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CONTENTS

Contents
Editorial Board
Contributors

Research Papers
Tayyaba Tamim 1
Languages in Education, Social Capital and Inequality

Nighat Sultana & Qaisar Khan 24
Cultural Effect of Gender on Apology Strategies of Pakistani Undergraduate Students

Liaquat Ali Channa 43
A Critical Debate in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Theory

Jamil Asghar 57
Postcolonial South Asian Literature and the Quest for Identity

Azhar Habib 72
An Analysis of Cultural Load in English Textbooks Taught in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

Quratul Ain Hina 89
Motivational Factors Affecting Amotivation among Faculty Members of Public Sector Universities in Islamabad

Critical Insight
Riaz Hassan 112
Cloud-Cuckoo Land

Copyright Statement 120
Disclaimer 121
Call for Papers 122
Subscription Form 123
Editorial Board

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Fatima Jinnah Women University, Rawalpindi, Pakistan

Dr. Riaz Hassan
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences,
AIR University, Islamabad, Pakistan
Contributors

Languages in Education, Social Capital and Inequality

Dr. Tayyaba Tamim is currently working as Director Academics at Shaheed Zulifiqar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology, Karachi. Before this, she was Associate Professor and Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Humanities and Social Sciences & the Centre for Research in Economics and Business, Lahore School of Economics, Pakistan, and Assistant Professor, at Aga Khan University. Dr. Tamim has her PhD in Education from the University of Cambridge, UK, as a fully funded RECOUP scholar and her MPhil from Cambridge University, as a British Council Chevening scholar. In addition, she has a Masters degree in English Language Teaching from Kinnaird College for Women University and Masters in English Literature from the University of Punjab. She has published in national and international journals and presented in several conferences at national and international level. Her areas of interest are social justice and equity in education, teacher education, languages in education and language policy.

Email: dr.tayyaba.tamim@gmail.com

Cultural Effect of Gender on Apology Strategies of Pakistani Undergraduate Students

Dr. Nighat Sultana (Main Author) is working as an Assistant Professor and a Graduate Advisor in the Faculty of Higher Studies, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. She is a PhD in English Linguistics from the same university. She obtained her Masters in English and TEFL from Punjab University and Allama Iqbal Open University respectively. She is interested in exploring different research areas in the field of Linguistics particularly in the scholarship related to Applied Linguistics, Language and Gender, Sociolinguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. She has published in varied national and international journals.

Email: nighetashfaq@gmail.com

Qaisar Khan (Co-Author) is working as an Assistant Professor in the Department of English, University of Malakand. As a graduate student, he completed his MPhil from University of Malakand and is currently enrolled in PhD in English Linguistics in Faculty of Higher Studies, National
University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. He completed his Masters in English Language and Literature from NUML and LLB from University of Peshawar. Khan has published several research articles in national and international journals. His areas of interest include language, gender, curriculum and education. His recent research endeavors include investigation of the scope of English language in reforming and bringing madrassas (religious seminaries) into the mainstream education system.

Email: kkaiserikhan@hotmail.com

**A Critical Debate in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Theory**

Dr. Liaquat Ali Channa is an Assistant Professor in the Department of English, Balochistan University of Information Technology, Engineering and Management Sciences (BUITEMS), Quetta. He is a Fulbright Scholar. He did his PhD in TESOL and World Language Education at the University of Georgia, USA. He is interested in Educational Linguistics in general and in Language-in-Education Policy, Language Policy Reforms, English as a/the Medium of Instruction, and Bilingual Education in particular.

Email: channaliaquat@yahoo.com

**Postcolonial South Asian Literature and the Quest for Identity**

Dr. Jamil Asghar is currently working as a Lecturer in the Department of English, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. His areas of interest include Postmodernism, Literary Theory, Translation Studies, and Postcolonial Studies. In his research, he mainly focuses on the issues of representation, domestication of less-privileged discourses in translation, signification, realist versus nominalist views of language, cross-cultural research paradigms and linguistic modalities.

Email: jamilasgharjami@gmail.com

**An Analysis of Cultural Load in English Textbooks in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan**

Azhar Habib is serving as a lecturer in the Department of English, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. He has done his MPhil in English Linguistics. Currently, he is involved in teaching and research. His areas of interest are Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics, Language and Culture, Syllabus and Textbook Evaluation.

Email: azherhabib55@yahoo.com
Motivational Factors Affecting Amotivation among Faculty Members of Public Sector Universities in Islamabad

Dr. Quratul Ain Hina is working as a lecturer in the Department of Education, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad. She has done her PhD in Education from the same university in 2014. She is interested in exploring new dimensions in the areas of teaching strategies and styles that can enhance effectiveness of learning situations, and in human resource sector in order to build an efficient work force for the universities of Pakistan. She is also interested in organizational behavior, educational administration and management, and curriculum development.

Email: quratulainhina@yahoo.com
Languages in Education, Social Capital and Inequality

Tayyaba Tamim

Abstract

This paper engages with the critical debate of the impact of languages in education, in private and government schools, in Pakistan, on participants’ opportunities to construct social capital, an important dimension of intergenerational, relative poverty. The data from in-depth interviews of 32 participants, (secondary school final-year students and their same sex 5-6 years older siblings), reveal the growing significance of English, through the interplay of the language policy and languages in education in Pakistan, leading to hegemonic ideologies that constrict the opportunities for the government school participants to acquire the kind of social capital that may address social stratification and inequality. The paper offers insights into the nature of language-education and development relationship. With the use of Bourdieu’s social critical theory, the paper captures the processes by which languages in education become implicated in restricting the social capital of the relatively poor. Findings revealed that the languages in education, within the current language policy transformed through mutual cognition and intersubjectivity into symbolic capital. This set off processes which constrict the social capital of the government school participants, creating social stratification, affecting collective agency and restricting opportunities for advancement for the disadvantaged despite their education. The paper argues that the question of language in education must be conceptualized with reference to the national language policy and seen in terms of its implications for development and inequality. This is because the trajectory of education into reduction of inequality, though widely emphasized, is not unproblematic.

Key words: social capital, languages in education, inequality

Introduction

A major factor in intergenerational poverty and inequality has been the transfer of social structural relationships of power, from one generation to the other (Bird & McKay, 2011). Correspondingly, in development literature, social capital has been considered a tool for development, overcoming deficits in policy and information, and facilitating social mobility (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1990; Narayan, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004). It is also argued widely, that
“lack of access to resource-rich networks constitutes an important dimension of social inequality for low-income adolescents” (Chattopadhay, 2012, p. 67).

Education is argued to contribute towards social capital (Chattopadhay, 2012; Huang, Brink, & Groot, 2009; Misra, Grimes, & Rogers, 2013; Print, 2010), though its impact maybe also be disruptive (Godoy, et al., 2007). The centrality of emphasis on education, in view of its positive role in development processes, is visible in the Millennium Development Goals (Mc Grath, 2010), and now, the focus is being shifted from access to equity in learning outcomes (Barrett, 2011). Nevertheless, the processes by which education actually intersects with poverty and inequality, remains relatively under-researched (Rose & Dyer, 2008). In addition, educational agendas, often undergirded by human capital and rights-based approaches, can neglect social justice issues embedded in the unique contexts of educational institutions (Tikly, 2011); and obsession with quantifiable results may lose focus of the wider non-tangible processes and outcomes of education (Barett, 2011). A competing discourse of capability approach evaluates equality in education not in mere resource provision but in equality of opportunities or “capabilities” that education offers to individuals to achieve their valued goals (Sen, 2000). Based on a social justice framework, it also emphasizes that equity is based on the premise of acceptance of diversity (ibid.).

