This
3   is what you have written just like sports commentary, you need to
4   avoid this kind of wording (...) **the basic reason is that our**
5   **students are using chatting language because they are using a**
6   **lot of social media** (.) they are making spelling mistakes the way
7   they are communicating **they are not building academic**
8   **arguments rather they just simply make commentary language**

9   P: Do business communication skills classes help students?

10   T10: It's helpful (…) But the point I am making is that content teachers
11   they also have a role and they are not playing their role actually, they
12   are not following their goal (.)Like they avoid it they say it's a
13   language problem (…) but then we are actually tarnishing the effort
14   of all those teachers (.)We have to build on that, for example if I am
15   teaching MS level when I am making corrections in a thesis (.) they
16   (students) say we haven't been told this before (…) If another
17   teacher is taking that class so he has to build on what I have built up
18   (.) this is what missing (...) **what I have seen in evaluation of thesis**
19   **is they know the skill of making analysis but when it comes to**
20   **interpretation they are unable to make arguments** (.) they cannot
21   make it (.) it's a language problem (.) So we ask them go for proof-
22   reading, do corrections…

In the above excerpt T10 perceived students linguistic deficiency to be the result of content teachers lack of commitment to their actual teaching goal (1.11-1.12). In this sustained move, he was sympathetic towards students who fail to build convincing arguments in their theses due to having been given insufficient feedback on previous assignments. He drew a comparison between students' academic writing and sports commentary suggesting that students cannot differentiate between informal spoken English and formal academic written English with discipline specific registers. T10 held normative views: he was unwilling to accept deviation from standard spellings and grammar rules. He required his students to utilise proof reading services to correct language shortcomings in their theses.

Another interesting trend among teachers was their intolerance of post-graduate learners' language errors, as compared to those of under-graduates. Twofold reasons were given for this. The first is that

post-graduate students receive two years of training while at university (delivered through classes, presentations and exams) that focus on improving their English language skills alongside their content learning. The second reason is that post-graduates are considered early academics and hence it is expected that they will be proficient in academic English. In the excerpt 26, T17, coordinator of an undergraduate course, initiated the topic of how students' diverse linguistic abilities pose problems for teachers. I referred to his earlier comments in which he contended that the root cause of **students' insufficient linguistic skills are the private/public schools, which feed students to universities.**

Excerpt 26: T17-C

1	P:	earlier you said [Urdu and English medium schools are a problem=
2	T17:	= [hmmm they are..
3	P:	but you also said that we do not have [any plan for changing it=
4	T17:	= [Yes we do not have
5	P:	but we can bring changes at institution level to deal with it=
6	T17:	=well…hmmm… (5)…hmmm
7	P:	How do you cope [with it in your classes? =
8	T17:	=[as a programme head what I do is, I request senior faculty
9		members to teach at first semester (.) so the senior members of staff
10		keep the medium of instruction as English but at the same time they
11		accommodate students problems with academic English.
12	P:	hmmm…
13	T17:	Plus in first semester a course of basic academic English skills is
14		offered to students (…) English language skills (.) communication
15		skills (.) speaking skills specifically to overcome the (academic)
16		language barrier…

After latched initial registering move (1.2), T17 made a supporting reply (1.4) to my proposition that the parallel system of medium of instruction (English and Urdu) at secondary and higher secondary level is fraught with problems. When asked how teachers manage to run courses through EMI,

T17 elaborated his turn (1.8-11) stating seasoned teachers prepare under-graduates for their future academic years Although, it appears that T17 showed tolerance to students' deficient English by offering academic English courses, he seeks to improve their English language skills in accordance with Standard English norms (1.13-16). It is possible that his flexibility towards undergraduate students is not due to his acceptance of non-standard English, rather, it is arguably because he expects that with time they will become accustomed to those academic English norms that conform to standard language ideology. Most of the teachers who held deficit perspectives regarding students' variety of English appeared to be impacted by students' previous educational influences

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However, T2,T3,T8,TT10,T14,T16,T19,T20,T21 **were flexible in their approach towards language errors in writing of content matter**. These teachers had non-normative expectations of students' written English. They accepted variation from standard native **English as long as this variation did not impact the intelligibility of the content of their work. They prioritised content and meaning over grammatical structures.** Following is a representative excerpt of the teachers' non-normative orientations to students' writing.

Excerpt 27: T8-B

1	**P**:	do you deduce marks for their language mistakes…
2	**T8**:	No it is not a problem in
3	**P**:	are you able to read their answers easily or do you find…
4	**T8**:	Yes there is **no difficulty at all in most of our students** because
5		most have come through **A VERY GOOD SYSTEM and relatively in**
6		**the medical colleges we get GOOD students, TOP OF THE MERIT**
7		**we have**. So the language is not a very much a problem (…) **we do**
8		**not expect perfect grammar like English language teachers(…) it**
9		**is if the meaning (2)if the sense is clear(3)and understandable**
10		**(…) then we accept it.**

Here T8, like T2,T4,T6,T13,T14,T15, thinks that since his students are better trained in the use of the English language and they have progressed successfully through the rigorous selection system, they are sufficiently equipped with necessary linguistic skills to thrive in the academic environment. For him their grammar is not an issue (1.7), as he thinks that language is used solely for the purpose of conveying the material of the content subject (1.8-9). T2,T4,T6,T13,T14,T15, T16,T17, T18,T20 shared the opinion that since their students' primary concern is learning of the content, they did not penalise students for language mistakes. In other words, they considered variation from standard native English to be acceptable as long as the intelligibility of the written piece is not sacrificed. Moreover, T8 differentiates her role from a language teacher. In line (1.8) she implied that language teachers deduce marks for grammatical errors. Similar findings are reported from a variety of EMI contexts where teachers consider themselves to be subject experts only, and do not shoulder the burden of correcting students language deficiencies in their academic writing (Costa, 2013).

5.7 Perceptions about EMI Policies and Practices

I explored teachers' perceptions about EMI practices related to teachers and students. Below are some of the important issues that surfaced during the discussions.

5.7.1 English language policies related to students

The participants agreed that their students' English level is poor   and therefore prohibits effective communication. They suggested that language support courses before the start of the semester or during summer vacation would benefit students. It is noteworthy that students attend compulsory courses of functional English and Business English but, despite this, participant teachers showed dissatisfaction with students' English

proficiency for EMI courses. As almost, all the teachers held deficit views towards students' linguistic abilities. Therefore, I discussed **the need for academic English support classes, with the heads of the institutes**. Out of the three heads, only one did not consider it important. The two other heads , one a director, and the other a vice chancellor, agreed on the need for such provision but they complained about the lack of financial resources to run such courses. T11 demonstrated his engagement with the topic and explained how his institute had experimented with one such course .

Excerpt 28: T11-C

1	T11:	**So students low proficiency skills is an issue and to solve that**
2		**issue we tried once to have a zero semester (...) Access**[13] **course**
3		**I think and it had slightly better results**(3)that was on a trial basis
4		for one year(...)we could not continue it the next year because of
5		faculty arrangements (...) **you need funding for it to start** (.) Here
6		summers get very hot. Although we do have facilities, air
7		conditioning and all that but then it costs money and if we are to
8		bring teachers during summer then I think, although they are on the
9		pay roll but they are leaving their other duties, which they are doing
10		during summer.

He was speaking from the standpoint of a manager. He was well aware of the needs of the students but due to limited funds, he could not strongly support additional EAP courses. Moreover, it seemed from his account, that teaching staff were reluctant to run such courses. This contrasts with the support that they unanimously expressed in their interviews. This hesitation could be due to the reason that they are overburdened with other duties in the institutes that leave them with little time for such courses. This further shows that a lack of teaching staff with appropriate teaching skills is also an issue. This was one of the most prestigious institutes in KP[14]. If private institutions of this kind are themselves struggling with provision of such

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[13] 'ACCESS' is generally used at this institute to mean full-time or part-time study prior to starting an academic programme. These usually covered English as well as other areas (e.g. IT, Maths). On the other hand courses like pre-sessional are full-time preparatory course in English for Academic Purposes.

[14] Province of Pakistan.

academic support courses, then public sector universities will clearly need more assistance in terms of both academic and financial support.

Below is an excerpt from T9's discussion. She had had a high degree of exposure to the difficulties that students have with the use of English in EMI, and therefore favoured support classes.

Excerpt 29: T9-C

1 2	**P :**	Would you suggest any kind of extra support for these students to improve their [English language skills]=
3	**T9:**	=[Yes…DEFINITELY]=
4	**P:**	=[Offered by institute]=
5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	**T9:**	=I believe yes we can offer language programmes, English learning and all that and, because the institute is also rendering its service to the outside schools. It's running this programme by the name of Access in which they are giving English lessons to the school level students, government schools, school girls. I cannot recall it quite properly, if I am not wrong (5) we have had such classes for undergrads (.) I think that was TOEFL or GRE something like that (.) I think, I am recommending it, and inculcating this thing in students that English is a requirement for us.

T9 sustained negotiating the proposition that I made in my move in line (1.2). She perceived English language support classes as necessary for university students. This is evident by T9's prompt, overlapped and latched agreement with me in lines (1.3-5). She prolonged her reply by expanding on what she had said through a clarification move. She gave examples of previous courses offered to students for improving their English and restated it by recalling and checking the information as she was processing it from her memory (1.9-10). She took pauses in between, maybe to have time for framing her response to support her claim for students' need of extra English language lessons. Teachers from all three institutions echoed similar suggestions in the data set. These were conceptualised as either zero semesters or Access courses.

Despite, this being a repeated suggestion, none of the teachers questioned the nature of English language teaching/coaching materials or methodologies. It seemed all of them were recommending extra hours of drill time to practice the English language based on the principles of ELT, which is used in schools and colleges, and which is failing to deliver effective academic English language skills for practical purposes. Such an approach is inherent in courses like TOFEL and GRE, as suggested by T9 (line 1.2), which necessitate that students learn strategies related to American English.

Another major concern that emerged during the discussions was that of the assessment of students' linguistic proficiency. Teachers were critical about the entrance exams that were used to determine students' suitability for any course.

T1,T2,T3,T4,T7,T9,T10,T16,T19,T21 held negative views about the entry tests and **thought these tests failed to effectively assess the students' language skills.** They were deemed inappropriate because the test items are based on vocabulary and the grammatical aspects of the English language. The teachers were of the opinion that the use of certain strategies and tactics are enough to pass these tests and such strategies cannot be used to accurately judge students' proficiency in language. Moreover, they expressed a belief that the test (NTS and entry test)[15] scores cannot predict the candidates skills in academic writing due to the fact that multiple choice question (MCQ) are content based and students mostly rely on their ability to memorise language rules or guess answers. These exams cannot assess the productivity of the students in English and therefore cannot gauge their needs. This is evident from the comment of a teacher below

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[15] National testing service. For example English section in entry test see Appendix 8.

Excerpt 30: T3-A

1	**P :**	So when we talk about the entry test, do you think that these tests
2		are good to assess students [English language abilities?]=
3	**T3:**	**=No, NOT AT ALL. Our selection system is very (...) has**
4		**problems. Yes, many flaws, many problems in that context**
5		**because students, we cannot judge by twenty words that this**
6		**student knows English**. These twenty words can be found in any
7		book that they had studied or...
8	**P :**	**=**the kind of vocabulary that is [present in the test...]=
9	**T3:**	=[Yes I told you that these words] can be any.. can be from any book
10		so... The general tendency is that they are difficult, they are, test, like
11		the words are very difficult for them to...
12	**P:**	hmmm=
13	**T3:**	**=**Yes it's very difficult for them most of the time, except those
14		students who came from Canada, US or European countries, or even
15		the students here from A Levels, like from certain English medium
16		schools might do it (...) **IT IS VERY NARROW in aims (...) like**
17		**when to use TO and FROM..Prepositions I mean (3) students**
18		**memorise rules...these tests are encouraging rote learning and**
19		**not fit.**

In the above extract, T3 focuses on a major pitfall of the entry tests, he was talking enthusiastically and did not let me finish the question. He thought entry tests do not evaluate students' proficiency skills in the English language, rather promote rote learning (1.16-17). In the same lines he was criticising these tests as unfit for purpose. His stressed NO NOT AT ALL (1.3), in response to my question, might show his frustration with the current standards of the tests. In addition to this, these exams do not assess the speaking skills of the students.

Similarly T2 from institute B, after I asked her what she thought could be appropriate tests to evaluate students for any specific course, suggested that " *(students) should be tested in the content that either he or she is eligible for it*

or not (…) and general English not a special English." Here T2 is making a distinction between general and special English, mentioned in her earlier discussion. It seemed that she was suggesting language tests should gauge students' general communication skills and not entangle them in difficult vocabulary and grammatical structures.

Participants suggested that these tests should include test items like those in international tests such as IELTS and TOEFL, to assess their spoken and written skills. These teachers used the world international not to mean the globalised nature of these tests, rather they identified it with standard native English. It was clearly stated by one of the teachers, T5 from institute C, that "*English is their (native) people language and it will be a crime if we pollute it.*" This shows that such teachers share the consensual ideology according to which non-native English is judged to be deficient and inferior. **This leads them to perceive local tests to be inappropriate for testing language skills and they regard international tests to be a better option.**

However, T3,T2,T4,T6,T8,T14,T15,T18.T19,T20,T21 prioritised content and meaning over language skills and did not consider grammar based tests suitable for testing the language skills of students' for content subjects. For instance, teachers from the medical college remarked that medical students do not need to be assessed in difficult English and linguistic knowledge, rather these assessments should focus on knowledge that is discipline specific.

Excerpt 31: T13-B

1	P:	sir what is your opinion about entry tests?
2	T13:	Actually that is a screening test but in FSc[16] exams if you see their
3		papers or their course I think all these things are covered.

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[16] Faculty of sciences. It iss equivalent to higher secondary school certificate exams.

4	P:	In FSc exams?
5 6 7	T13:	at FSc level, basic exam is FSc. This entry test is chance exam. Maybe those brilliant students who topped the board or a district or of a province he fails in entry test.
8 9	P:	And sir are you satisfied with the kind of examination or the kind of assessment that is done in FSc.
10	T13:	they have a lot of changes now so I think it's good now.
11	P:	Ok.
12 13	T13:	Because all these MCQs, short questions, long questions, all are included.
14	P:	So you don't have any particular reservation about the assessment…
15	T13:	I think so

From this excerpt it is evident that he perceives summative assessments that are taken at the end of the course of study to be more credible than entry tests. He perceived discipline specific exams to be a better fit for assessing the students' knowledge of the content area. T13 was making decisions about students' ability to cope with EMI on the basis of their FSc scores, which problematic: in FSc exams students rely more on rote learning and their English language skills are not tested appropriately.

5.7.2 English language policies related to teachers

All the three institutes did not have any written document of language education policy. I enquired the course coordinators and head of the institutes and they pointed at the national education policy. Teachers too were unaware if the institutes had any formal language policy. Moreover, the institutes websites and relevant official documents also had no specific document of language education policy. When I asked them if they are given any formal policy document or instructions about EMI, common response was that they were using EMI as it was expected from them.

Excerpt 32: T2-B

1	**P:**	have you been formally instructed by the college management to
2		use English as the medium of instruction?
3	**T2:**	No, never. Sometimes, this was an experience, my experience in [xxx]
4		Medical College, that the Principal used to come in the class and he
5		used to assess our way of teaching (.) and he was interested in
6		English in [xxx] Medical College (.) But here no (.)
7	**P:**	=[written policy]=
8	**T2:**	=[there is no such written] policy, which requires the teachers to
9		use English, I mean it's interpreted from the practises but we don't
10		get a written document which says that we have to use English? We
11		have been instructed to mostly to stick to English.
12	**P:**	And who instructs you from where you get the instructions?
13	**T2**:	So the instructions are general guidelines. These are just
14		communication from the Vice Principal and from the Principal (5)
15		because some of our teachers were using Pashto and Urdu and there
16		were problem with some foreign students then they went to the Vice
17		Principal that they can't understand Urdu and then the Principal
18		communicated to us (.) and it is really the PMDC[17]communicates that
19		our lecture should be on PowerPoint, our lecture should be in
20		English (.) but there is no such thing as very good instructions given,
21		it is not very clear from PMDC@@@

This excerpt shows that T2 was very clear that She did not get any formal policy guidelines about EMI as she said in line 1.9 that she interpreted it from the practices. She, like other respondents, commented that at higher education level, English was perceived as the only favourable choice. The possibly sarcastic laughter at the end of the extract demonstrates her surprised amusement that even the highest authority, i.e. PMDC (Pakistan Medical and Dental Council, was not clear about what needed to be adopted in terms of EMI in medical institutes. The data showed similar evidence of a **lack of formal guidelines for EMI policy** in the other two institutes as well. As T18 from institute C reported , "she received it by word of mouth". In excerpt 32, T2, in her overlapped negative response (1.8), elaborates that absence of a clear policy means no policy. No policy empowers the dominant language to remain the dominant language. Therefore, the policy of no policy is always a silent vote for the continuation of the status quo.

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[17] PMDC is Pakistan Medical and Dental Council.

On the subject of universities' teaching staff recruitment policy , it surfaced in the interview data that the prevalent criteria were based on teachers providing evidence of holding the highest qualification in their relevant field, having proficient English , research experience and contributing to international publications. My aim was to explore the variety of English that was expected from teachers, as well as the guidelines that were followed, when assessing the English proficiency of candidates applying for teaching posts.

With regards to the measures taken by universities to determine whether the English proficiency of academic staff meets the required standards to work in EMI context, three main practices were referred to, namely: certification of English proficiency accompanied by a (national or international) test score, delivery of a micro teaching session (a teaching demonstration) and one-to-one interviews.

Excerpt 33: T15-B

1	**P:**	what is the criteria for selection of teachers?
2	**T15:**	Well now in basic the trend is towards this PhD and higher
3		qualification (…) but most of the staff is lacking it (.) so (…) diploma
4		holders are part of our faculty and they are required because
5		availability is less (7) I believe there is **a sort of a flood of medical**
6		**colleges**, which came through this past (…) 8 to 10 years (.) while
7		there is no shortage in clinical because everybody wants to qualify
8		and sit in the market to practice for himself (…) so most of the staff
9		are the Fellows, which is the highest diploma or degree (xxx) College
10		of Physicians and Surgeons conduct Fellowship examination and
11		training, they conduct certain **workshops over their presentation**
12		**skills, communication skills**, they conduct their workshops over
13		there.

In the above excerpt T15 has raised a very crucial issue regarding the rise in demand for EMI instructors and the lack of such tutors in the market place.

He used the term "flood of institutions" (1.5) which shows that the new institutions are being rapidly set up by the government and educational bodies without their properly being prepared. This is true not only regarding medical colleges but also government universities, the numbers of which have grown exponentially over the past two decades. **Moreover, the majority of these universities or institutes provide training courses to their members of staff that are focused only on communication skills, rather than training them how to use the English language for effective delivery of content matter.**

The conversations with teachers revealed that students were not alone in their struggle with using English , faculties also reported similar struggles and challenges. Low levels of English language skills within faculties themselves exacerbated the language challenges faced by university students. This in turn has led to a decline in education standards: because faculty have not been able to effectively provide the required English language support to students. This has led to the delivery of sub-standard resources for the academic development of students which has subsequently compromised students' English language proficiency .

I asked the teachers about the selection process for teachers seeking work at the medical college, business school and Public Sector University. The respondents concurred that personnel selections are made using an interview and a demonstration lesson, both of which are assessed by a board. The board was usually composed of experts in the related discipline, administrative personnel and sometimes a language expert. T1,T7,T11,T12,T13,T15,T16,T18, suggested that having lived or studied overseas provides potential employees with a better chance of selection. Although, in the policy documents no clear criteria regarding the language or communication skills of prospective teachers has been laid out, generally

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speaking, in the interview, written test and teaching demonstration, English language fluency and grammatical accuracy is a primary consideration.

Concerning language tests, teachers from the public sector university pointed out that their institution recognised scores obtained from the national testing services (NTS), administered by the government body and international tests i.e. TOEFL and IELTS. **Here it is noteworthy that, although whilst for the most part the teachers do not explicitly use the term 'native English' the mention of IELTS and TOEFL reflected that they assumed these test scores to be valid criteria**. With regards to the micro teaching practice, T1,T2, ,T3,T9, T16,T19,T20,T21 reported that the committee evaluated their content knowledge as well as their language fluency, pronunciation and grammar etc. Regarding the job interviews, it appeared that at least one language expert is present during the interviews for assessing lecturers' English proficiency. It appeared that the kind of English expected from the teaching staff was standard native English. There was a general assumption that teachers who are fluent in English are competent content teachers.

Excerpt 34: T13-B

1	**P** :	Sir in medical college, what is the criteria for their (teacher)
2		selection?
3	**T13**:	No.The first criteria for selection is the qualification and second is the
4		experience. Third is their way of presentation, how they are teaching.
5		**And there is a little bit place for the language, a little bit, in my**
6		**opinion. But it has an effect on your interview and your**
7		**selection**.
8	**P** :	Like the interview and selection is in English?
9	**T13**:	Yes, in English.

Although many of the respondents believed that accent was of negligible importance some still perceived the only acceptable English to be a variety which is not influenced by one's mother tongue. This is the logic behind preferring teachers with overseas

degrees (usually from ENL countries) as students and university hiring committees perceive foreign returned staff have better language skills, specifically as a result of their stay in these countries. Faculties which adopt this perspective were perceived, by the teachers whom I interviewed, to be highly progressive.

Moreover, the universities' management bodies generally believed that EMI enabled **them to be part of the activities held at international level, for example exchange programs and collaboration with researchers from abroad**. These activities require a close connection with oversees universities and therefore require contributions from those with English language expertise. Engagement with such activity very likely ensures an improvement in the university's international ranking. It was revealed in the data sets that the concept of a university's degree of **internationalisation was often conflated with the presence of foreign students on campus, which was assumed only to be possible because of the presence of EMI at the institution.**

5.8 Summary

In this chapter, I explored the informal semi-structured interviews that were focused on issues related to the choice of medium of instruction in a multilingual setting and how teachers perceive EMI as the only chosen policy. Many of the respondent teachers approved the use of local languages and translanguaging. These were , it seems, seen to be natural, given the English level of the students in this context. However, the heads of all the three institutions held opposing opinions, suggesting that English is the only medium of instruction suitable for current content classes.   One possible explanation for this is that the heads did not want the teachers and students of their institution to be perceived as incompetent users of English, as all three institutions claim to be EMI institutions. Most of the participants expressed a belief that they are expected to only use English in their teaching and that there seems to be a general perception that teachers who use English only partially, or deficiently, are incompetent.

Another factor that complicates the situation is that the MOI policy document is not stated and lecturers do not have clear understanding of its content. Participant teachers expressed that it is assumed that the MOI is English and it is used in instruction, evaluation and general communication, however, detailed discussion revealed that an EMI only policy is impossible to implement in the linguistically diverse content lessons. Participant teachers and students may have to struggle with MOI policies to make sense of them, but their agency seems to be at the centre of their practice.

Some of the participant teachers seemed to exhibit a sense of superiority if they came from English medium of instruction background. They assumed that one of their roles was to provide models of good, accurate and correct English use to their students, however, those who were from Urdu medium of instruction backgrounds were critical of the unwritten requirements of EMI use, questioned the use of English and had a flexible attitude to variation in language use in their lessons.

Most of the participant teachers adhered to the ideology that native English is the standard for written academic English and were conscious of not 'polluting' it through improper use. Similarly, many of the interviewees exhibited a certain level of preference for non-standard English with regards to the assessment of students' spoken English. Similarly, interestingly they were less strict about students' written academic English. Many participant teachers were flexible to students written English because they had a different approach towards learners English and except for few rest of them were not accepting variation

The interview data revealed that while recruiting teaching staff the public sector universities require English language test scores . Whereas, in the private university and medical college prospective teachers' professional qualification is considered sufficient. However, as part of the recruitment process, the subsequent interviews and demonstrations are conducted only through English. Therefore, it is assumed that the candidates must be proficient in productive skills in English. It was noted that teachers

who had studied or worked in English speaking countries are considered to have the desired variety of English, as, it is believed that they learned to effectively use standard English through their interaction with NESs. Although many participant teachers criticised the universities' language policies, only some questioned the assumptions pertaining to Standard English implicit in these policies. They thought that tests or recruitment process in Standard English ensure that lecturers language skills are assessed appropriately. However, almost all of the participant teachers accepted that they face problems while delivering the lectures solely in English. They were of the opinion that their English is not imperfect. In the next chapter, I will look more closely at these issues, and others, related to students only, by exploring the data from the focus group discussions.

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CHAPTER 6: FOCUS GROUP DATA ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six presents the focus group results. Firstly, I give an overview of the focus groups, followed by the data analysis procedure and the thematic framework. In the main part of the chapter, I present the results of the focus groups and end the chapter with a brief summary of the results.

6.2. Data analysis framework

 To analyse the twelve focus groups, I again employed thematic analysis as the main analytical tool. Thematic analysis helped me approach my data systematically and see 'what' the participants said. However, I was also interested in 'how' they said it. In the discussions, meanings were co-constructed between my participants. As mentioned in section (4.6.4) I was present in the Focus Groups (FGs) and participated in the discussions occasionally. My main role was to ensure that the discussions were carried out smoothly and everyone had the opportunity to express their opinion. I could not find a suitable moderator with similar research interests thus I moderated the FGs myself. However, having said that, I need to clarify that my FGs were not group interviews. I did not engage deeply with individuals or the group as a whole, in the discussions. However, sometimes I had to ask questions in some of the later FGs in order to explore in depth issues related to the displayed topics on PowerPoint slides. As half way through, I realised that certain issues that emerged from the previous FGs needs attention.

In the FGs, different points of view emerged as participants accepted or challenged each other. However, there were no instances where a member of the group actively tried to impose their interpretations, beliefs or opinions

on another. The focus group discussions were interactive and dynamic. During discussions, the participants influenced each other's perceptions. Some of the interactants changed their views or perceptions on a topic during the course of the discussion. Some of the participants were very open and clear in their views whilst others tentatively contributed.

In the FGs participants varied their stances in relation to each other and to different topics. Hence, I applied Wibeck et al.'s (2007) questioning criteria to the focus group data, to explore the perceptions of the participants. Accordingly, I looked at when and why issues were raised for discussion. Therefore, I looked into conflicts, contradictions, common experiences, alliances, silencing and dominant views. The dynamic nature of thematic analysis is useful in understanding the participants' orientations to certain themes and topics. Thematic analysis enabled me to fully investigate the utterances in respect to the socially embedded context of their use. Hence, I kept sight of how participants influenced each other throughout the discourse.

The data collected and analysed in this chapter helped me to answer the following research questions.

RQ 1.What are the orientations of content teachers and students towards Medium of Instruction (MOI) policies in the HE context in Pakistan?

RQ.2. How do the content teachers and students perceive EMI policies and practices in the HE context in Pakistan?

RQ a) How do content teachers perceive their own and other content teachers' English abilities? How do they evaluate their students' academic English abilities?

RQ c) How do content students perceive EMI policies related to students and teachers in the university?

In the next section, I will discuss the data analysis procedure followed by a report of the analysis of the focus group discussions.

6.3. Data analysis procedure

I conducted twelve focus groups (FGs) from the three institutions. I conducted four FGs with five participants in each from the medical college. From the Public Sector University, I managed four FGs with five participants from masters in economics and business administration courses. I also conducted three FGs with five participants and one FG with four participants from business administration and information technology courses at the Business school.

I followed the thematic analysis procedure used for interviews analysis (see Section 4.7.1). After the FGs ended I listened to the discussions immediately, made notes and created participant profiles. I roughly summarised the issues covered in the discussion and ascertained their relevance to my research questions. The flexibility of my research design enabled me to add prompts related to those topics that emerged in earlier FGs but had previously not been discussed in detail. The second step involved transcription, using transcription conventions (Figure 4). Alongside English, Urdu and Pashto were also frequently spoken during the interviews therefore, I transliterated the FG discussions into Urdu and Pashto in order to better understand them and also to have the material readily available for actual analysis. For participant information see Table 8 and Table 9 in section 4.6.4 and complete profiles of students in Appendix 7,p.242.

Table 10: Participant Profiles

Group	Participants' Background Information
A1	4 female post-grads, Business administration students, Public University.
A2	5 male students. 3 under-grads and 2 post-grads, Computer Science students, Public University.
A3	3 female post-grads and 2 male under-grads, Economics and IT students, Public University.
A4	2 female, 3 males, all post-grads, Information Technology students, Public University.
B1	3 male, 2 female, all under-grads, medicine students. Medical College.
B2	5 male, post-grads, medicine students, Medical College.
B3	4male and 1 female post-grads, medicine students, Medical College.
B4	2 female post-grad 3 male under-grad medicine students, Medical College.
C1	4 male post-grads, computer science and information technology students, Business School.
C2	3 male under-grad business students, 2 female post-grad economics students, Business School.
C3	6 female post-grads, 3 Business and 3 Human Resource Management students, Business School.
C4	3 male under-grad and 2 female post-grad Human Resource Management students, Business School.

As I was primarily interested in the perceptions of my participants thus I focused on the content of their discussion and therefore translated the parts of transcripts that I wanted to add into my analysis chapter. However, I was aware that translation strips the data of important cultural and contextual details therefore, two Pakistani colleagues, who hold higher degrees in English, and teach at university level, were asked to cross check the transcripts for the accuracy of meaning conveyed, thus ensuring, as much as possible, the validity of my study.

Secondly, my aim was to analyse not only what my participants said but also how they said it. Therefore, in the next step I added the prosodic features, akin to those employed by Jenkins (2007), to the parts that were analysed in

depth. I added most noticeable prosodic features like laughter and emphatic stress in the first round and then added rising and falling in tones and pauses in the second round, as these required intensive listening of the recordings. Prosodic features helped me to investigate those features of discourse, which are not immediately obvious in the referential content, and to gain a deeper insight into how the participants influenced each other's contributions.

In order to understand how students participated in a group setting I looked at the discussions as a whole. Initially I coded the data by choosing words and phrases from the data followed by second level coding, to identify prominent topics, then I clustered these topics into themes. Some of the codes were pre-determined in the discussion prompts and others emerged from the data. Moreover, several topics present in the interview results were also present in the FG data, therefore, several previous codes were utilised. I read my transcripts repeatedly and recorded my comments and reactions to it in memos. These memos were helpful in writing my Analysis. I identified prominent data segments and translated the most relevant parts into English and ensured that the translated version appropriately represented the original text.

At the initial coding stage, I had 39 emergent categories/topics related to the research questions. After this, the transcripts were read again with a focus on rationalising the categories and some of which were eliminated, whilst others were combined and subdivided into prominent themes. In second level coding (see section 4.7.1) I identified 9 sub-themes and 4 broad themes, as seen below:

1. **Choice of Medium of instruction in multilingual setting**

- Concerns about teaching in EMI
- EMI as useful and preferred policy

2. **Perceptions about translanguaging**

- Reasons in favour of translanguaging
- Reasons against translanguaging

3. **Perceptions towards English language use (teachers and students)**

- Concerns about Spoken English
- Concerns about Academic English

4. **Perceptions about language policy and practices**

- Evolution system of language proficiency (entry tests and exams)
- EAP support for students
- Error correction

The transcription conventions for focus groups are adapted from Marková et.al (2007), Jenkins, (2007) (see Figure 4).

[inaudible segment]	inaudible portion
[...]	overlapping speech
CAPS	emphatic stress (acronyms are underlined)
Bold text	Important bits for analysis
[NAME]	names, locations, organizations, teachers' names, etc inside equal signs
(.)	pause of less than a second
(3)	approximate length of pause in seconds
:	length (repeated to show greater length)
@	Laughter
(...)	author's gaps
(moving of hands)	Nonverbal behaviour recorded in brackets.
p	interviewer

Ecerpt 34-C3	Excerpt number, C= Anonymised institute C, 3means focus group 3 from institute C

Figure 4: Transcription conventions for Focus Groups

In order to reduce my role in the discussions and to inculcate a clear sense of purpose in the participants regarding the FG sessions I gave a clear introduction. Moreover, the discussion did not proceed until participants demonstrated clear understanding of the research aims of the study and discussion protocols (e.g. the roles of the participants, mode of communication etc.). During this phase, participants questioned the prompts that I displayed on the power point slides. Once common ground rules were established my role as a moderator was restricted to limited intervention.

In the following section, I discuss the first of the main themes: perceptions towards choice of medium of instruction in multilingual settings. I have presented the participants opinions via direct quotes.

6.4. Perceptions about the choice of medium of instruction in multilingual setting

Participants in all of the focus group discussions engaged with the topic of the choice of medium of instruction. Most of the participants could use more than two languages i.e. English, Urdu and regional /mother tongue. However, many of the participants favoured English as the language for teaching, learning and other communicative purposes. Many participants believed that EMI helped them develop their thinking skills in English and believed that proficient English language skills would ensure better job prospects in future.

 Moreover, the majority of them believed that only English could enable them to attain high standards of educational qualification. They accepted the role of English as an international language. At the start of the discussions, most

participants generally favoured English as medium of instruction. However, as the discussion continued dissenting views emerged and some of the participants voiced their concerns regarding using only English as a language of instruction. Their primary concerns centred on students' as well as teachers' English language competence, their ability to accomplish numerous learning tasks in a language other than their L1 and the challenge of undertaking advanced research and studies in the English language. Some of them had an ambivalent approach towards English only interaction, although they were aware of the utility of English language, they nevertheless outlined the challenges of exclusively using English as a medium of instruction. The most frequently discussed concern was the perceived difficulties in teaching and learning subjects in English.

6.4.1 Concerns about Teaching in EMI

The first main sub-theme is participants' concerns about EMI policy. The sub theme derives from a number of intersecting topics. The first topic is English as a barrier for learning and teaching purposes.

he following excerpt is from the first focus group (FG1). The participants were discussing how, in general, English language competence is confused with learners other skills. Imran in the following extract exclaimed that students who are proficient in English skills are perceived to be more successful than others are and that this is expressive of a biased attitude. He raised concern about the **issues of fairness** in evaluation of their overall competence in their content subjects. After listening to Imran, Salman expressed his views saying that English may sometimes prove to be **a barrier in understanding** their content subjects.

Excerpt 34 (C1)

1	Imran:	People think that those who can speak **English are**
2		**successful** and that those who cannot speak English are not
3		having any skill. That is NOT TRUE (.) English is a barrier (.)
4		they might be having other skills. This is a **biased attitude to**
5		say that those who know English have all the skills.
6	Salman:	For some people **English language is a barrier in**
7		**understanding their lessons** (3) in their studies (.) we
8		cannot express our thoughts in it (.) We cannot convey our
9		message to the listener if we do not know English (.) I think
10		this happens (.) these things (.) that we cannot use English (.)
11		these happens because we do not know English (.) if we keep
12		English language to the limits of language only BUT (.) I (3) I
13		(3) know I AM AWARE that::: English should be learned
14		because of the fact that it has an international importance
15		now@@ (.) it should be learned as it is valued internationally
16		(.) there is nothing wrong in using and learning it.

In the above excerpt, Imran and Salman were willing to discuss the issues of EMI and disagreed with the view of the other participants who supported English as the only medium of instruction. They jointly contributed towards the discourse concerning EMI and its associated problems. In (1.1-2), Imran equates competence in English with success in life. He vehemently disagrees with the prejudiced attitude held by some, against students with low competence in the English language. His emphatic stress on "NOT TRUE" in 1.3 shows his frustration with the current polarised attitude towards such an evaluation of students' performance. This is evident from his use of the words "*biased attitude*" in 1.4 as he questioned using English language skills as the only criterion for assessing a student's potential for success in their studies and maybe in the future job market.

 Salman formed an alliance with Imran and further developed his perspective by elaborating his stance against EMI. He is expanding on the word "*barrier*" used by Imran (1.3). Salman used the pronoun "we" repeatedly in his turn (l.5-9) while he was commenting on students' inability to use English effectively. He was possibly implying that students *in general* lack productive skills in English. This is supported by his comment that students cannot express their thoughts in English, as they are not in the habit of thinking in

that language. At one point he repeated the expression *"we do not know English"* (1.10-11). Here he might be suggesting that although students are exposed to the English language in their school and college years they fail to turn their passive knowledge of the language into a useful skill for practical purposes in academic life. He gave a detailed view and was in a kind of monologue. Salman had conflicting views about the role of English at that particular educational setting as he suggested that it should be limited to language only. This might imply that he sees language skills as different from the general abilities of students and perhaps he wanted this to be acknowledged.

However, in the process of thinking out loud, he took a different position regarding the status of the English language, and this is obvious from the emphatic "BUT" (1.12)where he expressed conflicting attitudes towards EMI. This conflict is evident by the pauses (1.12-13) which showed that he was taking time to process his views and is evidenced in the change from the collective pronoun "we" to personal pronoun "I". Here, it is possible he was distancing himself from Imran's views, despite the fact that it was Imran's position towards the role of the English language which had initially encouraged him to voice his opinion.

Nevertheless, he changed his position while speaking and the emphatic "AM AWARE" (1.13) showed his appreciation for the international status of English . His laughter (1.15) after he admitted that English language had international status arguably showed his ambivalent and mixed feelings. One possible interpretation is that although he understood that students lack productive skills in English he was also mindful of the fact that English language skills are perceived by some to be somewhat essential in the current climate and therefore it is a better option to learn it and use it.

In all the focus group discussions, participants expressed views in favour of EMI. With many participants, expressing positive perceptions about this medium of instruction, but they also questioned their teachers' use of English in classroom. Some participants explored reasons for the use of languages other than English in the EMI classroom, noting that although their institutes officially use English as a medium of instruction the actual practice in classrooms is in conflict with the preached language policy of the institutes. This was a common observation in all three institutes, participant students were concerned about the requirements for EMI, and teachers' competence was often a repeated concern across the data set. On the topic of the **use of different languages** in the class, participants from different classes had the following discussion.

Excerpt 35 (A-1)

1	Sumaya:	(…) so your teachers use only English in class?
2 3 4	Salma:	it depends on the teacher some deliver the lecture in English only (.) some deliver 70% of their lecture in English and some use Urdu more(.)
5 6	Bisma: (.)	On average I would say like 30% of the lecture is in English [rest of the lesson is in Urdu or Pashto]
7	Sumaya:	[they use Urdu and Pashto?]
8 9 10	Rabia: students well=	As far as I undestand I think they do it for the sake of (.) may be they (teachers) do not know it (English) as
11 12 13 14 15	Bisma:	=well i have noticed in my classroom from the beginning (.) because my class is different from theirs (pointing towards Salma) they (teachers) start in Urdu and Pashto from the beginning. YES@@@ they do use a word or two of English in the middle rest is in Urdu or Pashto.
16	Salma:	AH OK BUT Our teachers use 70% English and 30% Urdu.

The participants were outlining the benefits of EMI when Sumaya asked them if their teachers only used English in classroom. She asked the question

after listening to the discussion for a while. It is possible she wanted to compare the actual use of EMI in her class with other participants. There is a possibility that she felt uncomfortable admitting that her teachers used English very little in front of the other group members. Her overlapping response with Bisma (1.7) mirrors her tacit agreement with her. Nonetheless, Bisma and Rabia are openly critical of their teachers' linguistic skills. Both of them disagreed on the what proportion of the lesson is delivered in English and what proportion in Urdu . It appeared that the participants experienced exposure to the amount of English language differently.

Rabia (1.8) assumed that teachers use regional languages in the class because **students are not competent in English**. Participant teachers in the current study raised this concern as well, most of the participant teachers explained that one of the reason for inconsistent use of English language is the low English competency of students in content lessons. All the same, Rabia in the above excerpt was sceptical about *teachers'* competency in English and thought that this could also be a possible reason (1.9).

Furthermore, Bisma's latched response (1.10) cuts short Rabia's response. This showed Bisma's support for Rabia's proposition and she provided details of how her teachers used different languages in the class. Her comment that they start in either Urdu or Pashto can be interpreted to mean that teachers do not use English even for the introduction of the lesson not to mention for later explanation and elaboration. Her stressed *"YES"* followed by a laugh (1.13) suggested that she was sarcastic about the use of English language as she mockingly said that teachers only used English sporadically in lessons. Bisma appeared to be very sceptical about teachers' competence in the English language. She used the word *"beginning"* twice (1.10-1.13) which suggested that she did not agree with Rabia's comment that, as a response to students' low level of English competence, teachers change their

medium of instruction. This showed a discrepancy between de facto and de jure policy in EMI Institutes.

6.4.2 EMI as Useful Policy

More than half of the participants expressed a positive orientation towards EMI for the reason that **English is an international language** thus an English-medium policy was perceived to be best for content delivery at university level. Similarly, many students agreed upon the utility of the English language. Participants oriented positively towards English because of its **instrumental role and institutional dominance** within and outside Pakistan. English is perceived to be, indisputably, the unrivalled dominant language across all domains of power and prestige in the country. Therefore, students also see English-medium education as a passport to those domains. The domains of powers in particular include governmental bureaucracy, Pakistan Army, higher education, the corporate sector, law and nearly all the professional fields such as medicine, engineering and information technology. The majority of the students had sceptical views about education in local languages as it was seen to be a barrier to upward social mobility.

 Importantly, many of the students perceived English as instrumental to global contact and interaction. Thus, the student participant understood and valued the potential role and function of EMI. An important facet of the students' orientation was their support for an English only policy, at the cost of eliminating the indigenous languages from mainstream institutions in general, and education in particular. In addition, there was a need to examine carefully how much their exclusive support for English only policy stands in relation to the practical delivery of such policies at their respective universities. The participants in B1 FG clearly articulated their consensual support for EMI policy. Following are the voices of some of the advocates of EMI policy.

Excerpt 36 (B 1)

1 2 3	Usman:	It has become a need now (.) If a student **has to survive he has to speak in English** (.) for speaking it he has to learn it first (.)
4 5	Sara:	Yes they (students) are not used to English so if they practice it more=
6	Usman:	=If they use it more they will learn it more.
7 8 9 10	Jamil:	They should not be given the opportunity to switch to other languages (.) if the teacher does not allow then they won't have any other choice but to learn it (.) If it is done then it's a good thing.
11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	Ali:	Many students **suffer here because of English** they are toppers of their schools but here they are dropped out because **they cannot deal with English** (.) A huge talent is getting wasted this way (.) so if THAT zero semester plan[18] is implemented (.) it will give them an opportunity to prove their mettle (.) and they will improve with time and will generate maximum output BECAUSE we know in our society many intelligent students **are being WASTED** (.) they cannot continue studies in university as they do not know English (3) and (3) and (3) YES (3) I believe these days [society JUDGES by these standards]
22 23	Naila :	[YEAH ABSOULTELY] these students are intelligent as well as creative…

In 1.1, Usman made an important claim that if students had to survive they had to learn English language. This implies that English language has attained the status of being a necessity for survival at university level and consequently, for **better job prospects in the future**. The participants believed that English speaking skills could be improved by in-class practice. Participants here were supporting the view that teachers must not allow other languages in the classroom and hence were suggesting that the inconsistency in the implementation of EMI policy was due to leniency on teachers' part.