Education is not always equitable and it may reproduce the existing power inequalities rather than addressing them (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2011). The choice of languages in education, in the given context of language policy can also trigger inequality in multiple dimensions (Tamim, 2013; Tamim, 2014), “perpetuating a post-colonial era” of power inequality (Tikly, 2011). Language plays a pivotal role in establishing and maintaining of social capital as it represents, constitutes and maintains spectrum of relationships across individuals and groups (Clark, 2006). Not speaking the right language can restrict relationships and limit participation (Bourdieu, 1991), affecting the agency of individuals to achieve their valued goals. Language can, thus, act as a subtle but potent tool of discrimination and exclusion from valued social capital (ibid.). Studies indicate the link between language, power and inequality, highlighting the significance of the linguistic hierarchy in the language policy (Harbert, Mc-Connell-Ginet, Miller, & Whitman, 2009; Rahman, 2004; Tollefson, 1991). Research also highlights the subtle exclusion extending from the use of a particular language in development contexts (Robinson, 1996). In such debates, the globalized role of English has been controversial. On one side, English is seen as a medium of social mobility and on the other, it is seen as a
stratifying factor, intensifying deprivation of the marginalized (Cangarajah, 1999). Nevertheless, the absence of an integrated cross-disciplinary dialogue between languages in education and narrowly defined inequality, in terms of differential access to social capital, is particularly striking. Similarly, the exploration of social capital, as an educational outcome, across middle and low-income groups, represented in private and government schools, respectively, in relation to issues of inequality and social justice remains under explored.

This paper is based on the findings of a wider 3-year study in the multilingual context of urban Pakistan. It contributes to the current literature by addressing the questions:

1. What is the impact of languages used and taught in education in private and government schools on participants’ capabilities to construct, and expand their social capital?

In addition, it also explores

2. What kind of social capital is generated, by differential access to languages in private and government schools and who does it privilege?

The paper uses Bourdieu’s (1986) theoretical toolkit of “social capital” as an analytical framework in confluence with the suggested typology of social capital: “bridging,” “bonding,” (Narayan, 2009; Putnam, 2000) and “linking,” social capital (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004) to explicate issues of inequality in relation to the nature of social capital accessible to different groups. The aim is to enrich Bourdieu’s construct of social capital by unpacking and “reconciling” it with other accounts of social capital for richer insights into issues of inequality (Kawachi, Kin, Counts, & Subramanian, 2004). The paper does not attempt to measure the extent of social capital, nor does it detail the impact of social capital; rather, it broadly discusses the differential access to different types of social capital across private and government school participants.

In this paper, inequality is evaluated in the “space of capabilities” i.e. “the freedom of opportunities” or range of effective choices (Sen, 2000) to access valued social capital. This is to emphasize that even when the same “functioning or achievement has been gained, for example the completion of secondary school, inequality may still persist in the unequal opportunities offered by that education, across classes (ibid.). This is because the needs of human beings are essentially diverse and individuals may require different resources to achieve the same valued goals. Hence, social institutions and policies must be evaluated in terms of equality in “capabilities” i.e., the range of opportunities and choices they offer to
individuals to achieve their valued goals (Tikly, 2011; Unterhalter & Meliane, 2007; Walker, 2012).

In the next section, the paper moves on with a discussion of Bourdieu’s theory of social capital, complemented with a typology of social capital suggested by Putnam (2000) and Szreter and Woolcock (2004), and its link with language and inequality. This is followed by an overview of the context and methodology of the study. In the next section, I discuss the findings before summarizing the argument in the conclusion.

**Social Capital, Language and Inequality**

Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of social capital, while focusing on the benefits of social capital, transcends the narrow functionalist approaches (Coleman, 1990; Putnam, 2000) and sharpens the explanatory power of the study. This allows a revalorization of social relationships within the political economy of the context, structured by the wider national language policy, of Pakistan. Bourdieu (1986) presents social capital as “an attribute of an individual in a social context” (p. 9), a resource that facilitates an individual’s access to certain privileges that are collectively owned by the group, to which s/he belongs, and which are exclusive to its members. This access that may be “actual” or “potential” is embedded in “a network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (ibid.). By positioning the individual within the social milieu, I would argue, Bourdieu’s construct of social capital assumes both collective and individual dimension, also evident in his concept of “habitus.”

It is in the “habitus,” i.e., the socialized individual self that Bourdieu argues, the social contextual constraints become embodied (Wacquant, 2008). This argument allows Bourdieu to connect micro-level social interactions with macro-level social inequalities, and challenge the dichotomy between objective and subjective realities (Wacquant, 2008). The individual subjectivities come to reflect the objective social realities of their existence in their “habitus” displaying certain attributes, specific “social schemas” (Simons & Burt, 2011), perceptions and practices that are shared with others similarly positioned. It is the “habitus” then that becomes a tool of reproducing the given social structures, of which social capital is an important aspect.

Bourdieu (1991) argues that it is the distribution of three basic forms of capitals: economic, social and cultural that positions individuals in the hierarchical social space i.e., the field. Different fields like the field of education, health, etc., are relatively autonomous. They have their own rules for defining social hierarchy, yet these rules are not completely independent of the rules operative in other fields (Maton, 2005). Fields are
marked by a struggle for “distinction” to either maintain a position of power and privilege or attain it (ibid.). Such struggles, I would argue, are ridden by conflicts both at intermental and intramental plane, driven by “a sense of belonging” towards those positioned similarly, on the one hand, and a sense of alignment with the broad cultural systems of “an imagined community,” (Anderson, 2006; Norton, 2001). The community is “imagined” because the members might never meet; yet they perceive a shared sense of privilege or deprivation (ibid.). Successful shift towards a valued imagined community may come at the cost of “dislocation of self” (Bourdieu, 1991), whereby, one may disassociate with, and look down upon one’s own culture, language and even family to mark association with and legitimize membership of an “imagined community” (ibid.).

The “doxa,” the taken for granted beliefs and assumptions provide a clue to the rules of the game that underlie the struggles within a field. Though, unjust, arbitrary and biased towards the privileged, they are often “misrecognized,” and projected as “common sense” (Bourdieu, 1991). It is in this misrecognition that the power of the doxa lies, leading to the “naturalizing” of the given order (Bourdieu, 1991; Sullivan, 2002). Hence, the given power structures are sustained with acquiesce of the dominated, as the possibility of questioning their validity becomes diminished over time, embedded in cultural practices, assuming the art of commonsense.

Social capital is essentially class-based and exclusive, because it is not only a “transubstantiation” of economic capital but can also be converted into economic capital (Daly & Silver, 2008). As such, social capital has the tendency not only to “persist” but also to “reproduce” it in “identical” or “expanded forms” (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1991) argues that group membership soften institutionalized through allocation of a title, which entitles an individual to certain privileges of the “collectively-owned capital” (Daly & Silver, 2008, p. 544). These titles, then, serve as reminders to self and others regarding their positioning in relation to others, the distances to be observed, and “legitimate” vs. “illegitimate practices” (ibid.). However, such social positioning is not reducible to interactions because one may perceive oneself positioned higher or lower in relation to people one has never met (Maton, 2005).