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[18] The plan to provide an extra semester, during the summer before the start of the academic year, that was adopted for subjects including English and other content subjects.

Moreover, Ali elaborated the topic under discussion. He explained that many capable students *"suffer"* (1.11) in tertiary level education, despite excelling at primary and secondary levels, because they lack the proficiency to fulfill the rigorous demands of English language policy at university level. This pointed at the misalignment that exists between the MOI policy in schools, colleges and universities. This is discussed in chapter 3 (section 3.4) in the context of Pakistan. Ali further suggested that extra language practice sessions (that were earlier discussed) if offered to such students, would provide the requisite support. I have discussed this topic in this chapter under the sub-theme of 'English language support courses'. Ali was discussing the injustice that was done to talented students when their abilities were judged against the yardstick of English. His emphatic stress on the word "WASTED" in 1.18 suggests that he held a strong negative attitude towards the prevalent criteria of evaluating students' abilities. His long pauses in 1.20 and emphatic "YES" and "JUDGES" further suggested that he was is not happy with the societal standards of judgement of students' skills. Naila seconded his opinion as she overlapped his turn and voiced her support for the students who needed English language support in order to meet their English language requirements, possibly for their better future although she doesn't say this explicitly.

Likewise, in another discussion from C2, participants were deliberating on the topic of which language was suitable for MOI. The majority of the participants supported English.

Excerpt 37 (C 2)

1	Adam:	but do you guys think between urdu=
2	Farhan:	=English is better (.)
3	All participants:	Yeah
4	Adam:	hmmm…I will say=

5	Kamran:	=It should be English because English is a global
6		language @@@BUT IF IT IS URDU@@@ it is ok (3) it
7		is our national language (3) and we love it (3) BUT it
8		won't be effective.
9	Adam:	yeah I can see your point (.)

In the above extract, students' preference for English is evident. Farhan's latched response, (1.2) even before Adam finished the question, showed his natural preference for English. Maybe Adam wanted to probe why students persisted in the belief that English was 'better' than Urdu. Kamran in 1.5 made an alliance with Farhan and took the floor from Farhan while elaborating his reason for nominating English. Kamran's response revealed a complex and dichotomous orientation to Urdu. He exhibited love and attachment for his national language but at the same time showed his awareness of the instrumentality of English language. In 1.6, Kamran's laughter before and after his emphatic BUT IF IT IS URDU, showed that he was sarcastically assessing the possibility of replacing English with Urdu and thought that the comparison between the languages was not justified. His emphasis here seems to suggest a belief that Urdu whilst a symbol of national identity, lacks effectiveness as tool of communication in the academic arena. Adam in the above excerpt finally agreed with Kamran's (1.9) stance.

This shows that Urdu enjoys the emotional support of its users but it has been restricted to the informal domains of social interaction . This cements the view that the **English language is a passport to social upward mobility** and the role of Urdu, or other regional languages, is a lingua franca at national and regional level. This awareness of the role of the English language and its utility, on the part of students, shows the futility of the claims made in the Pakistani constitution, that Urdu would replace the English language in academic domain (see section 2.5.1). The most frequently noted reason for Urdu's secondary status, as discussed by

participant teachers in the previous chapter, was the lack of resources (for instance books and research material) in the Urdu language.

6.5 Perceptions about Translanguaging

Students engaged with the topic of using more than one language in content lessons several times. Most of the participant students perceived it positively. However, some participants were equally concerned about the students' chances of improving their English proficiency skills if they did not get the opportunity to practice it. Participant students stated many reasons for their use of multiple languages. Below is an excerpt from B3 group where participants were reflecting on translanguaging. Students were discussing the prompt regarding translanguaging. My aim was to know their attitude towards the use of multiple languages in class. I wanted to explore if they approved of it or were against it. The discussion revealed reasons that motivated the participants to use multiple languages.

Excerpt 38 (B 3)

1	Ponam:	So this blending of languages should it be there or not?
2	Talha:	Should be there (Amir and Hamad: I agree)
3	Ponam:	it should=
4 5 6 7 8 9	Talha:	= see those who can **speak good English** they can make us understand as well (.) one of our teacher who is **very fluent** in English he makes us understand (.) but there is another who uses **difficult English** and he uses SUCH English (raised his hands to indicate intensity) that is **difficult to understand**(.)
10 11 12 13	Amir:	well (3) I would say it depends on what type of students (.) if they do not face any problem in understanding English then only English is BETTER (.) but if they do not then blending should be there
14	Waqas:	I think this blending SHOULD NOT be done (3)
15	Ponam:	hmmm...I see but=

16	Waqas:	it should not be there because it does not give a good
17		impression that you start your argument in English and finish
18		it in Pashto (.) it shows that the **person is confused** (...) most
19		of the time when people are stuck they switch (.) THAT IS OK
20		BUT it should not be done (.) once you start in English you
21		should continue in it (.)
22	Talha:	they (teachers) switch when they are stuck in English (...)
23	Amir:	I do not think that A TEACHER WILL FACE ANY PROBLEM (.)
24		I think they switch from English to other languages for
25		the sake of students so they understand in a better way=
26	Hamad:	=in my opinion it is good that they (teachers) use different
27		languages (.)

The general undertone of the above discussion was against translanguaging
In 1.10 Amir mentions that teachers use a mixture of languages because of
the students. He explained that if students had difficulties understanding the
lesson in English, then teachers should use Urdu but if students could follow
lesson then he preferred English to Urdu or other regional languages. Amir's
comment indicates that translanguaging served a way to help students
understand the subject. He thought that it would develop the understanding
of those students who were not able to cope with English medium. Later in
the discussion in 1.19 Amir reasserted his stance about teachers' competence
by his emphatic response to Talha who suggested that teachers' might have
problems in delivering the lesson in English. Amir's disagreement suggests
that **teachers used translanguaging as a strategy to deal with
incompetent students.** Translanguaging should not be seen as a
shortcoming of teachers. This highlights a very common Pakistani trait that
students should not question the abilities of their teachers. Despite this
participant teachers in the previous chapter discussed the recruitment policy
and pointed out the flaws in the system that allowed recruitment of
incompetent teachers.

 Talha, on the other hand had interesting comments on the matter of
translanguaging. Of particular interest was his contribution concerning the
teachers' use of complex and simplistic English. In (1.4-9) he elaborated his

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stance when he gained turn. His comment about good English could be interpreted as fluency in English. His concept of difficult English could be interpreted as the use of complex vocabulary and sentence structure. He used non-verbal language (by raising his hand in 1.8) in order to convey his negative idea of the difficulty level of teachers' English. This was a spontaneous explanation of Talha's personal experience with his two teachers. He **supported the idea of English-only teaching but with the condition that teachers use a simplified version of the language**. It can be assumed from this comment that he is pointing at simple sentence structures, knowledge, proverbs and examples from local contexts to facilitate students' understanding . His comment further strengthened this assumption as he explicitly stated that when teachers were not able to explain content in English language, they switched to Urdu or Pashto (1.22).

Waqas had quite different views from other participants and his comments (1.16-21) suggests that in his views the use of multiple languages showed that the teachers are incompetent in English. His comments assigned higher status to those who could use the English language consistently. His comment in 1.18, that use of multiple languages signify a confused personality, insinuates he holds a negative perception of such behaviour which he justified when he suggested that it gives a bad impression of the teacher. In the above discussion, when Ponam initiated the topic of blending languages, Amir and Waqas asserted a negative perception of this practice .Whereas Talha accommodated it due to circumstantial reasons,. However, Ponam could not finish her sentence in favour of translanguaging and after several moves by Amir, Waqas and Talha, she appeared to agree with their opinion.

In another discussion, from C3, the participants expressed their views against translanguaging. Their reason for such a stance was that **comprehension of content subjects in English is important to perform effectively in exams.**

Excerpt 39 (C 3)

1	Sana:	In my opinion it (translanguaging) should not be there
2		because we have to attempt our papers in English (.) So if
3		teachers teach us in Pashto then it will be difficult for us to
4		express ourselves [in English in the paper and]
5	Uzma:	[yes ofcourse] if you will not understand it in English then
6		how will you express it anyway= (.)
7	Yusra:	=[I agree]listening to English is one way to understand (.)
8	Fatima:	but I think if you understand it in Pashto then it is easy to
9		attempt it in English=
10	Sheema :	=no the thing is that we do not want to understand English
11		language (.) we consider it an alien language (.) if we do not
12		understand English then we cannot write it (.) cannot speak
13		it nor can we make anyone understand in it (.) the first step is
14		to understand (.) if they teach us in English then in the
15		beginning it might be difficult to keep up with but we cannot
16		understand it unless we adopt it (.)
17	Sana:	yes I have already said that English should be from the start
18	Yusra :	if at university our level is such that we are facing problem in
19		understanding the lecture in English then in practical life it
20		will be very difficult for us (.) I mean we have to apply for
21		jobs (3) so here (in university) we are in a position to deal
22		with any sort of consequences as long as it helps us in
23		improving our English (...)
24	Fatima:	in my opinion most people won't be able to adopt it (.)

In this discussion, the participants were arguing about the use of different languages in class. Sana in 1.1 was clearly stating that translanguaging does not help the students in exams. At tertiary level, the linguistic medium of nearly all exams is the English language in almost all of the institutes. Sana's position on the sole use of English in the classroom was motivated by her concern about students' performance in final exams. Uzma and Yusra share her concern. Their positions about the use of regional languages was strengthened by Sana's position and to which they overlapped in spontaneous agreement (l.5&7). Moreover, Uzma further developed Sana's view that, for the effective expression of content material, the language of instruction cannot be ignored. At this point Yusra joined the conversation and further elaborated the jointly held stance against translanguaging. She

believed that listening to the English language was a way to more fully understand it.

However, Fatima opposed this view. Her position is that understanding content knowledge in one's mother tongue will bring better results. At this point, Sheema joined the conversation and her latched response to Fatima showed the spontaneous reaction that Fatima's comment evoked in her. The length of Shema's response (1.10-16) shows her interest in the topic. Sheema was using the third person pronoun "we" which indicates her alliance with those in the discussion who were supporting English-only for classroom instruction. She unfolded her position when she used the term "alien language" for English in 1.11. Here the term "alien" is of particular interest; there seems to be an implication here that since English is a foreign language , it should not be accepted whole-heartedly. Alternatively, it may also mean that, like aliens, the English language is beyond comprehension. Her choice of words was loaded with negative attitudes towards those who do not accept the status and role of English . The incomprehensibility of the English language was her main concern and she thought that exposure to English at the outset of the courses was crucial in developing an understanding of both the content of the courses and the English language itself. She expressed her awareness that this would be a problem initially as students from diverse education systems come together at tertiary level. In addition, several other focus groups discussed this concern regarding students' low proficiency due to their schooling in.

Yusra, in 1.18, gained the floor again and she clarified her earlier position for supporting English. Her concern was greater than Sana's. She was perturbed by future job prospects that are negatively affected if students do not have a sufficient level of English language proficiency. Yusra's comment (1.20-22) that students "are in a position to deal with any sort of consequences" could be interpreted as the difficulty that students had to overcome while

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understanding and using English. This highlights two layers of language difficulties that are initially faced by the students: one is their need to understand teachers explanations and the second is their need to comprehend the concept underlying it. This perhaps explains the failure of students to consolidate their content knowledge or successfully interact in the EMI classroom. However, Fatima in 1.24 referred back to Sheema's comment in 1.16 where she proposed that if students were completely immersed in EMI courses they would become more adept in the English language. She sustained her position although she did not get the opportunity to explain herself at a later stage in the discussion.

Likewise, the topic of simultaneous use of multiple language emerged in Focus Group A2 . The participants discussed the reasons for translanguaging excluding students' and teachers' incompetence in English language skills.

Excerpt 40 (A 2)

1 2 3	Uzair:	it (translanguaging) is a good thing because we have to see whether it works or not as we have students from Urdu medium and <u>FATA</u>[19]=
4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12	Hasan:	=Well students from Urdu medium or <u>FATA</u> regions may feel demotivated (.) but then in order to survive in this competitive world they have to learn and realise this fact that at university level THEY HAVE TO OPERATE IN ENGLISH (.) obviously students of Beacon House[20] and the like will not face problems because they have been in an environment where they have already learned English (.) for a person who has not had the opportunity of such schools should put in extra efforts like reading newspapers (.) books of English etc
13	P:	What do you people suggest? (Inviting silent members)
14 15 16 17	Saqib:	I think that Teachers give the lecture in English but in the end the conclusion, almost 20% of the lecture (.) is given in Urdu because they want students of areas like <u>FATA</u> to understand the gist of it (.)

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[19] FATA is federally administered tribal areas.
[20] Beacon house is a prestigious private EMI school.

18	Omair:	see if we look at our society we all know that **we are judged**
19		**for our English language skills** (.) if one student scores 3.7
20		GPA and another scores 3.5 (.) so the second one who knows
21		**English better will be preferred by companies for hiring**
22		in society such a person is **regarded well** (.) **at every level**
23		**in our society we witness this mentality** (.) such people
24		have **better opportunities** in society (.) so belonging to
25		<u>FATA</u> should not be an excuse because he has to realise this
26		**that the world is a global village now and he has to learn**
27		**English if he wants to stay in competition.**

In the above excerpt, students, for the most part, favoured EMI, but some only partially supported the argument. For instance Uzair in 1.1-3, expressed his ambivalent attitude towards restricting classroom instruction to English only. He articulated a view that students from Urdu medium schools and FATA might not be able to comprehend lessons if Urdu, or any other regional language, is not used. Uzair was sympathetic towards those students who do not get exposure to EMI education due to financial reasons, or due to the flawed private/public systems of education that runs parallel in Pakistan.

However, Hassan joined the conversation and he refuted Uzair's claim. Hassan gave an elaborate reply with no long pauses. This illustrates his strongly negative position on the issue of using multiple languages the classroom. Although, he was sympathetic towards students who did not get EMI education in schools, he did not consider it an excuse to allow translanguaging in the class.

 Moreover, in 1.7 his emphatic stress on the words "THEY HAVE TO OPERATE IN ENGLISH" is interesting. These words express frustration with a system that requires proficiency in the English language in order to be successful. His frustration is possibly caused by his dissatisfaction with the substandard education offered in public schools. Similarly, his use of the term "operate" suggests that if students are adept English speakers, they would survive university life, whereas, if they are not, they may be considered unfit for both academia and the job market. Therefore, he readily suggested other

means for improving English language skills outside the realm of the classroom education such as reading English newspapers and books. He was providing a solution to the problem of low proficiency skills in English and was trying to resist Uzair's point of view. This conflict of opinion was very telling as it revealed many participants' deep-rooted reasons for preferring English.

I probed other silent members who were listening to the discussion. In answer to my question, Saqib responded that most of the teachers used Urdu towards the end of the lesson in order to help the students from Urdu medium backgrounds. However, Omair did not agree with Saqib and explained that because of the set standards of society around them, students necessarily needed proficient English. They had to learn English effectively so they could reap maximum benefits in future from their education. Omair was not satisfied with this situation in 1.22-23 he used the words "regarded well" and "mentality of society" with negative undertones. He was aware of the fact that English is a global language and the means of communication at international level. Hence, his position on English language is that it is a tool for networking with rest of the world. Therefore, he supported the view that the English language is an essential tool for students and they therefore needed to develop their linguistic skills.

6.6 Perceptions of English language use (teachers and students)

In the focus group discussions participant students expressed different views about the academic English of their friends, teachers and themselves. I observed that most of the students held a non-normative approach to spoken English. However, the participants perceived academic written English differently than spoken English.

6.6.1 Concerns about academic Spoken English

In almost all of the focus groups, participants elaborately discussed their opinions about their own and their friends' spoken skills. It was interesting to notice that they had a flexible approach towards competence in academic spoken English. During the discussion, they expressed various parameters for ascertaining proficiency in spoken English. In the following excerpt, participants discussed how students are judged on their spoken English skills.

Excerpt 41 (B 2)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Ziggi:	well the most important thing is that people judge you with the way you speak in English (.) it is one of the major problem in our society (.) and that is why **students are hesitant when they speak English** (.) well they try to mix it up (.) they try to **mix your IQ level with the way you speak English** (.) I mean English is a language that is used for communication purposes but it does not say if you are intelligent or you are smart (.) it is just the way you communicate (.)
10	Faheem:	hmmm just A WAY to communicate (?)
11 12 13	Ziggi:	well if **someone is hesitant and cannot speak it frequently and at the same time he lacks vocabulary** I believe that is what I was pinpointing.
14 15	P:	ok (.) how about you people (looking at other group members).
16 17 18 19 20 21	Hamza:	The problem is not about only to speak or learn English (.) when someone go out (abroad) and they have to face the challenges (.) of accent also (.) even though they know how to communicate (.) people **will make fun of that** (.) They will say that no it's ok you can speak in English but the accent is [little bit@@@you know@@@]
22 23	Ateeq:	[**yeah can speak fluently (3) with British accent**]

| 24 | Ziggi: | well there is difference between fluency and accent? What |
| 25 | | matter= |

26	Faheem:	=the thing that **matters is fluency**(…) **then people do judge**
27		you for your accent (.) **the common approach is that our**
28		**accent should be either British or American** (.) that is not
29		actually the case (.) **one should speak no matter what their**
30		**accent is** (…)

| 31 | Hamza : | like we have one teacher who is **very fluent so we think** |
| 32 | | that he is **VERY talented guy** @@@ |

| 33 | Participants: | yes that is true (.) yes we do |

| 34 | Sadiq: | **but if he is English language teacher** @@@then we |
| 35 | | @@@ **we have fun**@@@@ (all laugh) |

In the excerpt41, participant students were voicing their opinions about teachers' negative evaluation of their spoken English. In 1.1 Ziggi criticised society for its narrow judgemental approach of spoken English competence. He explained that the reason for students' hesitation in speaking in English was due to the fear of failing to speak according to the rules acquired during their school years. He expressed his dissatisfaction with how teachers assumed that good English skills guarantee intelligence. This issue of English as a tool for assessing students' level of intelligence surfaced in many focus groups. Students appeared dissatisfied with the biased evaluations made by teachers

.

Ziggi showed his awareness that English is a tool of communication (1.7) but noted that language proficiency could not predict or measure a students' ability to perform well in content subjects. Faheem probed him (1.10). His stress on word "WAY" suggested that he wanted Ziggi to explain his stance. Maybe he expected Ziggi would prioritise intelligibility over adherence to grammatical rules because Faheem held non-normative perceptions about speaking English. This is evident from his remarks (1.26-30) that fluency was more important than sounding like native speakers of English. He was critical of the hesitation that students felt when speaking. This hesitation might be a result of students' conscious effort to comply with the grammatical rules and

structures that they learned in their former schooling. Although he was aware that students' English was judged against the yardstick of standard American or British accent, Faheem maintained that fluency should be prioritised over accent. However, other participants influenced Faheem's position as all of them accepted quite openly that they judge their teachers' English, and Faheem reversed his position on the matter of accent (1.33).

Moreover, it surfaced in the discussions that almost all of the students attributed their low level of spoken proficiency to the lack of opportunities for practising spoken English. This issue was a very common concern for the participants . I have analysed this concern in section 6.7.2, where students had raised the issue of additional support programmes for academic English. In the current discussion Hamza, was silently observing other participants when I invited him into the discussion. He appeared to be in disagreement with Ziggi in his assumption that if students visit foreign countries they would be expected to understand and use native English accents. It is therefore likely that by 'foreign countries' he mainly meant ENL countries.

Such comments lead me to the assumption that participant students held the belief that they should learn English for the purpose of speaking with NESs and they should therefore aspire to achieve the competence of a native-speaker in spoken English. This was suggested by the laughter of the participants in line (1.34-35) where it seemed that the group had an implicit understanding of the identity of the language teacher whose non-standard spoken skills they found so amusing. Ateeq reiterated Hamza's views in his overlapped turn and co-constructed his stance with Hamza. Ateeq clearly expressed that students generally expect a British Accent (1.34). This confirmed my earlier assumption regarding Hamza's normative views.

The group generally was engaged with the topic and were co-constructing arguments but had an ambivalent orientation towards the spoken English

skills of their teachers. Hamza, in line 1.32, laughingly referred to their teacher who was fluent in English and who enjoyed the admiration of his students as they assumed him to be, in addition, a very talented subject teacher . The joint laughter of the group depicted their conflicting opinion, which they were reluctant to express explicitly.

I should note that some of the teachers in this institute had earned PhDs oversees and it is possible that the participants may have had those lecturers in their mind when they positively evaluated their teachers . Many students were positive about those lecturers whose English (accent, pronunciation, fluency etc.) they perceived to be near native like. Sadiq, in 1.34 seemed to consolidate group opinion by stating that English language teachers are more often evaluated against Standard English norms. Comments like these suggest that students are concerned with the non-standard linguistic features of their teachers.

I explored this issue further with other focus groups and participant students explained their expectations of teachers and fellow students in terms of spoken English.

Excerpt 42 (B 4)

1 2	Arshad:	you (looking at chela) said good and nice English (.) so what is good English
3 4	Chela:	I think when a person can speak **very correct accent like English people** I can say that he is good.
5 6 7	Arshad:	but I am thinking if someone have accent like English (.) do we need that (.) i mean what's the point if somebody speaks like American or British or Australians in Pakistan.
8	Maryam:	it is international language maybe that's why (.)
9 10	Arshad:	yeah that's what I think its international language which means everyone's language

11	Abdullah:	because of accent we have changed the definition of English
12		some people say that accent is important not fluency some
13		say the otherwise (3)
14	P:	what do you think is important?(.)
15	Abdul:	fluency (.)
16	Khizar:	fluency should be there (.) be able to express oneself (.)
17	Arshad:	understanding of English (.)

In the above excerpt, participants elaborated the topic of native accent. Students used positive labels for teachers and students who could speak English with a "correct accent" (see 1.3). The idea of 'correctness' implied that Chela interpreted the notion of good English by using native English as a point of reference. Arshad challenged her view and problematized acquiring native like accent in non-native contexts such as Pakistan, to which Maryam responded that English was identical with the concept of an international language. It transpired that she considered international countries to be ENL nations, where native accent is expected. Surprisingly, none of the participants questioned this except Arshad who dissented from the common perception held by the group that international and English are two sides of the same linguistic 'coin'. Abdullah, in 1.11 perceived that this narrow perception of the English language is restricted to the limited concept of 'right accent', which he suggested, fluency should be prioritised . I questioned the silent members of the group to explore if they approved of his statement or held other views. The following short replies of other participants suggested that they were sure of their opinions as they stated curtly, that fluency and intelligibility are vital for the comprehension of the English language. All these comments suggested that students, in light of their experience with English, were accommodating of deviations in English grammar, sentence structure, accent, pronunciation, and so on . One of the obvious reasons for this flexibility is that medical and business students, like the ones in the above excerpt, noted, that speaking was not required of them and they mainly focused on listening to lectures and taking notes.

Moreover, participants exhibited perceptions that it was not worthwhile to learn native accents.

Excerpt 43 (A 4)

1	Sofia:	a seminar should be arranged on enlightening people about
2		not making fun of those who are not able to speak English
3		properly (…) **FOR GOD'S SAKE not to make fun of their**
4		**accent (.) not to judge them *on* their mistakes** (.) they
5		should be let free to practice the language (.) once they **come**
6		**out of this box then** (3) then (3) his will build up their
7		**confidence** (…) trust me we will discover **GURUS in English**
8		**language if we change our evaluation criteria (.)**
9	P:	what do you people say (.)
10	Asad:	yeah we should not focus on only accent because if we focus
11		only on accent then we won't be able to improve as we
12		cannot speak like British (.)
13	(…)	
14	Zeeshan**:**	I say that it should be spoken in a good way (.) not like mixing
15		up Pashto or Punjabi accent in it (.) Indians speak very good
16		English and they have developed a good accent of their own
17		and has no problem as well (.) at least we cannot see any
18		problem with it I don't know if the British do (.)

Unlike, most of the participants who wished to speak English with emphasis on correctness (grammar, accent), Sofia in l.1-3, is advocating a flexible approach to English language use in academic spheres. Her comment is interpreted to mean that students aspire to learn native accents because of external factors, for instance the fear of being perceived to be an inferior communicator . Her emphatic stress on "FOR GOD'S SAKE"in line 1.2 clearly shows her strong position regarding the need to adopt flexibility in academic English. It is clear she feels the need enlighten people with respect to their prejudiced orientation towards evaluation of the spoken English language of students. Her comment suggests that normally students are laughed at for deviation from standard English correctness of grammar. Such responses can have profound impact on students' language behaviour. Sofia, refers to this impact when she suggests that if the evaluation criteria is absolved from

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the unjust bias against NNES English, it will enable students to be "GURUS" of the English language. The term guru in local context implies being very skilful in anything, to be the master of it. Therefore, her comments suggests that the external factor (criterion of evaluation) and internal factors (psychological response) together have a negative influence on learners' English use. Asad, in 1.8 accepts and seconds Sofia's position and clarifies that it is neither possible nor necessary to speak like the British . During the discussion, Zeeshan approved of Indian English, which has gained the status of an independent variety of English but he does not approve of the L1 influence of Urdu or Punjabi. This indicates an ambivalent position, however, his comment overall suggests that it is acceptable to speak and use English other than ENL countries.

6.6.2 Concerns about Academic written English

As for academic written English, most of the students expressed dissatisfaction with the complex English language used for research. They preferred intelligibility of content to conformity to standard/native English norms. They were flexible towards adopting their own approaches to written English. For instance in the following excerpt, the group is discussing the reason for their preference for non-conformist approach to English language.

Excerpt 44 (C 4)

1	Abdul:	the language in research articles [is=
2	Zeenia:	=[very difficult=
3	Abdul:	=most of the times very difficult (.)=
4	Zeenia:	=well research in itself is difficult thing and when the
5		language also becomes difficult=
6	Basit:	**=YES words (.) vocabulary (.) structure (.) grammar (.)**
7	Abdul:	so I think the English language in field of research be
8		**simplified rather than use difficult vocabulary** (.) in other

9 10		words I prefer that we should write English but **not** **necessarily like native English people**
11 12 13 14 15 16 17	Gulla:	see it is a mind-set that you see that (…) using very **difficult** **vocabulary** (.) using **such words** that we **do not** **understand** then we say that he is using **very good English** (.) if you put the same stuff **in simple English language** (.) because it is all about **conveying your message (.) and** **comprehension** so if you comprehend it then I don't think there is anything wrong with it (.)
18	P:	hmmmm…ok
19 20 21 22 23	Rayan:	yes it should be simplified (.) research in itself is a very technical thing (.) if we have to **open dictionary all the time** **to understand the vocabulary** used in it in order to understand the research **then it becomes very complex** (.) it will be better if **we simplify such works** (.)
24 25 26 27	Gulla:	because when we read difficult books and difficult research articles (.) our teachers do not help us with the language of these articles or books it is entirely own responsibility to deal with it (.)
28 29	Abdul:	yeah that is true that is entirely our headache most of the time (.)

In the above excerpt, all the participants had the same perception of written academic English in research. Before this excerpt, the group was pondering the merits of the English and Urdu languages in educational settings and, on the whole, sided with English, for the reason that it is the language of research. They thought that the use of English would enable them to reach the wider research community. The group appeared to be engaged with the topic of English language in research; they co-constructed the discussion while considering different aspects of the topic. This was evident from the short latched responses of Zeenia, Abdul and Basit (1.1-6). Basit's emphatic "yes" showed that he supported his colleagues' position and he clearly proposed that aspects of the English language like vocabulary, structure, and grammar are very complex according to Standard English norms.

Abdul built on Zeenia's point that research is intellectually demanding and the requirements of academic writing complicate it further. He suggested the

need for adopting simple and intelligible English in research articles. Abdul's stance encouraged Gulla to express her reason for not preferring difficult English. Her use of the expressions "difficult vocabulary" and "do not understand" could be interpreted as referring to the use of normative English. She was criticising the complex-is-best approach of some teachers and students when she alluded to a mind set in 1.11. She thought that those who have a normative orientation believe that acquiring and using Standard English is desirable for aesthetic reasons. Gulla seemed to adopt a pejorative position on the imitation of native English use for cosmetic purposes. She implied that those who imitated native English sought appreciation for being able to use difficult and verbose English.

This quest for appreciation is rooted in the ideology that those who are able to use complex grammar, vocabulary and structures in English are highly qualified and learned. This is relevant to earlier observations where students raised their concerns about the English language being used as an index of intelligence. Gulla was well aware that English language is a tool of communication as in 1.13 & 14 she explicitly stated that **communication and comprehension of research material was more important than using difficult expression for aesthetic reasons**. Her comment demonstrated her belief that native English skills are not a prerequisite for successful communication in the field of research. Rayan supported Gulla's position by adding that the use of simplified English in research would help students use their time productively rather than wasting their efforts on consulting dictionaries. Here, his reference to dictionary, again pointed at the use of standard normative English (American or British) as dictionaries are one way of gatekeeping the use of the English language.

Furthermore, the participants reported a lack of expert help in research practices. It was unsurprising that **no help was offered to them in this area**. As previously teachers had reported a lack of time to teach the courses

of study. Abdul's response in 1.28 showed that he considered research an enormous burden. As denoted by his use of the term "headache". I understand that he thought that writing, reading, producing research work were all areas in which students were offered little or no help. However, it was expected from them that they must perform according to set standards. This may explain the low productivity in research work in Pakistan, as discussed in chapter 3, (section 3.4). In a similar vein, a student in another focus group shared her concern in detail, as follows.

Excerpt 45 (A 3)

1	Sadaf:	if **guidance is given instead of criticism** then i think our
2		**English will improve far better** (.) for the first time in the
3		university sessions were arranged for us (.) English language
4		courses from 2 pm to 4pm (.) ma'am (NAME) who
5		volunteered for it (.) other than that university is not offering
6		any such courses (.) they expect from us that we will come all
7		prepared (.) **we will be able to speak fluently and write**
8		**accurately (.) conduct our research in English language**
9		**without any difficulty** (.) that's how they expect from us (.)
10		but there is **always room from improvement** (.) I think
11		such **sessions should be arranged (.) seminars should be**
12		**arranged**.

In the above extract, Sadaf was elaborating her take on the lack of language support, specifically for the purpose of research. Reading between the lines, her comment inferred that teachers criticised students' written and spoken English against the benchmark of Standard English. Furthermore, her aspiration to improve her English language skills, by extra coaching and drills, revealed her perception that teachers held conformist orientation English use for academic purposes. According to her, teachers expect students to speak fluently and write accurately. She appreciated her English language teacher, who had volunteered to help students improve their English language skills. Furthermore, her comment revealed that she believed that students, if given opportunities and support, could better their current English language skills. However, the standards of correctness that she was aspiring for appeared to be Standard English as she asserted that

additional courses and sessions would allow students to improve their language skills. This showed that she had a deficit perspective about students' English and thought that if efforts were made, the flaws in their language skills could be improved.

6.7 Perceptions about language policy and practices

In the following sections, I discuss the three main sub-themes that surfaced in the focus group discussions while the participants were considering EMI policies.

6.7.1 Evaluation system of language proficiency (entry tests and exams)

In the teachers' interviews, most of the teachers expressed their dissatisfaction with university entrance exams. Therefore, I tried to explore the perceptions of students too, to find out if they had similar perceptions about these tests. Specifically, I used prompts relating to the use of English in entrance exams. The majority of the FG participants considered these items unsuitable. However, some participants felt the need for the evaluation of spoken skills.

Excerpt 46 (C 1)

1	Jibran:	Ok so let's talk about the entry test=
2	Salman:	=well it is the English section=
3	Imran:	=but most of the items were of vocabulary (.)
4 5	Faizan:	I think our entry test is useful in assessing our language skills for our degrees?
6	Salman:	If we talk about language skills then yes=
7 8	Faizan:	=Yes you should know the meaning of a word if you have language skills(.)

9	Jibran:	well::: I believe that maybe you guys would not agree but still
10		I would say that it **encourages rote learning** more of a
11		memory test you know@@@

12	Salman:	but I think It's more about language skills I believe (.)If it
13		were a memory test then there are different methods for it (.)
14		It would not focus on English then (.) they check whether we
15		will be able to communicate in this institute or not (.)

16	Jibran:	I think it is having problem because by **just judging the**
17		**vocabulary** you cannot say that person would have the
18		confidence to communicate (.)**What good is that**
19		**vocabulary if they do not have the confidence to**
20		**communicate** (.)

21	Imran:	I know what Jibran is saying. I think we must have
22		**opportunity to develop and test our oral communication**
23		**skills.**

24	Jibran:	yes because we don't develop these in schools

25	Faizaan:	yeah specially in schools like (Name of school)

26	Salman:	so it is the fault of the schools not the tests then

27	Jibran:	but be honest do u think we use these words and
28		comprehension passages in our studies

29	Salman:	no we do not but then it is language and language tests are
30		like these

In the above excerpt, participant students were presenting their views on
the section of the entrance examination that evaluates students' English
language skills. Most of the participants had an accepting attitude towards
the tests initially but Jibran questioned their validity (1.9-11). In line 1.9 his
elongation of the word "well:::" suggested that he was thinking aloud and
was not sure if his stance would be welcomed by the group, as the group was
predominantly not problematizing the nature of the test. However, his all
other group members, with the exception of Salman tacitly agreed with his
perspective . Salman did not change his position (1.27). Proficiency tests that
are locally constructed evaluate students' grammatical knowledge, but most
students are unaware that these tests do not measure writing and speaking
skills. However, Jibran and Imran raised the issue of **spoken skills not being**
effectively addressed in schools. Faizan referred to a sub-standard EMI
school (1.25). Initially the group did not challenge rather appeared to be in

agreement with Salman but then agreed with Jibran and stated that **a test based on vocabulary items cannot evaluate a student's proficiency level in English language.** However, the students did not confirm or deny their satisfaction with the normative approach present in these tests.

In another FG discussion, the same issue again caught the interest of the students. Although students did not explicitly state their position on English proficiency skills being evaluated against Standard English benchmark, they did **express their dissatisfaction regarding the nature of the entrance tests**. They stated a preference for international language tests like IELTS and TOEFL.

Excerpt 47 (B 3)

1	Talha:	The entrance test[21] system itself is very difficult (...) **if a**
2		**person can speak but he does not know much vocabulary**
3		**so it does not mean that he is incompetent if he fails the**
4		**test (.)**
5	Waqas:	**IELTS is a good testing system** that we can adopt instead of
6		NTS[22] (.) it cannot judge completely someone's language
7		abilities (.) may be he knows English but does not know that
8		specific vocabulary in the test
9	Hamad:	Over here the tests actually **test your grammar and**
10		**vocabulary** (.) Whereas IELTS and TOEFL **(...) judge the**
11		**four skills on the basis of understanding (.) These tests**
12		**check our ability of comprehension** (.) NTS and Entry tests
13		are made complex by adding questions from **grammar and**
14		**vocabulary (3) for example when to use "in" or "on" or**
15		**"into" (.)**
16	Waqas:	Yes and **NTS and entry tests completely ignore listening**
17		**part**. For example I have taken IELTS in listening I secured 7
18		band. But I had to **practice very hard and learn the tricks**
19		**and strategies**=
20	Hamad :	=Yeah it was a sort of two English people having daily
21		conversation and **the accent was difficult** and I had to look
22		for keywords that were missing in my paper and then I to put
23		those keywords in there by listening to the recording (…)

[21] See Appendix8.
[22] National Testing Service.

24	P:	Is it a language test or a memory test, what do you think?
25	Amir :	Basically it's not a memory test because you have to attempt
26		it at that very moment when the conversation is going on. It
27		would have been a memory test if the test material were
28		communicated in advance.
29	Hamad:	and they test spoken also, they give you a relax environment
30		and they **make you speak with British examiners** (.)
31	Waqas :	Well not always as the first time I attempted the test it was
32		British and then the second time it was a lady from Pakistan
33		(3) but she was @@@ **not as good as she should have been**
34		**in English. Not like the British guy.**

In the above excerpt, participant students were discussing local tests. During the discussion, the topic of international tests emerged. It was interesting for me. This excerpt provided a deep insight into students' ideologies about the relationship between language tests and the nature of the English language. It was evident from the discussion that, the participants were very positive about the international tests whereas, the same participants were critical of local assessments . Talha in 1.1-4 is sceptical about the narrow focus of the local tests that evaluate only vocabulary items. This led Waqas to compare IELTS and NTS. He assumed that since IELTS is designed and administered all around the world by the British Council, therefore it is that it is a more reliable instrument for assessing the four sub-skills .

The fact that IELTS and TOEFL being are based on native English norms remained unquestioned at the close of discussion. They did not question the limited variety of accents used in the tests despite the fact that they are aimed at global users of the English language. The group mainly focused on the evaluation of listening and speaking skills. Hamad's comment showed that **native accents were a problem** but Waqas suggested the need for students to develop strategies and tricks to excel in the tests. This **raises questions concerning the validity of IELTS test scores and their suitability in assessing the practical use of the English language.** Waqas in 1.31-34 revealed his normative position which held the British examiner

in high regard whilst the Pakistani examiner was in possession of a variety of English he perceived to be deficient . His laughter in 1.33 shows his mocking attitude. There is a strong sense here that exposure to non-native accents deflected the students from attaining proficiency in a standard American or British accent.

In addition to this, the student participants lauded international tests due to their belief that their true English language proficiency skills were better indicated by these test results. The participants considered IELTS and TOEFL to be more prestigious than local tests. Therefore, overall, the participant students considered the international tests to be an acceptable method of assessment even for the diverse range of global users of the English language. **This showed that 'international' for them meant being *administered* internationally and not being inclusive of the diversity of the global users of the English language.**

6.7.2 EAP support for students

In the majority of the FGs, students commented that their own and their fellow students English, needed to be improved. Here, though, there were a number of contradictions. Some thought that their English language skills were of an acceptable standard but they were not confident about their abilities to write and present research material. In most of the FGs two main reasons appeared to be the cause of their perceived low proficiency skills in research. One was that **they considered Standard English norms desirable** and another was **lack of appropriate English language support in training** them for presenting academic research. These points are discussed below:

Excerpt 48 (C 3)

1	Zalla:	So you think whatever is taught in functional English classes
2		does not help us=
3	Yusra:	=I think it is only technical stuff (.)
4	P:	hhmm can you discuss that a bit.
5	Uzma :	Well we do have some sorts of exercises that helps us in
6		enhancing our English language skills and I do believe that it
7		tells you the way **you write your report (.) the way you**
8		**format your meeting agenda (.) memo** and all those stuff
9		(.) I think it then comes later in your practical life (.) it's going
10		to be useful over there (.) As far as this course is concerned I
11		don't see=
12	Zalla:	=and what I think is that major improvements in it so there
13		has to be something better (.)
14	yusra:	I would like my teachers to come up with an idea where they
15		make students feel easy about speaking English (.) building
16		their confidence (.) I think that's what matters a lot (…)**they**
17		**know how to write English but they cannot speak**
18		**because they have fear in them for being judged.**
19	Uzma:	hhmm (5) well (3)i am not sure (5) if I agree

In this excerpt different points of view emerged about the existing language
support classes, namely functional English, business communication skills
and compulsory English. I asked them about the English language courses as
I wanted to explore in some depth what they meant by 'technical stuff' (1.3)
and those courses not adequately meeting their needs (1.1). The students
suggested that those courses prioritised technical materials of formal
business writing and did not focus on the development of academic language
skills. Their underlying concern was that these courses did not groom the
required linguistic skills for EMI classes.

In excerpt 48 Yusra expressed her expectation regarding the aims of current
language courses (1.14-18). She emphasised that the students' linguistic
requirements in practical life are different from those that are focused on in
the classroom. She advocated the introduction of courses that would not be
restricted to grammar, sentence structures, prepositions etc., but rather
would enable students to use English in their practical life in a range of

interactions . Hence, her bottom line highlighted the need to improve general English skills to combat the fear of being judged against Standard English norms. Yusra was the dominant participant in the group and her views were supported by most of the members except Uzma. However, the alliance between Yusra and Zalla seemed to have influenced her as she showed her reluctance in her response (1.19) and took a number of lengthy pauses.

In the discussions, students primarily focused on strategies of language learning and the courses aimed at improving their spoken skills, as listening and speaking skills are ignored in their language classes. Although, I probed them if it mattered that such courses should be modelled on Standard English norms, but they did not seem to see the difference between EAP and the traditional English language courses offered in their colleges and schools. They did not discuss varieties of English in EMI instruction. Rather they discussed English for specific purposes (ESP).

Excerpt 49 (B 1)

1 2	P:	are you satisfied with language classes that train you in Standard English that is bookish?
3 4 5 6 7	Usman:	We have been taking classes since the beginning but even then we cannot speak (.) speaking should be practiced more that will help us in improving our speaking skills (.) If we sit in the class and focus on the lecture alone then we won't learn anything (.) I mean we need to practice speaking (.)
8 9 10 11 12 13	Sara:	There should be extra sessions on English but those sessions should also focus on building up our confidence level (.) In fourteen years of education in English, one does learn that **much that she/he can speak but(...) Strategies should also be taught** (.) how to speak (.) how to **communicate** (.) how to (xxx)
14 15 16 17 18 19	Ali:	As you (looking at Jamil) said in the beginning that we are left behind while thinking that what sentence should be spoken (.) **how it should be conveyed** (...)so in my opinion more focus should be on teaching **how to present English**. Instead of focusing on course completion and exams and gaining marks (3) this should be our focus (.)

In excerpt 49, Sara elaborated quite confidently that in her previous fourteen years of schooling students were required to learn the basics of grammar, vocabulary and sentence structure of English as a result of which they were then able to use it for general communication. She thought students needed training in presenting and expressing their views in English (1.8-12). She thought that building confidence should be the prime focus. However, it is important to note here that students' confidence levels in using the English language were influenced by the ideologies that teachers and students held in order to ascertain their language skills. Most of the students expressed their wish to be trained through specifically designed courses that would improve their English language in all four skills.

In the above excerpts (48&49) the students participants identified their need for English support classes. However, they were not fully aware of what type of English support would help them. They focused primarily on spoken skills because spoken English is the most neglected skill in school and college years. They did not question the nature of English in English language courses currently offered in universities and schools.