Exclusiveness of the group, Bourdieu (1986) argues, is intrinsic to its survival because inclusion of new members threatens the “legitimacy” of the group’s identity. Hence, each member must act as a gatekeeper, a “custodian of the group’s limits [. . .] by expelling or excommunicating the embarrassing individuals” (ibid. pp. 10-11). This is a necessary condition of “the right to declare oneself a member of the group” (ibid.). The resulting solidarity from the exclusive social capital empowers “scattered agents to act as one” and represent the whole group. This also opens room for
“embezzlement” so that even when not all the members of the group actually possess the quality that makes the group distinct, the mere group title, imperceptibly forces others to allocate them the group attributes. Hence, a subgroup, known to all, comes to represent the whole (ibid. p. 12).

However, Bourdieu (1986) emphasizes that social capital is under a constant flux, and membership is not a given but has to be “enacted,” maintained and reinforced in exchanges” that may be “material or symbolic,” to ensure “mutual acknowledgement” and reaffirmation of membership (ibid. p. 9). This exchange also ascribes a symbolic significance to the transaction itself, which is mutually recognized as validating group membership; marking its “distinction,” from others; and allowing the group to be reproduced (ibid. p. 10). All such exchanges, because they are symbolic, are accompanied by an implicit understanding of the difference between “legitimate” and “illegitimate,” practices (Daly & Silver, 2008).

Bourdieu’s theory, despite its powerful account of social structures, however, seems to be concerned with the social capital of the elite that allows them to retain their privilege, creating an impression as if the disadvantaged or the dominated lack “social capital.” I would argue that the theory is strengthened if one acknowledges that there are different types of social capital (Granovetter, 1973), with different kinds and levels of “performativity” (Clark, 2006). One could argue, for example, that “bridging” capital, emerging from networks across different groups (Putnam, 2000) and “linking” social capital, i.e. networks that connect individuals to institutional power (Szerter & Woolcock, 2004) might be more instrumental in upward mobility and achieving social equality than “bonding capital,” i.e. close bonds of mutual acquaintance among those sharing the same social identity. The latter, with its strong social closure, though may be of service to the elite but may disadvantage the dominated, at times even leading to the formation of “ethnic enclaves” (Xie & Gough, 2011) that can socially exclude the whole group. Hence, not all social capital is good and the collectively owned capital may bear advantages as well as disadvantages to an individual (Moore, Deniel, Gauvin, & Dube’, 2009). Such integration of different accounts of social capital, despite differences in their theoretical underpinnings, has also been suggested by Szreter and Woolcock (2004). Adding this typology to the theoretical framework of social capital, in this paper, serves its aim to explain the variation in the kind of social capital accessible to different groups.

The theoretical framework of the paper is based on the assumption that an increase in bridging and linking social capital can generate collective agency (Putnam, 2000; Szreter & Woolcock, 2004);
while social fragmentation can lead to “disaffiliation and downward mobility” (Daly & Silver, 2008, p. 550). Although the context in social capital is often down played in functionalist approaches, following Bourdieu, I argue that the specific impact of any type of social capital is essentially context bound, because it is the context and its socio-historical location from which the very “meaning” of social capital emerges (Daly & Silver, 2008, p. 555), whereby, “boundaries” are demarcated, “distances” mapped out, and the nature of relationships between the “insiders” and “outsiders” revealed (ibid.).

Language and Social Capital

Language as a primary tool to mediate in the social context does not only reflect the “concrete reality of relations between people” (Clark, 2006, p. 1) but also enacts, reconstructs and reproduces them in discourses (Fairclough, 2013). Hence, languages, embedded within specific socio-historical contexts, play a crucial role in the reproduction of social relationships. However, I agree with Fairclough (2013) that there remains in this re-production an opportunity to modify or challenge the given structures because language, like other cultural resources, is essentially only a resource that is amenable to modification. The power embedded in the use and access to different languages is manifest in the subtle but forcible exclusion of individuals or groups in social processes (Bourdieu, 1991; Fairclough, 2013; Rahman, 1997; Tamim, 2013; Tamim 2014). Language can be “socially exclusive” as in the case of “intimate or bonding language,” for example the use of language among teenagers, or regional dialects to emphasize group affiliation (Clark, 2006). Language can also be “socially inclusive” or “bridging” when it works as a mode of connecting people across communities, as it happens in the case of a lingua franca of a given context. In addition, it can also leverage institutional power, “institutional power-linking language,” for example English in the context of Pakistan (Rahman, 1997). However, such attributes I would argue do not exist in language itself, but are contingent on its specific use in different contexts, to generate different types of social capital. For example, the same language, English, can enable cross-cultural communication when all understand it, but it can be exclusionary when only few comprehend it. Similarly, professional registers can be used to exclude others, but at other times used to connect with individuals belonging to diverse communities. Clark (2006) argues that the “affective and effective disposition” towards a specific dialect of a language, and I would add towards different languages also, reflects an ideological bias (ibid. p. 12), which is crucial for utilizing a language in a social network. This is because it is through this mutual act of recognition and ascription that the language acquires a “symbolic power” that enables it to function and regulate social networks (Bourdieu, 1991).
Since, language is intrinsic to social capital and instrumental in constructing and maintaining it, the choice of languages in education and the linguistic hierarchy of the wider national language policy become implicated in issues of inequality.

**Pakistan Language Policy, Languages in Education and the Social Context**

Pakistan is a multilingual country with a variety of languages spoken in different parts of the country. It is ridden by high social inequality and poverty, as 45% of its population live below the poverty line (Human Development Report, 2013). With the literacy rate at 57%, and poor schooling enrollment (Pakistan Economic Survey, 2013), there is little probability that Pakistan would achieve the millennium development goals of educational parity.

After independence, from the British colonial rule of over a hundred years, in 1947, Urdu was declared as its national language. English was retained as its official language, for pragmatic purposes. This was always meant to be a temporary arrangement until English, could be replaced by Urdu. However, despite, the passage of sixty-seven years, and several declarations in this regard, English has retained its official status, and over the years, its significance has progressively increased in the country. English remains strongly rooted as the language of power and prestige in the country, a pre-requisite for high social mobility, being the language of higher education, high judiciary, coveted jobs, bureaucracy and all major businesses of the country. Its power and prestige emerging from the higher order functions allocated to it in the language policy and the economic dominance of the core English speaking countries, resulting in its high utilitarian value across the globe. Regional languages have hardly any role in state business, although the provinces have the constitutional right to promote their own languages. It is English and Urdu that remain pervasive in all the sectors, the former more dominant than the latter, in written documentation and officially within organizations and the former in dealing with clients and unofficially within institutions. For example, the airlines, banks, hospitals etc., rely mainly on English, in written documents, and to conduct themselves officially with only selective information documented in Urdu. However, paradoxically, it is Urdu otherwise, that is commonly spoken in these places (Tamim, 2014b). However, this remains largely in contrast to the linguistic reality of the context, where regional languages are commonly used within communities, in the running of small local businesses, and unofficially, even in larger businesses or service sectors its use is necessitated to engage with the people. The regional languages become crucial to connect with the local population, because more often than not, the dominant
languages, for example, English and Urdu, are learnt in schools; and given the low literacy rate not everyone has access to them.