Excerpt 50 (A 2)

1	Uzair:	I would suggest that there should be a zero semester in all
2		the universities of one month, two, or three that should
3		target the communication skills, from report writing to the
4		way wespeak **according to the Standard English** (.) I would
5		recommend such a zero semester (.)
6	Saqib:	Extra sessions should be there that should focus on building
7		the confidence of students. Not like the classes that we
8		take now for business English class (.) These are
9		ineffective.

In the above excerpt, it was interesting to note that two participants engaged with the topic of EAP support. Uzair supported the idea of Standard English language and represented a more traditional stance whereas, Saqib appeared to be more flexible towards non-native types of English, as he was dissatisfied with the Standard English oriented courses currently offered by the university.

6.7.3 Error correction

The topic of assessment and error correction was of interest for me. So I asked them whether content teachers focused only on what the students write or whether they were assessed on how they write it. I wanted to explore their perceptions about error correction in EMI courses. This question was asked in recognition of the fact that most of the teachers, in their interviews, had expressed concern that they had acquired the additional role of language teachers, even though the job description of content teachers does not clearly state this. The discussion between students in the excerpt below suggested that teachers assessed students' work against the Standard English benchmark.

Excerpt 51 (A 3)

1	P:	do teachers penalise your language mistakes?
2	Sadaf:	they do, Yes (.)
3	Momi:	We are [criticised and] that's it (.)
4	All Participants:	[Yeah.]
5	Zoha:	we are **not given correct alternative** (.) We are just
6		given a suggestion that please consult a dictionary (.)
7	Ani:	**Improve your grammar@@@**
8	Sadaf:	That improve your vocabulary don't use this word=
9	Zafar:	=They do not point out why it is a mistake they just
10		underline the assignments with red pen (.)

In the above excerpt, though the students did not explicitly mention that they were expected to conform to standard English norms their teachers' comments regarding improving grammar (1.7) vocabulary (1.8) consulting a dictionary (1.6) and being criticised (1.3) suggested that they were expected to adopt standard English norms. Participant teachers and students perceived conformity to Standard English norms as desirable, rather than accommodating L1 interference of these norms. This illustrates

that even at university level, teachers penalised minor grammar errors and some students seemingly feel uncomfortable with this as the laughter of Ani in 1.7 suggested.

Moreover, it showed the participants' awareness of the Pakistani social context where English is not frequently used. They seemed to be aware that it was impractical to expect all students to conform to native English standards. In addition, after I introduced them to the concept of ELFA, they appeared to concur with it. That may be why they criticised their teachers for not explaining the reasons of their linguistic mistake. This also links back to the students' perception about the varieties of English used in multilingual contexts, where they showed tolerant views to non-native accents. Moreover, students and teachers were more flexible towards assessing spoken English in EMI courses.

6.8 Summary

The focus group gave me the opportunity to explore students' perceptions about the issues of MOI in multilingual context of Pakistan. The student participants discussed their opinions regarding EMI, they co-constructed opinions about the effects of EMI policies on students, and they also commented on how these policies are implemented.

Most of the participants contributed to the discussions very effectively. They felt that the research topic is relevant to their experiences and while agreeing, disagreeing, supporting or contradicting one another on various topics and themes, they enabled me to access their ideologies about the nature of English language use in this setting. The social context, the group dynamics and dialogical nature of the discussions, also enabled them to voice their changing attitudes towards EMI policy.

It appeared that there is no uniform policy of EMI in the Pakistani tertiary educational setting and all the teachers and students implemented the policy according to their own

context. Concerning the English language, the majority of the participants held native English in high regard. Although they were aware that it is not possible to imitate American or British accents and pronunciation patterns they still favoured them as the preferred standard. However, there were participants who showed flexible and accommodating attitudes towards non-native English. This was seen more in their attitude towards spoken English as compared to written English, as all of them thought that communication in English takes precedence over sounding like certain speakers. Most of the students, in their written English aspired to follow the set standards in order to be able to use this medium to reach an international readership.

However, many students raised concerns about the English language tests and assessments. They expressed negative opinions about the local tests but held positive orientations towards international tests. Their main concern was that the use of English as a medium of instruction has resulted in a culture of equating intelligence with a knowledge of English, which is quite arbitrary. The perceptions of those who oppose English-only in multilingual contexts echo the same views . Nevertheless, almost all of the students accepted IELTS and TOEFL as more reliable, professional and inclusive of language skills as compared to the locally designed tests. They did not problematize the native English grounded nature of these tests. This shows a contradiction between their resistance towards the exclusive use of English in EMI and their acceptance of international tests for evaluation.

Moreover, the participants agreed that most of their teachers employ translanguaging in the classroom for explanation and relating local knowledge to the students. However, students considered teachers who used only English in the classroom with high regard. Another major finding was that the majority of the students felt the need for academic English support classes. However, they did not question the standard language ideology which underpinned those courses . Students were given accuracy-focused feedback and suggestions to improve their vocabulary and grammar.

Having presented my findings from the lecturers interviews in the previous chapter and students perceptions from the FGs in the current chapter, I go on, in the final chapter, to summarise all my findings in relation to my research questions and explore the similarities and differences between the two data sets.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the key findings of chapter 5 interviews & chapter 6 focus group discussions. I present the significance of the current research with a reappraisal of the literature review chapters that guided this research and its contribution to EMI in Pakistan. Firstly, in section 7.2 I will give an overview of the research findings by answering the research questions set in section 4.2. Here, I explore students' and teachers' perceptions and orientations in relation to the four interrelated themes inherent in the research question. Then I will discuss the limitations of the study in section 7.3 followed by the discussion of the theoretical contribution of this investigation and implications for future EMI research in section 7.4. Finally, I will give the conclusion of the study in section 7.5.

7.2 Overview of Research Findings

As was introduced in Chapter 1, this study investigated content teachers' and students' perceptions towards English Medium of Instruction and classroom teaching practices. It explored the effects of EMI on teachers and students in a multilingual Higher Education context. Teachers' and students' orientation towards EMI policies explored through this research may contribute to the discussion on the implementation of EMI in Pakistan and other similar contexts. The following section presents the research questions and a discussion on the relevant findings .

RQ 1.What are the orientations of content teachers and students towards Medium of Instruction (MOI) policies in HE context in Pakistan?

RQ.2. How do the content teachers and students perceive EMI policies and practices in HE context in Pakistan?

RQ a) How do content teachers perceive their own and other content teachers' English abilities? How do they evaluate their students' academic English abilities?

RQ b) How do content students perceive their own and other content students' English abilities? How do they perceive their teachers' academic English abilities?

RQ c) How do content teachers and students perceive EMI policies related to students and teachers in the university?

7.2.1 Orientation towards MOI

I explored RQ.1 through interviews with content teachers and heads of the selected institutes, in addition to focus group discussions with students. Both the data sets revealed overlapping and related themes and insights, therefore, I will discuss the findings simultaneously. The most significant finding of the current study is that the majority of respondents evaluated EMI positively. However, the study also revealed that there was a need to establish a clear relationship between Medium of Instruction (MOI) and Language in Education Policy (LEP) as it is presented in the related literature, in the context of Pakistan. Many of the participants encouraged the idea that policy makers in both the public and private sectors of Higher Education need to acknowledge that MOI policy is integrated with questions of curriculum, resources, personnel, materials, methods of evaluation and community involvement. In other words, concerned authorities cannot isolate MOI policy and promulgate it without considering the associated policies (Tupas, 2015).

Both the participant teachers and students, thus, argued that MOI policies are not just about choosing languages for teaching and learning. They stated that such policies may, whether anticipated or otherwise, potentially perpetuate social divides, by generating certain language ideologies and practices. From the interviews with the heads of the institutes in particular, and participant teachers and students in general, I concluded that the MOI policy in HE is an appropriated policy. All the respondents believed that any MOI policy that was English only, was aimed at human capital development through

English proficiency, to create employment opportunities for graduates internally and externally. However, participant teachers and students argued that the political character of the policy was obvious from the fact that students and teachers did not develop the required level of English proficiency even though they were taught English as a compulsory subject in schools, colleges and universities. From a pedagogical perspective, participant heads of the institutes and many participant teachers expressed their concern that EMI affected students' learning of content knowledge. Thus, the MOI policy in HE appeared not to be achieving its stated goals of enabling students to reap the benefits of globalization (Dearden and Macaro, 2016).

Moreover, based on both teachers' and students' views, this study illustrates how language practices and ideologies maintain a linguistic hierarchy. The participants saw a modicum of value in Urdu/regional languages in academic learning, but since Urdu/regional languages have not attained the elite status of English in the   academic field Urdu and other regional languages were, at the same time, judged to be unfit for a Higher Education system that aims to produce graduates for the global job market. Notably, it appears from the comments of the participant teachers and heads of institutes, that EMI in the HE context is producing graduates who are theoretically proficient in English, but who, in reality, cannot use English language productively and only learn passively through it. Such graduates, it could be argued, may therefore have a shallow grasp of content knowledge in their chosen disciplines.

Furthermore, the respondents revealed that due to the multilingual nature of Pakistan, a single indigenous language as a medium of instruction is not effective. The majority of stakeholders (students, teachers, managers) agree that the most acceptable MOI is English, due to its utility. However, as it is not the community's native language, learning and teaching through English brings many challenges. Likewise, the participants raised the issue that due to the multilingual nature of the country, in professions like medicine, practitioners need language skills in local languages as well. Here they cited the frequent communication breakdowns that occur between doctors and patients. They expressed that language miscommunication can impede appropriate

professional decision making with several potential serious consequences. Hence, participant teachers from the medical college expressed that these challenges need to be addressed by policy makers and higher education providers.

Nonetheless, despite the acknowledgment that EMI affects student learning of content and the assertion that using Urdu or at least a dual medium would be more practical, both participant teachers and students upheld the notion of a language ideology that attributed greater value to English and undermined the role of Urdu. This ideology constructed a language hierarchy in which English was projected as the language of global outlook and prosperous future, and Urdu as a local language (Lin & Martin, 2005) with little instrumental value. It can be deduced from teachers' and students' attitudes towards English and Urdu that being a less useful language for higher education, Urdu needs the support of its speakers as they have to use it and maintain it in spheres beyond the educational context. On the other hand, people need English to provide them with a good education, employment and global mobility. Thus, the language ideology has confined Urdu to the realm of sentimentality (Hamid et.al., 2013)because it had lost its potential functionality in the higher domain of education.

Insights related to issues of LEP and MOI discussed in the study have implications for the conceptualisation of the English language use in multilingual contexts. The theorisation of language as a single meaning making system, has been problematized by recent research that supports the human ability for translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2011, 2014; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Li, 2014) i.e. drawing on diverse linguistic resources to achieve a purposes in situated communicative interaction practices. Mahboob and Dutcher (2014) argue that models of language proficiency need to respond to criticisms of the static nature of language and engage with dynamic models. In the Dynamic Approach to Language Proficiency (DALP) posit that proficiency in any language implies the speaker's capacity to use a range of linguistic resources that are relevant and appropriate in the context of the communicative event. Hence, if language is a semiotic (meaning-making) tool, if language is multimodal, and if language proficiency is context dependent, then teaching content subjects does not need to

exclude local languages. Rather they can be used as part of the rich set of semiotic resources that can help students develop their understanding and use of the English language by mobilising various semiotic resources to achieve situated purposes. On these lines Mahboob &Dutcher (2018) have developed *Teaching English as a dynamic language (TEDL)* approach towards integrating language variation in ELT.

7.2.2 Teachers' perceptions about teachers/students' academic English skills

All of the participant heads of the institutes expressed their support for the use of Standard English. It was thought that low proficiency in English not only impacted academics' research productivity and international visibility, but also exacerbated the challenges faced when forging international partnerships and research collaborations with other universities where English is adopted as the lingua franca. This has direct implications in some institutions on academic tenure paths, the quality of scholarship and university accreditation.

The main concern that was raised unanimously in teachers' interviews was the low proficiency in English of both teachers and students. With regards to teachers' perception about their own English, many expressed that they have sufficient English language skills to cope with the requirements of EMI classrooms. However, some of them expressed ambiguous views towards the English skills of their fellow teachers who were from Urdu medium backgrounds. While discussing their writing skills they were more positive. However, they admitted that they revert to Urdu or regional languages when they need to explain things to the class. They believed that academic English is the real language of research as far as writing is concerned. They expressed a belief that standard academic written English would enable them to gain a wider readership. Some of them did not like the idea of using Pakistani English as they thought the academic world outside Pakistan would struggle to understand such a variety of English. Moreover, they believed that writing in Standard English would enable them to get their papers published easily.

Moreover, the participants also indicated that academics with a relatively low proficiency in English, experience considerable difficulties in publishing research in international journals that require submissions to be written in correct English. In essence they supported Standard English as the optimum medium for academic writing. This finding supports previous studies in other contexts that explored teachers' orientations towards English, for example Jenkins (2014) Bolton & Kuteeva (2012). Nonetheless, the participants in the current study were unanimous in their opinion that university teachers must have correct and good English, and training programmes must be provided to enable them to improve their English language skills. This can be interpreted to mean that they considered the ability to communicate written language to native English level to be desirable. However, in academic spoken English teachers appeared more accommodating towards the influence of local languages.

Regarding students, the majority of the teachers explained that students coming from public schools made teaching and learning at higher education problematic. One of the main reason set out by most of the teachers was the historical divide between fee-paying EMI private schools and free Urdu public schools. According to them this parallel system of education limits access to quality higher education to the privileged elite. This supports similar findings in the studies conducted by Mansoor (2011) in the higher education context of Pakistan. Though, Mansoor (2011) did not question the use of Standard English as a benchmark for appraising students and teachers' English language skills. The present study qualitatively explored the perceptions of the participants about Standard English language as a benchmark. It was not surprising to know that most of the participant teachers supported the native English standards for academic English. The main reason was that they considered British or American English as the most desirable varieties of English to learn.

Participant teachers voiced their concerns that due to their low proficiency in English, students often fail to meet the language demands of their academic studies and therefore face a number of challenges. For instance, they reported that students frequently struggled to understand lectures. They noted that listening proficiency is

crucial for successful engagement in lectures and having low abilities in this skill will inevitably limit students' chances of following the oral delivery of course content. Listening aside, teachers also stated that students do not have the required reading skills in English, which in turn compromises students' engagement with textbooks, resource books and research articles and therefore compromise their access to important learning resources. Some of the teachers also raised the issue that low reading proficiency can affect students' ability to read instructions and successfully complete assignments. This finding resonates with Din's (2015) study, which highlights the poor listening and reading skills of higher education students in Pakistan. This argument is backed by the comments of the students who complained that they get near to no training to improve their English listening skills at college and school.

Concerns were raised about the writing skills of students themselves. Participant teachers very often mentioned that, to be successful in their academic studies, students needed writing skills that were higher than average. However, most of the students were reported to have had weak writing proficiency that affected their ability to complete writing tasks successfully. The teacher participants argued that the passive attitude of students was evidenced through students resorting to rote learning. It was revealed by some teachers that they used multiple-choice questions to test students and avoided essay type assessments thereby jeopardising meaningful assessments. On this issue, students voiced their concern that no proper assessment and feedback in written assignments was particularly a problem as students were not given opportunities to write in academic English that was expected from them. The general opinion of the participant teachers was that English that is grammatically correct and sounded like Standard English was 'good' English.

Similarly, while discussing speaking skills of students, the majority of the respondent teachers expressed a belief that low proficiency in speaking hampered students' learning, as they do not fully engage in classroom activities and discussions. Moreover, they said that most of the students, owing to their low proficiency in spoken English, avoided asking questions during lectures. This has a very negative impact on students'

agency in the learning process and encourages passive knowledge acquisition. Most of the students stated that they feared being judged on their spoken English skills, because they don't have native level English. However, participant teachers mostly held flexible opinions about spoken English and accepted NNES norms to be natural for non-native speakers of English. In fact, teachers emphasised the need for effective, intelligible and successful communication rather than copying British or American English norms, when speaking English.

7.2.3 Students' perceptions about students/teachers' Academic English skills

The majority of the students perceived their general English language abilities positively. However, some of them were not satisfied with their speaking skills. This is in line with the research results of Jensen et al. (2011) in Denmark and by Karakaş (2015) in Turkey. Most of the students were aware that their accent was not akin to those of native speakers of English but nevertheless regarded their English abilities in positive terms. Participant students generally accepted that their English had unique features because of L1 (Urdu/ Regional languages) influence. However, some of the students had negative perceptions about other students' English, namely those who had were educated in Urdu medium or religious schools.

There were several reasons outlined by the student participants for their negative orientation towards their own spoken English skills. One of the main reason that some students reported was that faculty members encouraged students to memorise facts without concern for about the linguistic elements of this practice, as they believed language and knowledge could be separated (Soruç and Griffiths. 2017). This trend was most common in the students attending Information Technology (IT), statistics and medicine courses. Whereas business students admired their teachers for helping them improve their language proficiency through regular opportunities for presentations.

The majority of the student participants' agreed that they needed good English skills. They used "good" and "correct English" synonymously. Participant students thought that writing in Standard English guaranteed wider intelligibility and helped them in gaining higher marks in exams.

Furthermore, almost all of the participants had positive views about their teachers' English language proficiency. This is similar to the findings in Karakaş (2015) study in context of Turkey. Nevertheless, a small number of medical students from Canada and Afghanistan criticised some of their teachers' linguistic proficiency. This resonates with the study of Byun et al., (2011), Dang et al., (2013) and Jensen et al., (2013).

Moreover, participant students stated that they made conscious efforts to speak correctly according to the grammar rules taught to them in school. They relied on standard rules because that is how their teachers evaluated their spoken skills. Participant students had an ambivalent orientation towards their teachers' use of Standard English as a yardstick to evaluate students' speaking skills.

In addition to the points made above, the respondents also reported the phenomena of translanguaging, a phenomenon that is often observed in multilingual settings where a foreign language is widely used as a language of instruction (Canagarajah & Ashraf 2013; Ashraf et al. 2014). Some of the participants supported translanguaging as a pedagogical practice in multilingual classes, though the majority of them had mixed attitudes towards its use. The participants supported translanguaging for the practical and positive functions of clarification, giving instructions effectively, translation, socializing, checking understanding, repetition, and creating a sense of belonging. Therefore, many of the students agreed that due to the linguistic diversity in the classroom, teachers and students tend to necessarily switch languages. Nevertheless, some of the participant students considered translanguaging to be a sign of confusion in the teachers. Such students oriented negatively towards such mixing of languages.

Another factor that influenced students' positive perceptions of their teachers' English was a whether they held a degree (PhD/ M.Phil. / MS) from abroad. They assumed there was an assumption that that teachers with aforementioned degrees from US or UK have native like language proficiency and they therefore did not question the academic English skills of their teachers. This result resonates closely with the Korean students' perceptions about their teachers' linguistic proficiency (Byun et. al., 2010).

7.2.4 Perceptions about EMI policies

Another important point that the majority of the respondents discussed was the poor provision of English language support at their institutions. Teachers believed that in addition to the low English proficiency of most first year university students, the lack of effective English language support has aggravated the situation in EMI classrooms. However, what makes things more critical is that both students and teachers lack the knowledge of the kind of English language support students require for their current and future needs. Most students pinned their hope for increased English proficiency on college and school English courses. Nevertheless, it can be seen that one-course fits-all English classes do not deliver the required results. This is evident from the dissatisfaction of the teachers with students' English proficiency levels in all the three institutes in the current study.

Furthermore, the participants stated that there are no purposive, needs based language support programmes (such as EAP provision for students and EMI training for teachers) available in their universities. The participant teachers and students indicated that English is often taught in large classes where the possibility of developing academic literacy is nearly absent. This becomes a major barrier to the successful completion of courses that are conducted in EMI.

This supports the findings of previous studies that revealed the lack of training programmes to develop TEFL provision in Pakistan (Mahboob & Talaat, 2008; Shamim,

2011). This has repercussions on the English language proficiency of EMI teachers, as these students are the future EMI teachers in universities. Participant teachers reported low levels of English proficiency amongst faculty members and no provision of in-service or pre-service EMI training. This has implications for students' progress in English. Because teachers, either due to low proficiency in academic English, or due to heavy workloads, overlook the need provide constructive feedback to students. Content teachers did not concede that they have a supplementary role as language teachers. This finding resonates with Dearden's (2014) and Macaro et al., (2018) research report on global provision of EMI that indicates that some teachers feel that it is not their responsibility to improve students' academic literacy in English. (Macaro ET AL., (2016).

7.3 Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

The number of universities in Pakistan has grown dramatically in the past couple of decades. However, research on languages or MOI in higher education is almost non-existent. The present study points at issues that researchers need to investigate in the higher education sector in the country, to further verify the conclusions that I have drawn in the present study. However, due to practical reasons, the present study draws on samples that are restricted to only one province of Pakistan. It will be revealing if further research is drawn on larger samples of students, teachers and other stakeholders from the HE context in other parts of the country. This does not mean that other EMI institutes cannot benefit from this study. Rather, EMI institutes with teachers and students with similar teaching and learning experiences can benefit from this study by using the findings to review the language policy of their institutes. The strength of the present study is that I drew my conclusions from in-depth qualitative analysis on data obtained from cohorts of both teachers and students. Previous studies have conducted perceptual analysis but they are more statistics-based quantitative studies. However, it could be particularly revealing if classroom observations alongside other qualitative investigation tools are used. This will help in developing an informed language policy for HE. Moreover, samples from diverse disciplines will be helpful in developing useful EMI policies for different professions with different linguistic needs,

this applies not only to teachers and students but also to the administrative staff of HE institutions

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Moreover, initially I set out on my research journey with an idea of focus group discussions with my role as just as observor, but the initial two focus groups, which were fundamentally unproductive gave reason for me to slightly amend the execution of the focus group discussion. Hence, in the remaining ten focus groups, I sometimes asked the participants questions in order to generate richer group discussions. As I could not find a suitable moderator for the focus groups, I had to conduct them myself. Because of these minor deviations from the standard approach , my focus groups sometimes became more akin to group interviews, which had not been my intention at the outset. However, my presence as moderator, although a limitation, might also have been a benefit, as participant students might have said even less if someone less experienced had been moderator. This is a limitation of the present study. However, in all qualitative investigations, the researchers' influence is present at every stage of the study. As well as this, I previously did not know the participants in the focus groups, which minimised my influence on the research findings. However, there is need for more observation-based longitudinal studies on similar issues, if possible from researchers from the same institutes I investigated, to analyse the discrepancy between policy and practices.

7.4 Contributions and implications

In the following section, I will first discuss the theoretical contributions of the study to ELF and language policy frameworks. This will be followed by a discussion on the possible implications of the current study for EMI policy in universities and ELT in Pakistan.

I will elucidate the relevance of these findings with previous literature and hence will outline the implication of these findings for theoretical and empirical purposes, in matters relating to EMI in multilingual contexts.

7.4.1 Theoretical contribution of the study

This research contributes to language policy research and specifically to research into EMI in university settings. As discussed in 3.3 EMI research around the world and in Pakistan (3.4) has studied the 'MI' of EMI by focusing on cultural, political and pedagogical issues. The language aspect of the EMI policies is neglected in most of the studies conducted in the context of Pakistan. Only Mahboob (2017) has conducted a study problematizing English usage in HE but it is limited in scope, therefore he encourages more investigation in the field. This is what I have attempted in this research: to expand and further the investigation in this specific field of enquiry. This study provides valuable insights into the language policies and practices of EMI institutions in respect of the perspectives of key stake holders i.e. teaching staff, heads of institutes and students.

Furthermore, the present study has adopted a direct and discourse based approach to the analysis of the participant perceptions in contrast to previous quantitative approaches to perspective studies conducted in the context of Pakistan. Hence, the qualitative approach in this study has provided an in depth insight into how participants perceive and interpret their own and others English abilities as well as the language policies. This contrasts with the remit of quantitative studies which may provide more generalizable but less insightful results, as quantitative studies do not take account of all the variables that influence attitudes towards English language and EMI. Therefore, this study contributes to the already present body of research on EMI, which is mostly quantitate, in context of Pakistan. Moreover, this study has imparted an awareness to its participants by discussing the issue of English language in the EMI contexts, as it was for the most part, considered a 'non-issue'. This study has helped the participants understand what it means to use English language in a context where the majority of the speakers are from same L1 group and use English as a lingua franca. This is of importance as the prevalent norms and unquestioned assumptions that

formulate people's traditional orientations to English are fortified by their lack of awareness.

In addition, the present study has problematized the concepts of proficiency, language use and language policy with respect to English in the EMI context. As discussed in 3.3.1, the majority of the research in EMI contexts in European and East-Asian countries reveals that the concepts of goods versus appropriate English, and English language learners versus English language users, are predominant. Similarly, the present study also echoed the same findings, where the aforementioned concepts are believed to mean correct English/native English. However, this study raises questions about such a conceptualisation of the English language in EMI contexts where English use is not an end in itself, rather a means to an end. It is used as a tool for communication, for the fulfilment of academic tasks where English is not the L1 of the interlocutors. Therefore, this study questions the relevance of native/standard English and correct English for such contexts and their EMI policies and practices.

The study also supports the notions of ELF (A) research (Mauranen et al., 2010; Björkman, 2011, 2013; Mauranen, 2012 and Jenkins, 2014): that good and effective English should be distinguished from correct and standard/native English. ELF (A) researcher suggests that the effective and strategic use of the available linguistic resources of the participants in academic speaking and writing tasks are of prime importance, rather than conforming to norms of 'native speakerism'. Furthermore, ELF (A) studies have shown the usefulness of various communication strategies for effective communication in ELF settings. English teachers should educate their NNES students about the relevance of those communication strategies, as students need to learn to adjust their English skills according to different speakers and contexts. Therefore, English teachers need to practice accommodation skills to achieve mutual intelligibility in English speaking classes.

 Moreover, this study supports the findings of Hu's (2015) and Ishikawa's (2015) studies that provided proof for the expansion of the definition of ELF. Hu (2015)

explored teachers' orientations towards implementation of EMI in Chinese Universities and she provided evidence that people with English as L2 but with same L1, adopted ELF oriented approach in their interactions. Moreover, Mauranen's (2012) idea of 'similects' includes ELF users speaking in English with people from different L1 backgrounds. In this study, I observed that participants (teachers and students) with the same L1s or different L1s (Urdu/Pashto), adopted an ELF oriented approach towards their use of English to learn subject knowledge. Participants determined their use of L1 influenced English to be natural and perceived translanguaging to be an acceptable strategy for communication. I found that the participants' practices of using English language were similar to Jenkins (2015: 73) definition of ELF, which identifies it as a "[m]ultilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen". ELF does not disregard the linguistic resources of the speakers in their L1, L2…Ln languages, rather it values and validates the use of linguistic resources from the multilingual repertoire of the users. This is an important concept for communication in English in multilingual settings, as it conceptualises proficiency in language as a social practice and intercultural competence (Canagarajah, 2014). In the current study, participants' perceptions about the use of their linguistic resources resonate with ELF. ELF refers to multilingual settings in which everyone present knows English, but it is not necessarily used in isolation from other languages: translanguaging and language permeation may be utilised by some or all of the interlocutors (Jenkins, 2017) to facilitate communication. This leads to a further observation that in multilingual settings, English language competence would be better assessed in terms of lingua franca effectiveness, rather than according to how closely it aligns to a native version of English.

However, the present English language assessment is not appropriate for the future needs of the students as it is not fair and just. In the context of this study the ELT, EAP and English language assessment is deeply rooted in SLA research whose overarching principle is to enable learners to attain native like English language (Jenkins & Leung, 2019). The current English language assessment system is unrepresentative of the modern world requirements of NNESs for whom translanguaging and accommodation skills are necessary for effective communication with other NNESs. Multilingual English

speakers need to assess their ability to show readiness to engage in meaningful communication with other multilingual English speakers rather than producing idealized native English forms. Moreover, as Wingate (2015) pointed out it involves the difficulty of focusing on developing assessment of diverse literacy practices in different disciplines, rather than one standard assessment for all purposes, that is tailored to the future needs of NNESs. In this regard Jenkins and Leung (2019) points that the decision for entry English language requirements to university need to be taken by the test takers and teachers who would teach and assess the tests and not the external test makers. This will bring the added responsibility on students to pay close attention to their English language requirements in local university contexts and to assess their own abilities to operate in those contexts. Furthermore, it brings extra responsibility on the staff of individual courses to prepare self-assessment materials for the prospective students. They further note that the challenge is to move away from a mythical standard for all inherent in tests based on native English norms towards accepting the standard reality of each individual context.

Moreover, the present study confirms the validity of Spolsky's language policy framework (see section 3.2.3). My study has drawn upon his framework which consists of language beliefs, language practices and language management. I explored how content teachers' and students perceived EMI and how their perceptions influenced the implementation of EMI. As discussed in (section 3.4) most of the language policy studies in the context of Pakistan, neglect bottom-up language practices. Spolsky's framework provided me with a theoretical basis to interpret participant teachers' and students' beliefs about language policy and English language provision. The majority of the participants had a normative approach towards English language and even the participants who had non-normative beliefs considered native English to be the most desirable variety. It appeared that standard language ideologies were deeply rooted in the participants minds. The accounts of the teachers and students in this study suggest that teachers did not implement a top-down education policy. Therefore, a gap existed between the intended and enacted EMI practices.

7.4.2 Pedagogical Implications for EMI in Pakistani HE

It has become clear from the above discussion that a mix of factors exert an influence on teachers and students' effectiveness in academic studies through EMI. One main contribution of the present research is to shift traditional EFL paradigm to an ELF paradigm for teaching and assessing communication skills for content subjects in Pakistani HE. Participant teachers and students showed lack of confidence while evaluating their own and others' English language skills against the Standard English norms perpetuated by the EFL paradigm, notwithstanding the fact that many of them realised that it was not rational to apply native English norms to their use of English. Therefore, according to the nature of EMI courses and the globalised use of English language, the ELF paradigm could instigate a reconceptualization of English in this context and reinforce the validity of students' and teachers' use and variety of English.

The national education policy of Pakistan calls for providing fair opportunities of education which can be achieved through adopting and ELF approach towards English language teaching and learning as it would emancipate learners from complying to mythical standards of Native English. However, this is not an easy task as the stakeholders are resistant to change for couple of reasons. They are doubtful about the new concept of ELF as it relies on complex principle of hybridity and flexible use of English language. This suggests the development of new resource materials for ELT according to the principle of language variation in real life communication, therefore preparing students to negotiate meanings in unfamiliar contexts. Moreover, Language testing and assessment criterion needs to change and rather than focusing on evaluating the mastery over certain sets of linguistic codes actual ability of students to communicate effectively and flexibly in English with NNESs as well as NES. Finally, English language teacher's professional development courses need to equip them with skills to analyse and assess the effectiveness of English language proficiency in a given context rather than to depend on one-size-fits-all kinds of grammar that are currently in use. Thus, these are the main problems which needs a lot of work and due to lack of will the stake holders prefer to stick to old second language theories and methodologies in ELT.

Therefore, this study has a number of implications for Pakistani HE. Based on the findings of this study there are, set out below, a range of suggestions that might help students, teachers and Heads of institutes improve the present state of education through EMI. These are:

1. To differentiate between language tests as an admissions tool, and language test results for managing students' language learning issues, according to ELF(A) perspectives.
2. To acknowledge the need for new research from a Global English perspective passed the university admissions tests.
3. To achieve consistency in practices across the universities to provide opportunities for EAP programmes to all levels of students. To establish clear language goals for EAP programmes based on needs analysis. To develop procedures for student assessment both in pre- and post-EAP programmes.
4. To research the extent to which students' progress in their English language proficiency and skills from the start to the completion of studies and identify realistic exit levels.
5. To provide better embedded language and literacy support/training to teachers, researchers and students, in order to develop the necessary skills to engage with, and contribute to, the academic and professional international communities. Such training should include sociolinguistic and intercultural awareness programmes to enable the trainees to successfully communicate with NNESs in ELF settings.
6. To clarify the teaching objectives for EMI teachers, as subject teachers assume the dual role of subject teachers and language teachers.

The key overall finding of the current study is that any English language support system should be based on a language needs' assessment of all stakeholders and should take into account the universities' available resources and channels of support. In this way, support programmes (EAP and Faculty EMI programmes) can be appropriately shaped in a realistic and targeted way at the stakeholders' specific needs.

Moreover, multilingual approaches have been encouraged in higher education in many countries that share a similar linguistic complexity to the contexts in which the institutes in the present study operate. An open dialogue with stakeholders is needed to evaluate the extent to which the use of languages alongside English will support or compromise the HEC Mission, in terms of access, quality, relevance and impact. If the inclusion of national and regional languages in Pakistan (i.e. Urdu/Pashto/Sindhi) were thought to be beneficial, then it would be necessary to examine the extent to which students, staff and faculties have sufficient proficiency to operate in these languages. At some future point, language policy researchers might wish to initiate research that investigates the use of other languages, the proficiency levels of university teachers and students in these languages, and the impact on communication in professional contexts. University courses in Urdu should be made available to students who do not wish to, or are not capable of, learning through EMI courses.

Similarly, if Pakistani universities are aiming to recruit international students, then there is a need to develop courses and training materials to inculcate intercultural communication skills in students and teachers alike. Teachers would need to tailor their teaching methods and assessment methods in EMI content classes according to the cultural and linguistic diversity of the future multilingual classroom.

7.5 Final Conclusion

This research was born out my perception of a need to address the linguistic issues in EMI in HE in Pakistan. The study began by contextualising EMI within the larger MOI debate at a time when globalization is massively articulated in research discourse in HE but fails to fully address language, language use, and pedagogic practices in that context. The study explored the role of language within EMI and considered what varieties of 'English' are appropriate within an HE context. In so doing, this study has highlighted the need of a pedagogy that helps students develop a globally oriented language.

These issues were addressed from the perspectives of teaching staff and students alike. Based on the accounts, feelings, and views of the participants, the research has successfully shown that their perceptions of linguistic issues, including their own and others' English abilities and use, were largely under the influence of the standard language ideologies relating to English, its teaching, and its use.

Furthermore, the research has also highlighted the role of policy actors (i.e. content and language teachers) in further instilling these ideologies in students through their own practices and the expectations that they have of their students' language use. The study also identified that some participants could resist these educational ideologies.

Although this research is a modest contribution to the field of EMI research in general and specifically in Pakistan, it is a step in the right direction at a time when language needs to be the central focus of analysis in EMI research. While this study identified and discussed a number of issues and problems in EMI in HE in Pakistan, it also showed that considerable effort and research needs to be undertaken to identify and address these problems. What is needed is more sustained research, effort and dedication among researchers until research in HE in Pakistan reaches a tipping point, the result of which will be to address the challenges of EMI in classroom learning . Although this implies an ideal situation in which language policy making is expected to be informed by theoretical and empirical knowledge of the field, interactions between political LPP (undertaken by political actors/entrepreneurs) and academic LPP (conceptualized by experts) are needed in the interest of the social, political and economic goals of the nation.

It is thus my hope that the implications drawn from the exploration of the linguistic issues at the centre of EMI, will culminate in genuine integration in universities' EMI policies and practices, especially in Pakistani HE, and elsewhere with similar HE institutions (e.g. post-colonial countries). I also hope that the practical implications will

lead to a change in universities in the traditional ELT and EAP policies and practices, to better equip students with the skills for communication in global settings. Finally, it is my hope that this research will benefit people who use English as a vehicle in various domains, by prompting them to reflect upon assumptions they have regarding the English language.

Appendix 1: Themes in Focus Group Discussion

	Sources	Ref	By	Created On
Perceptions about Medium of Instruction (MOI)	0	0	PS	16/02/2017 15:00
Concerns regarding EMI	0	0	PS	16/02/2017 16:35
English language as a tool of discrimination	9	22	PS	16/02/2017 16:35
English is a barrier to understand content subjects	6	20	PS	16/02/2017 16:35
Low linguistic proficiency of teachers and students	7	31	PS	16/02/2017 16:35
Favour of EMI	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:59
Better thinking skills in English	7	28	PS	16/02/2017 15:01
Passport for upward social mobility	10	25	PS	16/02/2017 15:10
Guarantees better professional qualification	0	0	PS	16/02/2017 16:30
English is the international language	11	37	PS	16/02/2017 16:30
Perceptions about Translanguaging	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 15:48
Reasons in favour of translanguaging	0	0	PS	07/10/2017 16:08
Facilitation in comprehension of content subjects	14	19	PS	08/02/2017 18:16
Students weak proficiency in English	14	18	PS	05/02/2017 15:29
Weak EMI in previous school years	7	42	PS	15/02/2017 15:49
Reasons in against of translanguaging	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:13
English is international language of communication	4	15	PS	15/02/2017 15:49
Simple English preferable rather than translanguaging	6	10	PS	15/02/2017 18:10
Students are not exposed to desirable input in English	8	42	PS	09/02/2017 18:20
Students requirement for exam preparation	8	31	PS	09/02/2017 18:20
Perceptions about teachers' /Students' English	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Concerns about academic Spoken English	0	0	PS	17/02/2017 16:41
Reasons for Flexible perceptions	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:51
Lack of opportunities to practice spoken skills	10	79	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Hesitation to speak	9	62	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Normative perceptions about Spoken skills	0	0	PS	17/02/2017 16:41
SE is considered prestigious	8	30	PS	15/02/2017 18:51
Native like accent shows linguistic competence	9	18	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Preference for correct grammatical structures	10	29	PS	15/02/2017 18:23
Non-normative perceptions	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:23
Priorities fluency over accent	5	20	PS	15/02/2017 18:23
Priorities intelligibility over correctness	13	37	PS	28/02/2017 17:20
Students priorities note taking over speaking	8	35	PS	17/02/2017 16:24
Concerns about academic written English	0	0	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Normative orientations	0	0	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Preference for SE courses	13	36	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
SE prestigious	8	51	PS	15/02/2017 18:39
Flexible orientations	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 19:58
Priorities flexibility over aesthetics	7	33	PS	15/02/2017 18:38
Gives liberty for effective writing	21	71	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Absence of support for research skills	5	57	PS	15/02/2017 19:58
Perceptions about EMI policies	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:34
Language tests (entry and exit level)	0	0	PS	01/03/2017 13:11
Local tests not fit for purpose	11	33	PS	02/03/2017 13:00
Encouragement of rote learning	9	30	PS	02/03/2017 13:11
Preference for international language tests	8	43	PS	02/03/2017 13:10
No assessment of spoken skills	10	35	PS	02/03/2017 13:10
Academic English Programs	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 19:01
Lack of academic support classes	5	20	PS	18/02/2017 16:18
Ambivalent perceptions for EAP courses	8	34	PS	01/03/2017 13:11
Error correction	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 19:02
Assessed against SE benchmark	10	25	PS	15/02/2017 19:02
Lack of helpful feedback	10	15	PS	27/03/2017 15:29

Appendix 2: Transcription conventions

(.)	Pause of one second or less
(2)	Etc. pause of 2 seconds etc.
xxx	Unintelligible word or words
CAPS	Stressed word
@	Laughter (length indicated by number of @)
P	Palwasha (the researcher)
T1, T2, T3 etc	EMI teachers
A, B, C	pseudo names of the institutions
[ ]	Overlapping speech
?	Rising information
.	Falling intonation
Italic	*Urdu language/Pashto language*
Bold	Important parts for analysis
=	One at the start and another at the end shows no gap between the two lines.
::::	Number of colons show lengthening of a syllable
[NAME]	Deletion of names of institutes or persons for reasons of confidentiality
[…]	Gap between sections of transcription that were not included.

Appendix 3: Pilot Study

Semi-structured interview guide (June 2016)

Introduction	Thank you for your participation for the past 12 weeks. It was a pleasure to get to know you better. Your participation will make a huge contribution to my research. For this last interview, I will ask some questions to check on what I have discovered from my observations and interviews.
Key questions	First, questions will be asked to compare my interpretation of the data and the participants' perspectives. Second, the next set of questions will be asked. 1. Could you tell me about any kind of experience you had with the key participants that you would like to share? 2. What do you think is the role of English and regional languages in the future development of Pakistan? 3. Do you find the varieties of English used in Pakistan confusing? Do you believe that more than one acceptable variety of English will be of use for instruction and assessment in universities?
	Thank you very much, this is the end of the interview.

Appendix 4: Main Interview Guide

Semi-structured interview guide (April-June 2016)

Introduction	Hi I am Palwasha Sajjad and I am conducting research for my PhD degree at the university of Southampton. I am keen on finding out the role of English Medium of Instruction and the Language Policy at a universities in Pakistan. The collected data from interviews will be only used for my own research. Your anonymity will be respected at all times. You have the right to withdraw at any point and remove any part of the data without any disadvantages. Do you have any questions before we begin? Name:_____ Date:_____
Opening questions	1. How many years of teaching experience you have? 2. Where are you from? 3. What languages do you speak? 4. How often do you use English for teaching? 5. How often do you use other languages for teaching?
Key questions	1. Why and which language/s is/are used for your lecture/demonstration/tutorials? 2. Which language/s is/are used in setting assignments/tasks/exams? 3. What is your opinion about the EMI courses you currently are teaching? 4. How far do you think you are successful in teaching through only English? 5. Speaking from your experience do you think use of multiple languages helps in learning targeted knowledge? 6. How do you compare yourself when you are using your first/national language for teaching and when you are using English?

Closing questions	1. Do you think students face language problems regarding English as a medium of instruction? (a) Can you give any examples of language difficulties?
	2. How do you think that multilingualism influence implementation of an effective language policy in education in Pakistan?
	3. What do you think the role of English is at this university?
	Thank you very much, this is the end of the interview.