The question of languages in Pakistan has always been a problematic one, and remains controversial among policy makers to-date. The main tension has been between the promotion of English for its global significance, and the emphasis on Urdu for national solidarity, though to a much lesser degree, the use of home languages for better learning also forms a part of the equation. Currently, nearly all private schools in urban areas use English as a medium of subject study and offer Urdu and English as languages. In the case of Sindh, however, schools preparing students for the provincial exam at the end of secondary school are bound to take a Sindhi language paper also. The quality of English language teaching/learning in these private schools is often contingent upon their fee structure, with high-fee schools offering better English teaching/learning, as compared to schools with low-fee. The government-runs schools which do not charge any fee and until 2009, they have mainly delivered education in Urdu. In some cases, though, regional languages have been used at primary level, and in Sindh, even some secondary schools offer education in Sindhi. The languages taught in these schools include: English, Urdu and Sindhi (latter, in the case of Sindh only). However, the poor quality of English teaching and learning in these schools is well documented (Mansoor, 2005; Rahman, 1997; Rahman, 2004).

In 2009, following a realization of the disadvantage of the government-school students the new National Education Policy suggested that all government schools shift from Urdu to English-medium instruction until 2012. In the province of Punjab, following the disastrous failure of the program, because of the poor English language proficiency of the teachers and conceptual issues in learning, faced by the students, the policy has been rolled back. While other provinces, facing similar issues are struggling. Hence, fraught with pragmatic concerns, political tensions, and little research, the issue of languages in education in Pakistan is far from resolved. The data, for the study reported in this paper, was collected in 2008, and none of the participants had witnessed this transition.

**The Doxa: “Difference as Deficit”** (Street, 2011)

An application of Bourdieu’s social critical theory, in the construct of “doxa” provides a useful tool to explore the taken for granted beliefs and assumptions in the context (Sullivan, 2002). In this context, where the privilege attached to knowing English was juxtaposed with limited opportunities to learn it, a language-based stratification was apparent. This crystallized into the dichotomy between “Urdu-medium” vs. “English-medium,” the “us,” vs. “they,” referrals used by the participants. The
normalized discourse was that those who knew English had a “good family,” and “good education,” while those with poor English had poor family backgrounds, little education and even “poor intelligence” (Tamim, 2005; Tamim, 2013). Hira, a private school participant (PSP) stated categorically, “Urdu-medium is a stigma. It is a fact, Unais (PSP), a BBA, student in a private university who had no “Urdu-medium” class fellow, yet he could easily conjure up the image, reminiscent of colonial essentializing of the native subject:

For example he is Urdu medium he has bad language, meaning . . . he verbally abuses . . . this is the way his language is but the class environment is different . . . these things are strictly disallowed and so are bad languages. (Source: Interview PSP, Karachi, June 22, 2008)

The linguistic difference can be seen, here, contorted into an ideological bias because of the linguistic hierarchy in the language policy, legitimized through education, and “misrecognized” as common sense, thus aiding in naturalizing the “distinction” of the elite (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Hence, what was actually mere difference in language refracted into “deficit,” generating “inequality for those who lacked English skills and brewing advantage for those who possessed it” (Street, 2011, p. 581). Nazia, a government school participant (GSP) quietly acquiesces, and justifies her fairly unequal lower positioning in relation to the “English-medium,” as she explains, “when someone is speaking English and I can’t . . . then of course their level is higher and mine is lower [because] we can’t speak on equal terms.” Bourdieu (1991) argues that it is the “doxa,” espoused in common sense that conceals the injustice, and enables the dominant to exercise their power with the compliance of the dominated (ibid.).

Recognizing this “doxa” in the field enables one to comprehend, not only the “definitions” that are offered but also “how” these definitions affect the power embedded in relationships (Street, 2011). It is argued that defining or ascribing titles itself is related to power and it is the questioning of given definitions and values that creates spaces for transformation (Bourdieu, 1991; Street, 2011). Hence, the titles: Urdu Medium (UM) and English Medium (EM) define not just mediums of instruction at school but also unequal power relationships between the two groups, defining their social positioning, the distances to be kept and the boundaries to be maintained (Bourdieu, 1986). This social positioning guides their interactions but is not irreducible to them (Maton, 2005). It is the mutual inter-subjectivity that belies the “doxa,” woven into the “habitus” that can be seen seamlessly reproducing the inequitable power structures in the given context (Bourdieu, 1986).
Methodology

The study used a qualitative methodology and a multiple case-study design. Each case comprised a final year secondary school student and his or her same-sex five-to-six-year older sibling, with completed secondary school education. Sixteen cases, from four private and three government schools were selected with the help of teachers. The same number of private and government school participants and gender difference was retained to make effective comparisons. The difference in the age of siblings allowed an understanding of time related processes in the choice of schooling, schooling experiences, language-based wider out of school experiences. The schools were situated in the urban context of two provinces: Karachi in Sindh and Lahore in Punjab, with a student population of at least three hundred students, preparing them for a similar provincial matriculation exam after secondary school. The sampling process was purposive to highlight typical cases. A snowballing process also supported this with help from teachers and Heads to facilitate access to pairs of siblings and to government schools, following a particularly politically tumultuous time in Pakistan, the assassination of ex-prime minister Benazir Bhutto.

The data collection methods included in-depth ethnographic style individual interviews, participant observation and documentary analysis over the course of one year. The data that informs this paper, however, is based on thirty-two interviews, across sixteen cases. Alkire’s (2002) dimensions of human development guided the interviews (see Appendix A). Participants, with the use of open-ended questions around a dimension were encouraged to explore language-based experiences. They were asked to provide concrete examples to substantiate their statements. However, they were not obliged to comment on each dimension. A dimension was introduced only to remind the participants if there was something they would like to add. At the end of each individual interview, the responses were clustered into different dimensions. This was done in consultation with the participants to ensure that the responses would later be interpreted in the right context. Later, they were asked to rank each dimension in relation to value it held for them on a scale of 1-7, with the highest ranked as one.

The analysis was done using grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The intention was to allow the categories to emerge from the data itself. This was a cyclical process that shifted between two broad phases: a) analysis of individual interviews; and b) analysis across cases, for emerging patterns and themes both within each interview and across cases. First, line-by-line coding of fully transcribed individual interviews was done, applying descriptive terms used by the participants. These were
then revisited to identify and subsume these into broader categories. The resulting themes seemed to divide the data into certain broad descriptive domains, for example, home, education, work and wider social life. Cross-case comparisons were conducted at this stage with the help of several detailed data matrices. The strategies of “clustering,” “counting” the frequency, “contrasts and comparisons” were used, to draw interpretations and check their “plausibility” (Robson, 2002, p. 480). Later with “axial coding” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 123), we arrived at more abstract codes and “core categories” (ibid.) in relation to each dimension of human development.

Findings

The findings here are discussed with reference to the theme of social capital arising from across the cases grouped as government school participants (GSPs) and private school participants (PSPs). This is related to the dimension of social relationships, ranked as third highest by most of the participants. The intra-group and gender differences are beyond the focus of this paper.

Brief Profile of the Participants

The government school graduates, in the study, were disadvantaged in several ways as compared to the private school graduates. Four of the eight government school participants (GSP) cases formed the lowest income group. They had uneducated parents, with fathers in skilled or unskilled manual labour. Their families were not in favour of females working, outside homes, except if it involved teaching. These participants also had to balance school and work, since there was little parental commitment to their education. The other group of GSPs had a higher range of income. Their fathers were either in small businesses or low paid office jobs. Though their parents were also uneducated, like the low-income group of GSPs, their families shared several positive values with the middle-class private school graduates (PSPs). These included an appreciation and commitment to education and a positive attitude towards female work outside home. The PSPs formed the highest income group. They had educated parents, with fathers either involved in privately owned business or in well-paid jobs. Their families projected a positive attitude towards female work. In addition, their families took a keen interest in the education of PSPs.