Appendix 5: Teaching staff interview main and sub-themes

Appendix: Thematic Framework of Techers' Perceptions of EMI

	Sources	Ref	By	Created On
Perceptions about English as Medium of Instruction (MOI)	0	0	PS	16/02/2017 15:00
Flexible Approach	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:59
Insufficient linguistic skills of students	12	28	PS	16/02/2017 15:01
Teachers prioritize content over language learning	10	25	PS	16/02/2017 15:10
Lack of learning material in local languages	0	0	PS	16/02/2017 16:30
Lack of will to develop learning materials	11	37	PS	16/02/2017 16:30
Local languages as barrier in presentations	9	22	PS	16/02/2017 16:35
Translanguaging	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 15:48
Reasons in favour of translanguaging	0	0	PS	07/10/2017 16:08
Facilitation in comprehension of content subjects	14	19	PS	08/02/2017 18:16
Students weak vocabulary in English	14	18	PS	05/02/2017 15:29
Multilingualism as an asset in classroom	9	41	PS	03/02/2017 18:05
Use of multilingualism in professional life	4	7	PS	07/02/2017 15:49
Weak EMI in previous school years	7	42	PS	15/02/2017 15:49
Reasons in against of translanguaging	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:13
English is international language of communication	4	15	PS	15/02/2017 15:49
English suitable for linguistically diverse class	6	10	PS	15/02/2017 18:10
Depicts weak linguistic skills of teachers and students	8	42	PS	09/02/2017 18:20
Perceptions about teachers' English	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Positive self-perceptions for EMI	8	31	PS	17/02/2017 16:41
Normative orientations	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:51
Normative expectations about academic writing skills	14	79	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
SE is language of wider research community	13	62	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Require Research skills training in SE	15	35	PS	17/02/2017 16:41
Need proof readers help for academic writing	12	30	PS	15/02/2017 18:51
Preference for American /British authored books	9	18	PS	15/02/2017 18:46
Educated at EMI institutions	10	29	PS	15/02/2017 18:23
Effective communicators with NES	3	6	PS	28/02/2017 17:20
Students preference for fluent teachers	7	20	PS	17/02/2017 16:24
Non-normative perceptions	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:23
Prefer to use books by local authors	5	20	PS	15/02/2017 18:23
Priorities communication over correctness	13	37	PS	28/02/2017 17:20
Educated at Urdu medium institutes	8	35	PS	17/02/2017 16:24
Perceptions about students'' English	0	0	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Normative orientations	0	0	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Weak Academic Reading skills	13	36	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Weak Comprehension skills of foreign authored books	8	51	PS	15/02/2017 18:39
Weak communication skills in proper English	9	33	PS	15/02/2017 19:58
EMI in former year as tool of discrimination	7	33	PS	15/02/2017 18:38
Flexible orientations about students spoken English skills	21	71	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Linguistic Error Corrections	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 19:58
Normative orientations to error correction	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:38
Penalise language errors	5	57	PS	15/02/2017 19:58
Expect SE from post-grad students	7	47	PS	15/02/2017 18:38
Appreciate language support by experienced staff	3	19	PS	15/03/2017 18:41
Flexible orientation towards error correction	0	0	PS	17/02/2017 16:58
Priorities content over language	7	26	PS	02/04/2017 16:13
Language support provided by content teachers	7	29	PS	15/02/2017 18:27
Do not expect SE from under grads	5	17	PS	15/02/2017 18:25
Priorities intelligibility over grammatical correctness	3	6	PS	28/02/2017 18:44

Perceptions about EMI policies	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 18:34
EMI Policies Concerning Students	0	0	PS	01/03/2017 13:11
EAP courses	0	0	PS	01/03/2017 13:11
Support for Academic English Programs	8	34	PS	15/02/2017 19:01
Normative perceptions for EAP courses	5	20	PS	18/02/2017 16:18
Language tests (entry and exit level)	0	0	PS	01/03/2017 13:11
Local tests not fit for purpose	11	33	PS	02/03/2017 13:00
Encouragement of rote learning	9	30	PS	02/03/2017 13:11
Preference for international language tests	13	43	PS	02/03/2017 13:10
EMI Policies Concerning Teachers	0	0	PS	15/02/2017 19:02
Lack of formal EMI guidelines for teachers	13	25	PS	15/02/2017 19:02
Recruitment policies of EMI staff	10	15	PS	27/03/2017 15:29

Appendix 6: Focus- group tasks for students

(March 2016-june 2016)

Introduction	Hi I am Palwasha and I am conducting research for my PhD degree at the university of Southampton. I am keen on finding out the role of English Medium of Instruction and the Language Policy at a universities in Pakistan. The collected data from interviews will be only used for my own research. Your anonymity will be respected at all times. You have the right to withdraw at any point and remove any part of the data without any disadvantages. Do you have any questions before we begin?
Opening questions	1.You are: (a) Male (b) Female 2.Your age is: (a) 20- 24 (b) 25-29 (c) 30-35 (d) 36-40 (e) 41-45 (f) 46-50 (g) above 50 3.Your mother tongue is: (a)English (b) Urdu (c) Punjabi (d) Other regional language---- ------ 5. Which medium of instruction was used in your school and college for teaching? Urdu (b) English (c) Both
Key questions	1. Impact of languages on learning 2. Can you give an example for use of Urdu/ regional language/s in classroom? 3. How do you think that multilingualism influence implementation of an effective language in education policy in Pakistan?

Appendix 7: Focus Group Participants profiles

Institution	FG	Course	Participants	F/M	Linguistic Backgrounds	Previous EMI Experience/years
A	A1	Business and Administration	Salma	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Bisma	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Rabia	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Sumaya	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
	A2	Computer Sciences	Hasan	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	11
			Uzair	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	12
			Saqib	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Omair	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	13
			Awais	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
	A3	Economics & Information Technology	Sadaf	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Momi	M	Urdu, English	11
			Zoha	F	Pashto,English	14
			Ani	F	Pashto,English	14
			Zafar	M	Urdu, English	11
	A4	Information Technology	Sofia	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	12
			Brekhna	F	Pashto,Urdu, English	13
			Zeeshan	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Jawad	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	14

			Asad	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
	B1	Medicine	Usman	M	Urdu, English	12
			Sara	F	Urdu, English	12
			Jamil	M	Urdu, English	12
			Ali	M	Urdu, English	12
			Naila	F	Urdu, English	12
	B2	Medicine	Ziggi	M	Pashto,Urdu, English	14
			Hamza	M	Pashto, English	14
			Ateeq	M	Urdu, English	14
			Faheem	M	Pashto, English	15
			Sadiq	M	Hindko,Urdu, English	15
B	B3	Medicine	Talha	M	Hindko, Urdu, English	16
			Amir	M	Hindko, Urdu, English	16
			Waqas	M	Pashto, Urdu, English	16
			Hamad	M	Pashto, Hindko, Urdu, English	16
			Ponam	F	Hindko, Urdu,English	16
	B4	Medicine	Chela	F	Pashto, English	15
			Maryam	F	Hindko, Urdu, English	12
			Abdullah	M	Pashto, English	12
			Khizar	M	Pashto, English	12
			Arshad	M	Pashto, English	15
C	C1	Computer Sciences	Imran	M	Pashto, Urdu, English,Afghani,	16
			Salman	M	Pashto, Urdu, English	15
			Faizan	M	Urdu,English	15
			Jibran	M	Urdu, English	15
	C2	Business and Economics	Farhan	M	Urdu, English	13
			Kamran	M	Urdu , English	13

			Adnan	M	Pashto, Urdu, English	13
			Mahnoor	F	Pashto, English, Urdu	15
			Noor	F	Pashto, English, Urdu	15
	C3	Business & Human Resource Management	Sana	F	Urdu, English	15
			Yusra	F	Urdu, Pashto, English	15
			Fatima	F	Pashto, Urdu,English	15
			Zalla	F	Pashto, English, Urdu	15
			Uzma	F	Pashto, English,Urdu	15
			Sheema	F	Pashto, English, Urdu	15
	C4	Human Resource Managament	Basit	M	Urdu, English	12
			Abdul	M	Urdu, English	12
			Gula	F	Urdu, English	15
			Zeenia	F	Urdu, English	15
			Ryan	M	Urdu, English	12

Group	Participants' Background Information
A1	4 female post-grads, Business administration students, Public University.
A2	5 male students. 3 under-grads and 2 post-grads, Computer Science students, Public University.
A3	3 female post-grads and 2 male under-grads, Economics and IT students, Public University.
A4	2 female, 3 males, all post-grads, Information Technology students, Public University.
B1	3 male, 2 female, all under-grads, medicine students. Medical College.
B2	5 male, post-grads, medicine students, Medical College.
B3	4male and 1 female post-grads, medicine students, Medical College.
B4	2 female post-grad 3 male under-grad medicine students, Medical College.

C1	4 male post-grads, computer science and information technology students, Business School.
C2	3 male under-grad business students, 2 female post-grad economics students, Business School.
C3	6 female post-grads, 3 Business and 3 Human Resource Management students, Business School.
C4	3 male under-grad and 2 female post-grad Human Resource Management students, Business School.

Appendix 8: Sample Entry Test Paper

INSTITUTE

Entrance Test for Admission to

MBA 1.5 Years and MBA (Islamic Banking & Takaful) 1.5 Years Programmes

For the Year 2016

Total Questions: 95

Total Marks: 100

Time Allowed: 90 Minutes

Note: Please use the pink answer sheet to mark your answers.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS:

1. Please count and ensure that there are a total of **16 pages** in the question paper.
2. The back of this question paper can be used for the Rough Work. However, do not use the pink answer sheet for any rough work.
3. The use of calculator is strictly prohibited
4. Please put off your mobile phones
5. There shall be **No Negative** Marking

SECTION III: ENGLISH VOCABULARY& COMPREHENSION

Choose the word **similar in meaning** to the capitalized ones by filling the appropriate letter in the answer sheet.

This instruction applies to items 41-45

41. SALIENT

    A. Condemned
    B. Deserving
    C. Noticeable
    D. Sailor

42. VICINITY

    A. Depute
    B. Neighbourhood
    C. Medicine
    D. Clean

43. AFFLUENT

    A. Huge
    B. Rich
    C. Selfish
    D. Poor

44. CONGENIAL

    A. Muddy
    B. Congested
    C. Friendly
    D. Unhappy

45. OPTIMIST

    A. Insufficient
    B. Lavish
    C. Hoper
    D. Miser

Choose the word **opposite in meaning** to the capitalized ones by filling the appropriate letter in the answer sheet.

This instruction applies to item 46-50

46. SKEPTICAL

    A. Cynical
    B. Ready to Believe
    C. Inadequate
    D. Indifferent

47. AUTONOMY

    A. Animation
    B. Renown
    C. Hostility
    D. Dependence

48. ERADICATE

    A. Create
    B. Eliminate
    C. Dull
    D. Surface

49. SIZZLING

    A. Hot
    B. Cold
    C. Dull
    D. Surface

50. MINGLE

    A. Separate
    B. Mix
    C. Crush
    D. Meager

READING COMPREHENSION

Read the passage below and answer the questions on the basis of what is stated or implied by filling the appropriate letter in the answer sheet.

Note: - The following passage relates to items 51-55

It has long been a tenet of business theory that the best decisions are made after careful review and consideration. Only after weighing all the options and studying projections, say most professors of business, can a practical decision be made.

Now, that model is being questioned by some business thinkers in the light of the theories of Malcolm Gladwell, who states that human beings often make better decisions in the blink of an eye.

It is, at first glance, a theory so counter-intuitive as to seem almost ludicrous. Behind any decisions, Gladwell posits, there is a behind-the-scenes subconscious process in which the brain analyzes; ranks in order of importance; compares and contrasts vast amounts of information; and dismisses extraneous factors, seemingly almost instantaneously, often arriving at a conclusion in less than two seconds. Citing a multitude of studies and examples from life, Gladwell shows how that split-second decision is often better informed than a drawn-out examination.

Evanston and Cramer were the first to apply this theory to the business world. Evanston videotaped the job interviews of 400 applicants at different firms. He then played only 10 seconds of each videotape to independent human resources specialists. The specialists were able to pick out the applicants who were hired with an accuracy of over 90%.

Cramer took the experiment even further, using only five second of videotape, without sound. To his astonishment, the rate of accuracy with which the HR specialists were able to predict the successful applicants fell only to 82%.

Critics argue that these results illustrate a problem with stereotyping that impedes human resources specialists from hiring the best candidates even when they have the time to get below the surface: going for the candidate who "looks the part". Gladwell argues that, on the contrary, the human mind is able to make complicated decisions quickly, and that intuition often trumps an extended decision-making process.

250

51. The primary purpose of the passage is to

   A. Discuss reasons an accepted business theory is being reexamined
   B. Present evidence that resolves a contradiction in business theory
   C. Describe a tenet of business practices and how that tenet can be tested in today's economic environment
   D. Argue that a counter-intuitive new business idea is, in the final analysis, incorrect
   E. Present evidence that invalidates a new business model

52. According to the passage, all of the following are examples of the subconscious processes by which the brain makes a decision EXCEPT.

   A. Analysis of information
   B. Ranking of information
   C. Comparison and contrast of information
   D. Rejecting information that is not pertinent
   E. Consulting a multitude of studies and examples

53. The author's attitude toward the long-held view that decisions should be made carefully over time expressed in the first paragraph can best be described as

   A. Dismissive and scornful
   B. Respectful but questioning
   C. Admiring and deferential
   D. Uncertain but optimistic
   E. Condescending and impatient

54. The author most likely mentions the results of cramer's extension of Evanston's experiment in order to

   A. Show that Cramer's hypothesis was correct while Evanston's hypothesis turned out to be incorrect
   B. Show that Evanston's hypothesis was correct while Cramer's hypothesis turned out to be incorrect
   C. Demonstrate that while both experiments were scientifically rigorous, neither ended up being scientifically valid
   D. Illustrate that the principle of subconscious decisions continues to work even when less information is available
   E. Demonstrate that Cramer's experiment was 8% more accurate than Evanston's, even though his subjects had less information to work with

55. It can be inferred that the critics referred to in the beginning of last paragraph believed the excellent results of the two experiments had less to do with the innate decision-making of the subjects than with

   A. The excellent decision-making of Evanston and Cramer
   B. The expertise of Malcolm Gladwell, who originated the theory
   C. Not choosing candidates who "looked the part"
   D. the use of videotape as a method of choosing candidates
   E. Their unconscious use of visual stereotypes in making their selections

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Appendix 9: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM *(FACE TO FACE: Version number: 2)*

Study title: A study of Language Policy in Higher Education Context in Pakistan
Researcher name: Palwasha Sajjad
Staff/Student number: 25193058
ERGO reference number: 18801

Please initial the box (es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (insert date /version no. of participant information sheet) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be used for the purpose of this study

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected

Data Protection
I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name)...

Signature of participant...…....

Date...

Appendix 10: **Participant Information Sheet**

Study Title: A study of Language Policy in Higher Education Context in Pakistan.

Researcher: Palwasha Sajjad   **Ethics number**: 18801

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

Hello my name is Palwasha Sajjad and I am currently conducting research for my PhD degree at the University of Southampton. I am keen on investigating the Language Policy at post graduate institutions in Khyber Pukhtoon Khwa ,Pakistan (a multilingual setting). The collected data will only be used for my own research.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you are currently a post graduate student/teacher taking an EMI course (English as a Medium of Instruction) at a Post Graduate institution in Pakistan. You will be observed in the classroom. If you are a student, you will be asked for an hour focus group interview towards the end of a month's observations. Whereas if you are a teacher you will be asked for an hour semi-structured interview. Moreover, possibly you would be asked for a follow-up interview as well. Your conversations with other participants and interview responses will be audio recorded.

What will happen to me if I take part?

Before I start my fieldwork, you will have the chance to ask any questions regarding the project. In the next stage, I will observe and take notes about the interactions you make with the participants inside the classroom. I will also be audio recording the interaction you are engaged in until the end of the one month observation time period. The interviews will be informal and the questions will mainly be about your experience as a learner/teacher of your content subject (English non-major) through English/Urdu/Pashto (or any other language) and about your use of English

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and other languages so they will be fairly easy to answer. The interviews will take about an hour each.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

Your participation will be very helpful in understanding the role of English in universities especially in South Asia (a multilingual context) where English is used as second language. This in turn may help in developing English education programs in South Asia. Moreover, should you be interested I can share the outcome of the study with you.

Are there any risks involved?

There is no potential psychological or physical risk involved, however, you have the right to withdraw from this research project at any point if you wish to do so.

Will my participation be confidential?

Your anonymity will be respected at all times, but I may need to reference your linguistic background. I will not mention the dates of when data was collected. All collected data will be in a secure area on password protected laptop where only the researcher can have access.

What happens if I change my mind?

At any point of the fieldwork, you are allowed to stop participating in the project if you decide to do so. All of your information will be removed and this will not affect you in any way.

What happens if something goes wrong?

If there is any concern or if something goes wrong please contact the Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee, Professor Chris Janaway (+44(0)2380593424 or c.janaway@soton.ac.uk)

Where can I get more information?

If you have any questions or comments regarding the research project, please feel free to contact me via email (ps1c13@soton.ac.uk or sajjadpalwasha@gmail.com) or my supervisor Prof. Jennifer Jenkins (j.jenkins@soton.ac.uk).

Appendix 9: Sample Interview transcript

1

2 **P:** This is an interview for the sake of my research thesis and the main issue

3 that I am focusing is on language policy in higher education and our medium

4 of instruction specifically. Why you have been selected for this interview is

5 because you are into teaching line and you have an experience of teaching

6 students from diverse linguistic backgrounds so I would like to know your

7 experience with teaching them. Would you please introduce yourself briefly?

8 **T:** My name is [NAME] and I have been in this line for the past you can say 9

9 years but on the university level I have experience of 1 and half year. Before

10 this I was teaching in a school mostly to the primary and secondary level and

11 I have done my MBA (Masters in Business Administration) from Peshawar,

12 Institute of Management Sciences and it has been quite some time now.

13 **P:** ok. Which school were you previously teaching in?

14 **T:** In Beacon House Schooling System, one of the best systems in Pakistan.

15 And it's a private institution.

16 **P:** Which subject do you teach here?

17 **T:** Over here I taught marketing and management, only marketing and

18 management.

19 **P:** do you use only English only or it's a blend of many=

20 **T: =**Initially I had this idea because we were supposed to, it's an English

21 medium university and I would feel that at this level we should be teaching in

22 that. Initially I used to take the whole class in English but the response used

23 to be terrible and we used to come up with students, used to talk directly to

24 me saying that they don't understand a single word and they used to ask me

25 to translate it into Pashto or in Urdu and then once when I understood their

26 level of understanding the language then I had to switch over to Urdu or

27 Pashto medium but I do try to teach in English and majority of the students

28 by end of the class they simply say that you are teaching in English so we did

29   not understand.Mostly they are from far flung places and from not very

30   strong backgrounds I would say.

31   **P:** Like their level of English=

32   **T: =**If I have to rate them?=

33   **P: =**If you have to describe them.

34   **T:** If I have to describe them, none of them have been to English medium

35   schools. I feel about 90% I am sure they haven't been to English medium

36   schools and they might know just the basics of English and till the level that

37   they can understand simple phrases.

38   **P:** And does your department follow a formal policy for teaching in English or

39   it's understood that you have to use English?

40   **T:** No they, like, it's understood. It is…there also we should emphasise on

41   teaching in English because that's what they tell us but the problem over here

42   is the level of students that we are dealing with. For them understanding it at

43   this level is very difficulty because English is a…we don't just learn English in

44   a day or two, you need proper, what would you say…Training..Training from

45   the very start. So, there are no restrictions as such but they do emphasise on

46   teaching in English.

47   **P:** Ok…

48   **T:** Actually English is international…So it's a means of communication… Link

49   language, as long as you understand and as long as you grasp the concept I

50   feel so for me it should be that way as long as they understand it and as a

51   language if they have to study then they have to take special courses on [xxx]

52   as a subject, they have to study it on that level.

53   **P:** Yeah. But taking into consideration your content, your subject, what do

54   you think is more appropriate for you as a teacher and for them as students?

55   **T:** Yes, but if I keep my students of this university in mind then I would go

56   that otherwise, generally speaking, English is a language which is used

57　everywhere and in every subject so in that matter teaching it as a subject or

58　as proper language.

59　**P:** By proper you mean::::::?

60　**T:** Standard, that is our own psyche I feel that we give more importance to

61　British language, British accent or British Language .

62　**P:** Ok. Keeping in mind your own teaching, what do you feel at ease with, I

63　mean you feel at ease with English while teaching or you feel at ease with

64　Urdu and Pashto while teaching?

65　**T:** Initially I was very comfortable in teaching in English but with the passage

66　of time it wasn't really difficult translating it because at times whatever you

67　obviously the books are all in English so you grasp the concept also in your

68　mind in English also, you take the examples also in English and automatically

69　when you are delivering the lecture the same language comes like that but,

70　now that we have been in practice for the past more than one year now so it's

71　alright if I am switching over to languages because it's for them to

72　understand the concept. So for me, initially it was, because I used to actually

73　forget my own language also the terms and the words in that and then I used

74　to take a few seconds to recall it.

75　**P:** And the kind of study material that you suggest to your students, I mean

76　the books or other resources…

77　**T:** It depends on the subject. Mostly they are foreign writers and then they

78　ask for the Pakistani writers also. Again it depends on the level of English

79　they speak and they understand. So for Pakistan, if it is a Pakistani author, a

80　local author then obviously he gives the examples also from the local area, for

81　them understanding that is much   easier because over here since I am

82　teaching marketing and management so in marketing if I am, the study the

83　time doing from a book that is mostly foreign authors' book and the examples

84　that I get from that they are obviously from other countries, which these

85　children are not familiar with. So I have to tell them and then have to

86　compare those examples with here's example and…

87   **P:** like you have to relate it to the context.

88   **T:** Yes…Plus the difficulty of the language, the kind of language that is present
89   in the foreign books…Yes.

90   **P:** in the exams…

91   **T:** Yes…that's another issue…level of performance in their scripts, written
92   scripts..f you go grammatically or the spellings or if you are considering rules
93   then it is very poor. But if you are just considering their concept then you
94   can…

95   **P:** So do you penalise them for their grammatical mistakes?

96   **T:** Initially I used to but then the system over here, since it's a new university
97   I feel, so there is not a lot of restrictions over here and then the students that
98   come here they are from a background which have mostly they have don't
99   have very strong family background so keeping them in mind and then the
100 way they are trying to study so now I give them leverage in that.

101 **P:** Ok…they are not trained for=

102 **T: =**Yes. I would feel even for the teachers English training would be
103 beneficial because as they go further, if they want to study further, their
104 report writing and in their thesis, they are doing masters or even at MS level,
105 they do require proper writing skills and for that they are not trained over
106 here then the students really suffer in that by going outside the university if
107 the supervisor doesn't have time or whatever they have to face a lot of
108 problems then. If such classes or workshops are being conducted within the
109 university premises I feel it would be a great help to the students as well as to
110 the teachers.