At the end of secondary school, according to self-reports, none of the participants had learnt Sindhi, from school, except one PSP. All the PSPs declared that their Urdu was “poor.” They expressed more satisfaction with their English skills, though, only seven out of sixteen participants felt very confident of their English, yet following
“embezzlement,” (Bourdieu, 1986), they all enjoyed the privileges ascribed to “English-mediums.” In contrast, a majority of the GSPs felt confident in their Urdu (10 out of 16). However, they all felt that they had learnt very little English at school. Significantly, those from the lowest income groups also benefited the least from any kind of language instruction at school.

There were no significant differences between the schools in Punjab and Karachi, except that the physical infrastructure of the visited schools in Karachi was generally worse, with scarcity of financial resources. There were also no discernible differences in the responses of the participants from the two provinces. The findings here are presented as themes arising across cases. Intra-group and gender differences are not discussed in this paper.

**Opportunities for “Crossing Over”: Bridging Capital**

As English became the “distinction” of the privileged, because of its class-based access, juxtaposed with its importance in the country, the advantage of English-mediums (EMs) was unambiguous in terms of opportunities for bridging and linking social capital. Hina (EM) put in extra effort to learn English; once she realized that those who could speak English well commanded attention from teachers and peers alike. She explained, “I was able to cross over . . . cross over from this side . . . where I was a nobody in this sea of people in the class to somebody who got noticed by teachers and students.” Later, in Grade VI, Hina (EM) proudly reported that the school owner’s daughter chose to sit next to her because she was the most fluent in English in her class. Her English also allowed Hina (EM) to construct bridging capital at college. She narrated how it enabled her “to trespass class boundaries” and be “accepted in a circle of elite friends,” despite her middle-class family background. She elaborated:

> Because I knew the language, I could do anything . . . talk to anybody . . . do anything, participate in drama clubs . . . debates . . . while others would be just thinking . . . and even now you know the advantage is there. (Source: Interview, EM, Lahore, May, 2008)

Such themes of acceptance, recognition and freedom that enabled participants to connect across groups were common in the discourse of those most fluent in English, though not absent from the discourses of other EMs. Faizan (EM), with an American accent, narrated several instances of how he was “just chosen to be a leader,” by his peers, almost “effortlessly.” Riaz (EM) emphasized that because of his English, he was “freely accepted” in different circles of friends and “simply nominated by his class fellows to represent the class . . . just like that . . . when no other name was even suggested.”
This vertically inclined bridging capital was nevertheless carefully guarded, with the tool of English. Rehana (EM) stated the simple rule: “Anybody who does not speak English is out.” She explained, “Obviously when you are speaking to someone in English and s/he can’t . . . obviously there is this language barrier.” Uzma (UM), at the other end, expresses the frustrated desire for bridging capital, to connect with EMs. She laments “you want to sit with them . . . so you can also learn English but they don’t like to sit with us . . . they think it is lower . . . it is like lower if they do so.” Sameen (UM), now a teacher in a local school, expressed her sense of isolation and low-self esteem, “I feel so little,” she explains, as she watches two teachers in her school staffroom, “speak to each other in English and . . . I can’t understand a thing. I also want to talk to them but I just look away.”

English, here emerges as a tool of “gatekeeping” of “an imagined community” of the English speaking elite (Anderson, 2006; Norton, 2001). This “gatekeeping” is a legitimate practice that forges and validates membership of the elite group, by following the ritual, the symbolic practice of speaking in English (Bourdieu, 1986). Inclusion of the UMs threatens the “distinction” of the group. Hence, all members must guard its boundaries and keep their distance with the “others,” the UMs, to legitimize and enact their membership. This explains why EMs must refuse to sit with Uzma (UM) and why Rehana must turn them “out” of the group and emphasize language as a “barrier.” Significantly, the “barrier” that Rehana speaks of is not the absence of a mutually understood language, as everyone understands Urdu here, but only a symbolic feature of the group. It is the “difference” that she emphasizes here that of class, “good family,” “good gathering” and cultured taste, symbolized in linguistic difference. Hence the struggle, of the “insiders” to maintain the exclusivity of the group, and of “outsiders” to breach the boundaries of the group for inclusion, can be clearly discerned here (Bourdieu, 1986).

Although, Urdu also played a major positive role in bridging social networks, being the lingua franca in the given context, since these social networks seemed to be less vertically inclined, the role of Urdu was less appreciated, except by those UMs who had learnt it at school. Participants, paradoxical, to its actual use in the given urban setting, often dismissed the dismissal of the role of Urdu, as a means to bridging capital. This reveals the power of the hegemonizing “doxa” surrounding English.

**Linking Capital: Recognition and Voice**

The language policy privileged English across different fields, as the relational nature of fields, was augmented by the ubiquity of language. The significance of English, in almost all institutional networks, enhanced the
opportunities for EMs to construct linking capital. However, the scope of this opportunity seemed to correspond to the EMs’, level of English skills. Those most confident in English, expressed ease in connecting to influential institutional networks. Farhan, (EM) detailed that a reputable multinational firm selected him for internship, because of his good English. Mehmish (EM), a final year, BA student of Architecture and an internee at a firm, explained that “those with poor English are kept in the back office [by the company] where they don’t have to meet the clients,” while those with good English skills have the opportunity to represent the company upfront.

At the other end of the spectrum, were UMs, those for whom their lack of English became a limitation, restricting their access to linking capital. Hussein (UM) reported that because of his poor English and regional accent, for a whole year, at college, he could not muster up courage to meet his professor, to dispel a misunderstanding that eventually led to his suspension. “You know what you have to say [but] how do you say it. Everyone is looking,” he explained. The fear of derision and ridicule kept him silent, despite the fact that he had entered this prestigious college, after earning a gold medal in his secondary school exam. Similarly, Sameen (UM) refused to attend computer classes that were being offered by her school, free of cost because she worried that English would be used as a medium of instruction. Hence, she felt compelled to forgo an opportunity that could strengthen her institutional position at school, and augment her skills. Hussein (UM) with reference to general social context argued that in a government office “if you speak in English they would do your work just like that.” Other participants also emphasized that using English, coerced people into making favorable decisions and helped them to deal with difficult situations, for example, when stopped by traffic policemen.

The issue of lack of access to linking capital emerged as a serious issue in the field of health. Hira (EM), a final year medical college explained, pointing to the issue of poor knowledge, of regional languages among doctors, “when patients from rural backgrounds come to us we are all running to find someone who can understand their language.” Highlighting the normal mode of extensive borrowings of English words in Urdu, she insisted, “We only think we know English but we don’t. Try it for yourself and . . . every word of English that we use is lost on them.” Here, the reference is to the breakdown of communication between the educated and a large number of poor, rural population without access to the dominant languages and therefore rendered more vulnerable to disease and misery. The language–based power structures can be witnessed here to subtly exclude, those most in need, from effective
health care, that was otherwise offered at meager cost by the government. This reminds us that if the resources offered do not take into account the diversity of the needs of the human beings; they fail to offer equal opportunities to all, as emphasized by Sen’s capability approach (Sen, 2000).