111 **P:** When you speak in the class are you conscious about your accent it's just
112 that you don't care?

113 **T:** No, not anymore. No not, because before this I have been in this line and as
114 I told you I was teaching in Beacon House and their medium of
115 communication was totally English.

116 **P:** So you are not concerned.

117 **T:** No I am not…the only comment that I hear from my students is that they
118 don't understand at times whatever, for that matter even if I am teaching
119 them although if you, my English accent is very simple, I don't have an accent
120 for that matter but for them to comprehend it, it might be difficult.

121 **P:** what is the selection criteria for teachers in the university?

122 **T:** Over here they go, since it's a government university, the post has to
123 advertised and there is just proper test taken.

124 **P:** test ?

125 **T:** English based, language based? It depends on the post that you are
126 actually applying for.

127 **P:** And the test items?

128 **T:** Very difficult, very high level…They do not match actually what the criteria
129 or whatever the purpose of the teachers, the requirement of the teacher like
130 for teaching in a class does not fulfil that. I mean, even if you take there are
131 different section of the test, so if you take the English part the words and the
132 vocabulary that they use I think you need to take out a dictionary for that
133 because it's very…and you just do it by chance, it's just a guess work…And the
134 kind of demonstration that is conducted in order to select teachers the level
135 of demonstration, I mean keeping in mind their future communication skills
136 that are required, the selection criteria again depends on your selection
137 panel.. I feel, the people sitting over there, you come across a lot of different
138 people over here so if they have studied from abroad then their way of
139 thinking and their way of judging you is totally different.

140 **P:** Do we have any members from abroad over here in the university?

141 **T:** Yes… I don't know exact ratio but it is there. May be 40/60.

142 **P:** Ok. So we were talking about the selection criteria and the test pattern,
143 what if any suggestion if you have?

144   **T:** Firstly it should be subject based I feel for teachers. If I am specialised in a

145   certain subject the test that should be taken from me it should be subject

146   based. If it is for the language purpose, if they want to judge me in my

147   language then I think simple terms, just the simple phrases, the grammar can

148   be checked but the other criteria like I am familiar with other tests also, I

149   have given, if you say for going abroad you need to give this IELTS test, that is

150   also language test but…

151   **P:** What is your comment on that?

152   **T:** For that it does check your vocabulary, in a way your understanding of the

153   language to a certain level. Even in that you do a lot of guess work but that

154   has been divided into 3 different categories in which I feel if you are a good

155   speaker you might not be a good writer so you are checked in different levels

156   for that, for the language only. So even if you put those 3 portions in your

157   hiring test, I feel that would be feasible enough.

158   **P:** ok so only English test is enough ?

159   **T:** YEAH keeping in mind the the diverse scenario that we have over here, I

160   think in a candidate, I mean there can be a situation where students might

161   not understand Urdu and the teachers might not know Pashto in such a case

162   if they are not good enough in English and we don't allow them to use

163   Pashto…how should we overcome the obstacles of teaching them because

164   they pay fee in order to get knowledge but there are barriers? If special

165   classes are also arranged for them even that won't serve the purpose because

166   for one or two people I don't think you can…then we shouldn't hire them, we

167   shouldn't give admission to them. There should be some criteria of giving

168   admission to the students also which I don't think there is. There is none I

169   guess.

170   **P:** Yeah, there is no criteria.

171   **T:** I think to just upgrade or just to maintain a certain level of students in the

172   university I feel there should be some entry test or some criteria to give

173   admission to such students.

174   **P**: What is your opinion which languages are important for students?

175   **T:** keeping in mind, as we discussed now, the regional requirements, by

176   regional ..I mean the students that we get over here keeping in mind them

177   and the global requirements of the world and the demand of their language

178   skills..I feel seminars and workshops of such kind, just to enhance their

179   communication skills or their language skills that will help, not by the local

180   people may be by if you bring in some foreign people or those who have, an

181   expert in this. I feel starting from this scratch because, since I am not an

182   expert so I wouldn't know from where to start, whether they need grooming

183   or they need, what do you call it, simple sentence structure they don't

184   understand or they cannot even say out a phrase whether there is a problem

185   with their vocabulary or grasping the concept so we should divide these

186   different, into different criteria and then accordingly arrange seminars and

187   workshops in which practically something is done.

188   **P:** when while you are assessing students' presentations what do you look for

189   in the students' performance?

190   **T:** Mainly the way they communicate the concept to the audience I do not pay

191   much attention to their English..Not, even if I try to. Since it is their weak

192   point, I do tell them and there are set marks for it also. And I make it sure

193   that they communicate whether they just present the topic in bits and pieces

194   but I do tell them to communicate in English and one is that they are stage

195   conscious, they cannot talk in front of the audience. They are hesitant in

196   doing that, that fear and the other one is that the language barrier that they

197   have but I haven't taken a class twice, if I say in the first semester I taught

198   them and then in the fourth semester the same class was given to me so I

199   cannot actually tell whether they have been groomed in that or not but I do

200   tell them the criteria of their presentation what that should be, their

201   communication they way they have to communicate then…

202   **P:** Do you pay any attention to their accent and the right kind of sentence

203   structure or you just let it go?

204 **T:** No because over here I have not come across anybody with proper

205 sentence structure or their proper accent if you call it like that. But I do

206 encourage them on whatever they try to communicate at that time in English.

207 Then they also ask me, between the presentation, they also ask me that can

208 they switch over to Urdu or Pashto. At times if they are really getting stuck I

209 do let them but then I might repeat it in English or I make them to repeat it in

210 English or any group member of (xxx) to repeat that in English. So English is

211 the basic, what you say, the drawback in their presenting the concept.

212 **P:** Another thing is that if there is a choice to improve their mother tongue or

213 Urdu or English, which out of these would you support?

214 **T:** English. I think British…that English.. for effective communication.

215 **P:** ok. And why would you support that English=

216 **T: =**Because that English is a standard language I suppose and even over

217 here if you take your own country I feel that English is the…If you are asking

218 me I would say yes… but if you are asking a student from here he might be

219 disagreeing to you. Because see I have been studying in private schools and

220 private universities you can say that all my brought up is done in such a way

221 that English language for us might not be a big deal but for them it does

222 matter because they don't know ABC of this language… in our society it's a

223 discriminatory tool. It should be used to enhance the skills of the other

224 person but in our society sadly it's for discrimination purposes.

225 **P:** Ok. Any suggestions for the higher education policy in the capacity of a

226 teacher, any suggestions from your side in order to improve the present

227 situation?

228 **T:** I feel it should be, the language in itself it should be standardised from the

229 very basic (xxx) education, I mean going to schools, to English medium

230 schools and then going to same English medium colleges I would say that

231 would enhance them and that would bring in a difference but over here since

232 we are a third world country and very poor so I feel it is going to be very

233 difficult and that might be one of the reasons that we are lacking behind in

234 this thing but enhancing the language it should be properly, proper guidance

235   is needed. You cannot just learn a language like this. So proper training,

236   proper classes should be arranged.

237   **P:** what do u think is the main problem in universities…why students and

238   teachers are not satisfied with the standards of education?

239   **T:** there are a lot of problems in whatever is being preached and practiced,

240   whatever is the criteria for selecting a teacher and whatever is required from

241   the teacher, however is the student selected and whatever is expected from

242   the student..but i think that what we are doing right now is only because that

243   we have to compete with rest of the world and since we are a third world

244   country we don't have that much resources?

245   **P:** do you really think we do not have resources?

246   **T:** Actually the problem is that we do have resources but they are not

247   properly allocated and channelized because of lack of will power. So I think

248   this is an excuse when we say that we don't have resources, we do have

249   resources, we do have…but we don't have management and channelization of

250   those resources and that is something that is problem and we are taking

251   whatever the foreign countries are doing rather than incorporating our local

252   requirements into it.because all of the people don't go abroad, all of the

253   people don't use English. So we need to think about those people as well

254   because they are footing equal bills and they have to get educated. So it's a

255   complex game and we need to tackle all the issues as educationists. So that's

256   what my suggestions are..

257   **P:** Great.. they are very fine suggestions. Thank you very much.

258   T: Thank you.

APPENDIX 10: Sample focus group discussion

1

2   Imran: And how many languages on average do we know?hmmmm

3   Participants: Approximately 3…(all said at the same time)

4   Jibran: Approximately 3. Like English, Urdu, Pashto.

5   Faizan: Farsi

6   Salman: Farsi, you can speak and write?

7   Participants: Hindko, Punjabi. Saraki, Chitrali, {participants 1,2,3 said at the
8   same time}.

9   Faizan: Hindko, Punjabi. Saraki, Chitrali, ____. And you can write and speak
10   it?or you just speak it.

11   salman: I write three languages, Pashto, Urdu, English.

12   Faizan: Yay Farsi, Saraiki, Hindko...You can only speak Farsi, Saraki, Hindko
13   not write it?

14   jibran: ... I want to add a point. Our first language which we study, which we
15   learn in our home is not pure Pashto. For example, it's not our pure native
16   language. We do not learn Pashto in it's pure form in our houses, we start
17   with baby talk after that pure Pashto needs to be learned, then our national
18   language Urdu and then English. By the time we reach here the number of
19   languages along with their difficulty increases. So we face a lot of problems.)

20   Faizan: = That's why you face problems in studying in English

21   Salman: please say it {Here some of the participants nod positively and some
22   negatively}

23   Imran: I think it should be in our own native language because in the
24   beginning we all start in Pashto, most of the teachers speak Pashto in classes
25   and we don't know even Urdu, till Matric I didn't know even Urdu.after that

26   In FSc English started and we didn't even know Urdu so how could we

27   understand English. After that we started learning English slowly. So then we

28   got much time learning English, still we face problems using English. People

29   think that those who can speak English are successful and that those who

30   cannot speak English are not having any skill. That is NOT TRUE (.) English is

31   a barrier (.) they might be having other skills. This is a biased attitude to say

32   that those who know English have all the skills.

33   Salman: I want to add another point that no one can deny the importance of

34   English language because if you want to communicate with the world then

35   you should use the English language, for this reason the use of English is

36   necessary irrespective of the native language that you have. From the start it

37   is necessary that every teacher teaches in English language till the Masters

38   level, then it will be good and helpful in the future. For some people English

39   language is a barrier in understanding their lessons (3) in their studies (.) we

40   cannot express our thoughts in it (.) We cannot convey our message to the

41   listener if we do not know English (.) I think this happens (.) these things (.)

42   that we cannot use English (.) these happens because we do not know

43   English (.) if we keep English language to the limits of language only BUT (.) I

44   (3) I (3) know I AM AWARE that::: English should be learned because of the

45   fact that it has an international importance now@@ (.) it should be learned

46   as it is valued internationally (.) there is nothing wrong in using and learning

47   it.

48   Imran: It is a valid point but we have developed countries like China,

49   Germany, France they follow their own native language because it makes it

50   easy for them and they can learn better in their language. Even now in our

51   class we have got students who face problem in learning in English because

52   they are hesitant to come and reluctant to come in front of the class with

53   their level of English..so this is the disadvantage. We cannot deny that yes

54   there are pros and cons of the English language (Faizan:…mmmm) but

55   yes ..there are still ..still….There are advantages of adopting English but there

56   many disadvantages for us here as well because we follow three languages

57   Pashto, Urdu and then comes English . In my opinion, it would be better to

58   follow one language in a country, in a schooling system ,in college system or
59   in the education system.

60   Faizan: As one of the friend pointed out that there are developed countries
61   who use their own native languages for the purpose but for that we have to
62   get developed first, bring improvement, over-all, in the country

63   Jibran:Is it a sound suggestion to restrict ourselves to our national language,
64   what do you think from students perspective=

65   Salman : as a student English is important for usEnglish is being taught to us
66   from the very beginning of our education

67   Faizan: We are weak in speaking skills but those who have been studying
68   English since the beginning their writing and listening skills are good.
69   Because we don't have the environment where we can practice our speaking
70   so our speaking skills are weak..

71   Jibran: we face problem in reading/understanding foreign writers

72   Imran: Yes we do face problem, the vocabulary is sometimes beyond our
73   grasp

74   Salman: I totally disagree with him, he said that we start English from the
75   beginning but that is just in some specific areas. If you check the overall
76   situation, especially in the rural areas, you cannot find even Urdu language.
77   They speak in their own native language. Till my Matric I knew no Urdu, later
78   on I started Urdu. Then I entered to intermediate, after intermediate I started
79   the English language. Then I faced so many problems in that as well, still I
80   face the problem in English. Now see we read here, we study here foreign
81   books so we face much problems, if it were in Urdu it would be better for us
82   and it would be easier for us to understand. So I think it is not a matter
83   that ……. There are some schools they have this specific language system,
84   otherwise there is no, if you check the rate of this (means use of English
85   language at primary level) it is zero.

86   Imran: yes…This is right. he developed districts in Pakistan are more focused
87   on English language than areas like FATA and the like, less developed areas.

88   Faizan: If extra steps are taken to polish our linguistic skills?

89   Participants: Yes.

90   Faizan: In more advance schools like City School, Allied School, their students
91   are used to international books because they are taught in those books and
92   they are used to tough vocabulary and language like that. But students from
93   rural areas or students who are taught in Pakistani books they are no not
94   used to it. If such students concentrate on language of international books at
95   university level they lose track of their study. On the other hand, they cannot
96   concentrate on their study because the language is a problem.

97   Faizan: On this level we will be taught English communication. Does this
98   subject help you in understanding your course subject of English
99   communication serve its purpose …The book that is related to
100   communication, business communication, which is taught to us in first
101   semester, it has got things related to communication but it is mainly about
102   how to write a Letter, a Memo or Report etc. It has a little bit of vocabulary as
103   well but still it is not that effective..

104   jibran: It is about Inter- and Intra-Organisation communication, not English
105   basically.

106   Jibran: Jibran: Ok so let's talk about the entry test=

107   Salman: =well it is the English section=

108   Imran: =but most of the items were of vocabulary (.)

109   Faizan: I think our entry test is useful in assessing our language skills for our
110   degrees?

111   Salman: If we talk about language skills then yes=

112   Faizan: =Yes you should know the meaning of a word if you have language
113   skills(.)

114   Jibran: well::: I believe that maybe you guys would not agree but still I would
115   say that it encourages rote learning more of a memory test you know@@@

116   Salman: but I think It's more about language skills I believe (.)If itwere a

117   memory test then there are different methods for it (.) It would not focus on

118   English then (.) they check whether we will be able to communicate in this

119   institute or not (.)

120   Jibran: I think it is having problem because by just judging the

121   vocabulary you cannot say that person would have the confidence to

122   communicate (.)What good is that vocabulary if they do not have the

123   confidence to communicate (.)

124   Imran: I know what Jibran is saying. I think we must have opportunity

125   to develop and test our oral communication skills.

126   Jibran: yes because we don't develop these in schools

127   Faizaan: yeah specially in schools like (Name of school)

128   Salman: so it is the fault of the schools not the tests then

129   Jibran: but be honest do u think we use these words and

130   comprehension passages in our studies

131   Salman: no we do not but then it is language and language tests are like these

132   Faizan : It should be like the test should be taken in that subject only in

133   which the candidate is going to specialise later, business specific for

134   candidates who want to pursue this field and like that for other subjects as

135   well

136   Salman: I totally disagree with him because most of the time we have seen

137   that, since from Matric if you check the books that are in English even the

138   science subjects, they all are in English. If we do not focus on English so how

139   can we study those books and it would be more difficult for us to study those

140   books then. So the first and foremost important thing is that we have to know

141   English as we know, as we consider English the first thing, so then 50%

142   lecture is there or subject is there that will be covered in English. So I think

143   English is more important rather than this subject wise.

144   Faizan: What you would say? English is just a language it should not be given

145   as much importance as the core subject

146   Salman :well..well.. You are right, I do not deny this but the important thing is

147   that if you check the international conferences, seminars, they are all in

148   English. You have to go accordingly with the world. For that purpose you

149   need to give English its due place. On the contrary, you are right if the system

150   is as whole in native language it would make it easy for us but it is not. Our

151   system is in English. That's why I am stressing on English that there should

152   be in the beginning, I mean the primary level classes, in the middle level

153   classes, even in Matric level classes there should be specific English language

154   classes where the students can overcome all the weaknesses of the English so

155   then easily.. he/she can promote him/herself. to the subject wise

156   Salman lets discuss the next issue…what is it? ok kind of English….hmmmm

157   Jibran: … First I thought that we should follow the Standard English, like their

158   accent, but then even when we speak Urdu it sounds like Pashto. So the same

159   will happen to English as well… If our English is understandable, if it sounds

160   like English then we should speak it but if it is not understandable and we

161   reach a point where we don't know what a Salman is talking then I think it is

162   better to follow the Standard pattern

163   Imran: I think we cannot get their accent because it is not our native

164   language, our mother tongue. Even when they speak our languages they

165   cannot get the same accent. So the most important thing is that we have to

166   understand each other. Either the communication gap is there, if I can

167   understand him or if he or she can understand me so this is the most

168   important thing. Otherwise accent or those are not that much important.

169   Faizan: I think accent should not be copied and it cannot be be copied

170   because it's their native tongue and they speak it since their childhood and

171   not just accent but also stressing excessively on the difficult aspects of

172   language and its perfection. I do not think it should be done?

173   Imran: Grammar should be focused to the extent that we convey our message

174   to listener properly, the listener should understand us. We should not be

175   mixing up tenses for example.

176   Faizan: Your basics…Grammar should be focused to the extent that our

177   message is conveyed properly and vocabulary should not be that

178   verbose…Simple, plain, effective

179   Imran: Plain English that we can communicate with others and unnecessary

180   use of difficult vocabulary should be avoided…

181   Imran: like our teachers use simple English with correct grammar English in

182   Maximum classes…

183   Jibran:…. It depends on the teacher, some deliver in English and some mix up

184   English with Urdu

185   Faizan: the reason behind their mixing up languages in classroom is the thing

186   they want to explain could not be explained properly in English that's why or

187   maybe For our understanding they switch between languages When we don't

188   understand in English then they teach in Urdu.

189   Jibran: For students of first semester they even add Pashto sometimes but as

190   they proceed to senior semesters Pashto is totally avoided then, irrespective

191   of the subject or field of specialisation)….[NAME]I know that in later

192   semesters…The increase the use of English as the semesters progress

193   Faizan: TEACHERS tell us to improve our English and to speak with each

194   other in English…

195   Jibran: A senior teacher told us that role-playing will also be done, like

196   dramas etc. but the time was short…

197   Faizan: No in other classes, let's talk about other classes because you use

198   English: …Urdu or English, it doesn't matter. And one thing more I want to

199   add because[Inaudible conversation proceeds]because in English there are

200   specific structure that give you a specific meaning so we cannot deny that if

201   you do know grammar so we can convey exactly what we understand…

202   Salman: Flexibility should be there from the grammar point of view…We

203   already have our own core subjects to deal with so I think simple is better for

204   us. For those who are specialising in the field of English for them it is a must

205   then…

206   Faizan: [SPECIALISED FIELD]

207   Jibran: Other than that it is better to follow the simple one, that at least he can

208   speak and understand.

209   Faizan: because I feel that the teacher who uses English a lot is more

210   intelligent?

211   Participants: [Unintelligible chatter] Yes those teachers no matter how much

212   learned they are, if they are talking in a local sort of accent we you feel that…

213   Participants : He is not intelligent

214   Faizan: He is not intelligent

215   Imran: It happens in our presentations as well and the teachers also get the

216   idea that those who present in English are intelligent, even if he has not

217   presented something worth praising. Its opposite happens in Urdu, no matter

218   how good your presentation is but it was in Urdu so it won't click…

219   Salman: The reason for that is not this that we speak in Urdu or in English but

220   the reason is that when we leave this place, I mean when we complete our

221   degree so whenever we go anywhere, any seminar or any organisation they

222   do not expect that we should speak Urdu, they first check our communication

223   skills should be in English and that should be a fore most start and…first of all

224   I have been there, I have been at one organisation. The first thing they

225   observed was the accent and second was grammar skills. That if you are able

226   to speak properly and if you have accent as well so they can provide

227   opportunity to you otherwise there is no chance.

228   Jibran: Unlike other countries like UAE, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and even some

229   European countries, the sub-continent has made a problem out of English. It

230   is over here that if you know English then you know something otherwise no.

231   We are business students and we don't have much to do with English0.

232   Salman: I harshly disagree with him because I reiterated before as well, he

233   said that China is there, other countries are there, their whole system is in

234   their own language. If we have our system in English so we have to focus on

235   English, if we leave English our total educational system should be in Urdu

236   then it is…yes..it is…

237   Faizan: English should be focused but only to the extent that it should help us

238   in understanding our subjects. It should not do the otherwise ..Our Urdu is

239   grammatically not up to the mark but we have learned it by speaking it with

240   each other. The problem is that people will laugh at you if you commit any

241   mistake/error in English and that destroys our self-confidence. That's why

242   we cannot learn.

243   Salman: We automatically switch between all the languages we know..It

244   should be encouraged

245   Imran: Those teachers who blend different langauges are more easy to

246   understand, we focus more on those points rather than those who use

247   English only. We do understand in the latter case as well but not to that level

248   as we do in the former.

249   Participants: [Unintelligible chatter] …not that much..

250

251   P: Thank you very much.

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