**Bonding Capital: Affiliation**

Contradictory to the demonstrated alienation with Urdu, all the participants reported using Urdu as a medium of bonding with close friends and family. They also described using Urdu when they wanted to ensure clarity in mutual understanding. The use of regional language was also reported for the same purposes but more by UM than EMs. Urdu emerged as the main medium of communication by the participants, in the context of intimate relationships and close friendships, although the EMs reported frequent borrowings of English phrases and words, and to a lesser degree the UM also followed pursuit. The participants also felt that Urdu was related to their national identity and was important. Nevertheless, the participants perceived a certain threat in using Urdu. Rehana (EM) explained “these days the one who speaks Urdu is made to feel let down [. . .] it is a fact you can try it for yourself” (as cited in Tamim, 2013, p. 164). For a fuller understanding of the phenomena, this needs to be compared with Hira’s (EM) emphasis, “Just speaking in English makes you feel superior,” because it “silences others” (Ibid.). Asim (EM) insisted “I want to learn English that others do not understand.” Faiz (EM) reveled that his class fellows “just look on dumbfounded [and one of them] simply goes blank” when he uses “difficult English [vocabulary].”

As English assumes a symbolic power, the competition in its wake, becomes apparent, between the insiders who want to keep it to themselves and outsiders who yearn to access the privileges of the “imagined community” (Norton, 2001) and legitimize their membership by the symbolic act of “gatekeeping.” This struggle for distinction seems to intrude into sibling relationships also. Asim (EM), the younger of the two siblings described how he tormented his elder brother an UM, whenever he tried to speak English. “I tell him you are not speaking English correctly . . . though he is . . . and he becomes quiet.” Similarly, in three of the four cases, while the elder sibling, fluent in English, reported home environment to be very conducive towards the learning of English, the younger sibling felt lesser confident in English and complained of the home environment to be non-productive for learning English.

The use of Urdu and its dismissal, the threat of using Urdu, reflects the price of success paid with “dislocation” of self (Bourdieu, 1991), shifting identities and conflict at intermental and intramental plane, as
power-relationships are being re-configured. Forging membership in the “imaginative community” renders the speaking of Urdu and affiliating with those not knowing English “illegitimate,” leading to a loss of distinction (ibid.). Hence, the threat felt in speaking Urdu. English, in its symbolic role, seemed to intersect with already existing bonds and erode them, forcing the participants to look down upon their own language and culture (ibid.).

**Concluding Discussion**

The significance of English in a globalized world, for harnessing economic gains is hard to deny, yet one has to take into account that the world is straddled with linguistic diversity, ignoring which can only aggravate inequality. Hence, the need to move forward from the human capital approach to train a workforce for national economic gains, and a rights-based approach, to education to capability approach, and acknowledge that the goals of social justice framework: “inclusion,” “relevance” and “democracy” in education (Tikly, 2011) and through education, begin with the “recognition” and acceptance of diversity (Fraser, 1989); and commodification and “redistribution” of English does not resolve the issue. It is the acceptance of linguistic diversity that can strengthen social capital and enhance individual and collective agency.

The research reported in this paper reveals the intrinsic role of language in constructing, maintaining and expanding social capital. Since social capital is related to development processes (Daly & Silver, 2008), language itself becomes implicated in issues of inequality and opportunities for development. This highlights the significance of the linguistic hierarchy established by the language policy and the choice of languages in education, in resurrecting unequal power structures. The hegemony that English enjoyed in this context was in sharp contrast to the sociolinguistic reality, where most of the times actually Urdu, or a regional language, and not English are used to bridge and bond across and within communities, even unofficially in organizations. Yet, the upward vertical networks promised by English and the widespread use of English in documentation and written communication in English, are enough to dismiss local languages. Bourdieu (1991) terms such an instance as that of “a class turned against itself, whose members are seeking, at the cost of constant anxiety, to produce linguistic expressions which bear the mark of habitus other than their own,” destroying their own means of expression (p. 21). He argues, this results from a “speaker’s assessment of market condition, and the anticipation of the likely reception of his/her linguistic products” (p. 19). It was the given language policy, with the mediation of educational institutions that seemed to regulate a linguistic market where the value of local languages was limited. Hence, in the quest for global
social networks, the local perspective was lost and localized social capital that could generate collective agency was eroded.

The value of Bourdieu’s theory lies in opening the space for challenging the given order. Hence, far from being deterministic, it offers an analysis of the struggles in the fields and highlights possibilities of change by breaking away from what seems to be natural and common sense. Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, complemented with the typology of linking, bonding and bridging capital, showed that differential access to the valued English led to the generation of different types of capital for the EMs and Ums. The findings of the paper revealed that the government school graduates remained the most disadvantaged in terms of bridging and linking social capital, while the private school graduates, who were already from privileged backgrounds, emerged the most advantaged. Language education in relation to the hierarchy established by the wider national language policy played a pivotal role in mediating access to different types of social capital. Hence, the education of UMs did little to allow them access to vertically oriented bridging and linking social networks that could facilitate their social mobility. The language “barrier” changes from a mere social and symbolic to a real one when a doctor fails to communicate with her/his patient and the link between the educated and the vulnerable is disrupted. It can be argued that while, the bonding capital might be beneficial to the EMs, and it would be much less so for the UMs. Although, gender differences are not discussed in this paper, one can assume that particularly disadvantaged in this setting could be the female UMs for whom such an access could be vital for a more empowered and expanded participation, where as bonding capital, that is networks, with others similarly positioned, could naturalize their disadvantage.

The findings discussed in the paper match, to some extent, with the results of the studies suggesting language-based marginalization in immigrant contexts, in the West (Cummins, 2000; Norton, 2000). However, inequality in a home country context when a vast majority is marginalized in a way that even secondary education cannot address the issue is definitely more compelling and worrying. The findings of the paper are limited because of the nature of its design, yet they suggest an important dimension of future research.
Notes

1 Tikly (2011) makes this comment with reference to issues of social justice in education, and not with reference to languages in education.

2 Bourdieu does not use the concept of imagined community. This is an original contribution to understand his concept of “dislocation of self.”

3 The main regional languages spoken in the country are: Punjabi (44.15%), Pashto (15.42%), Sindhi (4.10%), Siraiki (10.53%), Baluchi (3.57%), and other languages (4.66%) (Census, 2001).

4 Street (2011) uses the concept of deficit in relation to literacy issues. It is equally applicable here. Bourdieu (1986) also presents a similar view.

5 No such differences were perceptible in the PSPs.

6 To align my interpretations with that of the participants, I adopt their term “English-medium” (EM) for private school graduates and “Urdu-medium” (UM) for those from government schools.

7 This can arguably be either because of the need to emphasize affiliation with the imagined community of the English speaking elite, lack of proficiency in either language, or code switching typical of bilingual environments.

8 The elder brother was from a fast disappearing genre of private schools, which offered Urdu-medium instruction. Even this school had now shifted to English-medium instruction.
References


*Policy and Practice: Teaching and learning in English in Punjab.* Society for the Advancement of higher Education and the Campaign for Quality Education.


Cultural Effect of Gender on Apology Strategies of Pakistani Undergraduate Students

Nighat Sultana (Main Author)
Qaisar Khan (Co-Author)

Abstract

This research paper examines the differences and similarities between Urdu and Pashtu speaking students concerning the way they devise apology strategies according to the need of the situation. It also attempts to investigate gender effects on the choices and preferences made at the time of apologizing. The study is informed by two-culture theory (Troemel-Ploetz, 1991) that claims separate cultures for men and women. The findings are based on an open-ended questionnaire that attempts to create incidents and events forcing the respondents to tender apology. The data has been collected from randomly selected students enrolled in undergraduate courses in the disciplines of English, Business Administration and Computer Science at National University of Modern Languages (NUML), Islamabad. The study reveals that male and female students are less different in their responses while encountering members of the same gender. It also reveals that considerable variations are found in their handling of apology strategies with the opposite gender. In addition, it is also found that the strategies are in consonance with the overall socio-cultural backgrounds of the respondents. The study concludes that gender effects are noticeable where the students are found more formal and less caring in tendering apology to members of the same gender. On the contrary, apology is viewed as a means to establish intimacy and connectedness with members of the other gender. Overall, the students observe great care in dealing with members of the opposite sex. The findings also reveal that students are socialized to adhere to the predominantly gendered social structure that in turn guides their public behavior.

Key words: gender, culture, apology strategies, Urdu, Pashtu

Introduction

Research on investigating speech acts is mostly associated with western languages in general and English language in particular. More recently, studies have been undertaken in other world’s languages by sociolinguists especially in the African, Japanese, Arabic, Persian and other eastern languages. The studies have also attempted to investigate apology
speech acts in variety of contexts. Inspired by the scope of the issue and significance of apology strategies investigated, this study is undertaken with particular reference to the interplay of culture and gender in determining the choice of the respondents (Barnlund & Yoshioka, 1990; Suszczynska, 1999). Based on the social situations, this study gathers data where the respondent has committed some offence to someone and is asked to apologize to that person. The offended persons or hearers hail from variety of social backgrounds but are placed in an educational institution where all are treated in the same manner. With a population sample of 32 students with equal number of male and female participants, the data has been analyzed with the help of the model proposed by the project of Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns which was initiated in 1982 (Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989). Analysis of data reveals that apology strategies vary in line with the factors determined in the framework.

**Literature Review**

Primarily associated with the concept of politeness, apology is best appreciated when approached in the context of politeness. Lakoff (1973) identifies three basic rules of politeness including “don’t impose,” “give options” and “be friendly” (p. 298). He does not deny cross cultural variations in giving preference to one over the other however. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), we as members of society, tend to keep certain image or “face.” They labeled them as positive and negative face. Insofar apology is concerned, it is face threatening as the speaker admits having done wrong but is equally face saving because when the hearer accepts, the strategy alleviates the offense of the speaker (Lubecka, 2000). The concept of face is culture specific however. Matsumoto (1988) notes that the theory of face does not apply to Japanese speakers who define themselves not as individuals but members of a group. Based on these variations, Nwoye (1992) views it necessary to classify face into sub-categories of “individual face” and “group face.” To him, the former relates to an individual’s desire to place his image above others while the latter is an expression of a desire to behave in a culturally acceptable manner (p. 313).

An apology is a speech act that is required to mend behavior and ward off offence in partial fulfillment of social norms or a strategy to undo the effect of offensive linguistic expression (Trosborg, 1995). It can also be identified as a speech act that is intended to remedy the offense for which the apologizer takes responsibility and, as a result, to rebalance social relations between interlocutors (Holmes, 1995). It is at the least accepting the responsibility for the offence and regretting it at the same time or realization of the failure to fulfill someone’s personal expectations (Fraser,
1981). It is a social event in the sense that its need arises when a social norm is violated (Olshain & Cohen, 1983). According to Bergman and Kasper (1993), the purpose of apology is to restore social relational agreement after the offense is committed (see also Owen, 1983). Such forms are more conventional – used more often than others, such as “I’m sorry” in English, transliterated as mu’af krna in Urdu or za bakhana gwaram in Pashtu. Blum-Kulka and Kasper (1993) state that speech acts differ in the extent to which conventionalized linguistic forms are used; some speech acts, such as apologizing and thanking, exhibit more conventional usage than others do.

Linguists classify acts of apology according to various criteria. Such classification is primarily based on external factors mainly including the situation or object of regret. When the situation arises, the response of the offender may vary according to situation. Apology may be tendered in an explicit manner for the offence committed, responsibility may be accepted for the mishap or the person may well brush off the incident as not important to exonerate himself from blame (Bataineh, 2005). At other times, the person may regret as well as explain the reason of the mishap and may go to the extent of committing to repair the damage done. Equally significant part of the apology strategy may be the express commitment on the part of the offender to observe great care in future. All such apology strategies are expressed in different ways with different words and with different styles and tones depending upon the context.

There are several types of apology categories as Bergman and Kasper (1993) distinguish between seven different categories. To them, the commonest category is Illocutionary Force Indicating Device (IFID) i.e. “I’m sorry” (Urdu: Main muafi chata hon; Pashtu: Za bakhana gwaram). Other categories of apology strategy include intensified IFID i.e. “I’m terribly sorry” (Urdu: Mujay behad afsoos hai or Main tehe dil say muafi chahta hon; Pashtu: Za da zra da kumi na muafi gwaram); accepting responsibility i.e. “I haven’t completed it yet” (Urdu: Main na abhi tak is ko mukammal nahi kia; Pashtu: Ma la da na day khatam karay); explaining the contextual reasons for committing the action i.e. “I was asked by my father to bring food from the marketplace” (Mujay abu na kaha kay market say khana lay ao; Pashtu: Ma ta me plar way che bazaar ta lar sha au rota ira); minimizing the intensity of the situation i.e. “I’m only 5 minutes late” (Urdu: Main sirf 5 minute late hon; Pashtu: Za sirf 5 minute late shom); making an offer to pay for the damages or compensation i.e. “I’ll pay the price” (Urdu: Main nuksan pora ker don ga; Pashtu: Za ba tawan pora kam); verbal redress i.e. “It won’t happen again” (Urdu: Ainda aisa nahi hoga; Pashtu: Bia ba dasi na kege) and last but not the least, a kind of minimization strategy i.e. “I hope you didn’t wait for long” (Urdu: Umee....
Similarly, Fraser (1981) identified nine categories of apologies based on the intent of the speaker. They included “announcing that you are apologizing,” “stating one’s obligation to apologize,” “offering to apologize,” “requesting the hearer accept an apology,” “expressing regret for the offense,” acknowledging responsibility for the offending act,” promising forbearance from a similar offending act,” and “offering redress” (p. 263).

A framework to measure apology strategies mostly depends upon the speaker, the addressee or both. The importance of social distance, sex, power, social status, age and situation also come into play to determine the course of action (Barnlund & Yoshioka, 1990; Suszczynska, 1999). Apology speech acts may relate to situations where the offended may have different level of relations with the speakers ranging from most formal to most informal. They may also have different social dispositions and power. Therefore, apologies may vary accordingly from highly apologetic to least apologetic depending upon the interlocutor. Moreover, they also differ with the intensity and type of mistake or mishap. Also significant is the role played by the language of apology. As a matter of fact, apologizing is never easy. It is difficult to exercise the option in one’s own language but the situation becomes more complicated if the linguistic situation demands the use of another language. There is likelihood of misinterpreting the gravity of the situation in second or foreign language. This also makes it important to examine the subtle delicacies of different languages to appreciate the nature of apologetic gestures.

The influence of cultural norms and traditions also cause changes in the taxonomy of apology as a speech act. The study by Barnlund and Yoshioka (1990), in which they interviewed the native speakers of Japanese and American English, led them to identify twelve modes of tendering an apology. They included: “not saying or doing anything,” “explaining the situation,” “apologizing ambiguously,” “apologizing nonverbally,” “casually saying sorry,” “acting helpless,” saying directly “I am very sorry,” “writing a letter,” “apologizing several times in several ways,” “offering to do something for the other person,” “leaving or resigning,” and “committing suicide” (p. 198). A more important feature of the categorization is the inclusion of non-verbal ways of apologizing. Rarely observed in studies of similar nature, these categories can be of great thematic value to appreciate apology strategies cross-culturally. Deutschmann (2003) uses a different approach in drafting the taxonomy of apology strategies. Based on his examination of British National Corpus, he identifies three functional categories of apology speech acts. First, there are the most frequently used real apologies like “I apologize for this”
(Urdu: Main is par muafi mangta hon; Pashtu: Pa de bande za muafi gwaram), second, there are formulaic apologies that rely on the use of IFIDs like “I’m sorry” and third, there are “face attack” apologies that attempt to disarm the hearer as in the case of “Excuse me David, I’m talking to Chris” (Urdu: Muaf karna David may Chris say baat kar raha hon; Pashtu: Khafa na shay David kho za Chris ta ligya yam) (p. 75).

Theoretical Framework

For measuring and calculating apologies, different frameworks have been proposed especially by the western linguists. However, variety in dealing with the subject owes much to the recent advances of linguistic theories enunciated by Japanese, Chinese, African and Middle Eastern scholars. The underlying assumption of such studies of apology speech acts is to draw pragmatic rules that govern the use of speech acts in different socio-cultural backgrounds. Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Patterns (CCSARP) project initiated in 1982 by Blum-Kulka and Olshtain, was an attempt to analyze speech acts (in this case requests and apologies) across a range of languages and cultures aimed at investigating the existence of any possible pragmatic universals and their characteristics (Afghari, 2007). This project found out five different apology speech acts that are similar to IFID (Illocutionary Force Indicating Device). In this case, speaker expresses an overt apology and takes responsibility for the offence. This project seems to draw boundaries between different apology strategies and intensifiers.

For the purpose of present study, five strategies to advance apology taken from CCSARP project include:

1. An expression of an apology (use of IFID) e.g. I apologize.
2. An acknowledgement of responsibility (RESP) e.g. It was my fault.
3. An explanation or account of the situation (EXPL) e.g. I’m sorry, the train was late.
4. An offer of repair (REPR) e.g. I’ll pay the price.
5. A promise of forbearance (FORB) e.g. This won’t happen again.

These strategies are transliterated in Urdu and Pashtu in Table 1. Variation in them may be observed according to the context in which the conversation takes place.
Table 1: Apology Strategies in English with their Equivalent Forms in Urdu and Pashtu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Pashtu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>I apologize.</td>
<td>Main ma’azrat khawan hon.</td>
<td>Za bakhana gwaram.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESP</td>
<td>It was my fault.</td>
<td>Ye mera kasoor hi.</td>
<td>Da zama ghalta da.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPL</td>
<td>I’m sorry, the train was late.</td>
<td>Mujhe afsos hi, train main dair ho gai.</td>
<td>Ma ta afsos day, bus nawakhta ko.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPR</td>
<td>I’ll pay the price.</td>
<td>Main nuksan pora ker don ga.</td>
<td>Za ba tawaan pora kam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORB</td>
<td>This won’t happen again.</td>
<td>Ainda ahtiyat karon ga.</td>
<td>Bia dapara ba khiyal kom.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants of the Study

The findings of the study are based on the data collected from 32 undergraduate students studying in National University of Modern Languages. The choice of the university is significant for its location and students’ population. Situated in the federal capital, the university attracts students from all parts of the country. Predominantly, the students communicate in Urdu, the National language. English is the medium of instruction in majority of the teaching departments, however. Proportionally, majority of the enrolled students belong to the province of Punjab whose mother tongue is Punjabi. Nonetheless, majority of them have families permanently settled in and around the capital city where the major means of communication is Urdu. Over the years, these people have developed a taste for Urdu and use Punjabi in highly informal situations only. This tendency is also the outcome of cultural diversity and multi-ethnic composition of the federal capital and its adjoining areas. Based on these facts, all students from Punjab are therefore assumed to be Urdu-speaking for the purpose of this study. Alongside, the number of Pashtu-speaking students from the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) is comparatively higher than other ethnic groups i.e. Baluchis and Sindhis. The presence of Pashtuns as the second largest group in the university has several reasons. First, there is lack of quality educational institutions at higher level in the province particularly in the field of world’s languages. Second, the law and order situation in the Pashtun belt particularly after the rise of Taliban in the wake of US led invasion of Afghanistan in the aftermath of 9/11, is not satisfactory due to which many students find it safer to stay and study in the more peaceful environment of the federal capital. Third, the federal capital is geographically placed at a convenient distance from many parts of the province and therefore it is easy for majority of them to travel to the capital. Fourth, a considerable number of
Pashtuns also serve in public and private sector organizations in the capital and the university’s population therefore includes many children of these employees and businessmen.

As far as the language options available to the students, Urdu is used for informal communication on the campus. Some students also prefer to interact in English, however. Punjabi students may also find it convenient to use their mother-tongue outside the class. In teaching situation, English dominates other languages but the use of Urdu may not be overruled. As far as the use of Pashtu is concerned, it is not used in a class situation as majority of other ethnic groups do not understand it. Although in minority, Pashtu speakers are observed to take pride in their mother tongue and its use among themselves. Based on this observation, many Pashtuns can be observed interacting in Pashtu in library, cafeteria or in the playgrounds. However, as observed by the co-author who belongs to the same ethnic group, the incidence of the use of Pashtu is rare in encounters with members of the opposite gender. This can be one outcome of the preferred higher level of formality between men and women in Pashtun culture.

**Population Sample**

The population sample includes 16 Urdu-speaking and 16 Pashtu-speaking students with equal number of male and female enrolled in undergraduate courses in teaching departments including English, Business Administration and Computer Science. The average age of the participants is 21 years. The rationale for selecting university students is their sharing the same linguistic environment, same resources and exposure to similar learning strategies. Having similarity in their IQs, they may resort to different strategies at different occasions. Differences may also result from change in the language situation from mother tongue to another and across gender. Other reasons for conducting the study in a university include the availability of both male and female students and their openness to interact among themselves. Such situations are rarely found in the gender segregated society of Pakistan. In the predominantly Urdu-speaking population of the university, the Pashtu-speaking students were included in the study on two grounds: first, Pashtuns were in considerable majority and second, they were more enthusiastic in asserting their cultural and ethnic identities (Rahman, 1995).

**Methods and Procedure**

The data was collected through a specifically designed discourse completion test (DCT) with guidance from the one developed by Blum-Kulka (1982) for CCSARP (see Appendix). The study conducted by Majeed and Janjua (2014) was of great contextual help in finalizing the DCT for the
The open-ended test included questioning statements relating to routine affairs that asked for apology in normal circumstances. The ten situations highlighted in the statements were selected on the basis of their relevancy to education environment at undergraduate level. With a view to get an appropriate response from the respondents, the statements had been loaded with information regarding the age, social status and professional affiliation of the addressee to enable him/her to make an informed response. The nature of the offence was presented in a clearly articulated way so that no confusion remained in the mind of the respondents in the selection of the apology strategy. The inclusion of all these significant bits of information was meant to measure how the respondents weighed and calculated apology strategies on the basis of the nature of the offence in relation to people having varying degrees of association with them particularly in the context of gender. In addition, these informative hints regarding the addressee were also important for rendering the responses natural as no two respondents were similar owing to differences in their social positions and backgrounds.

During the process of data collection, the researchers took into consideration the three social factors including age of the addressee and the addressee, the social distance between them and their power relations. The reason for considering these factors was their direct relationship with particular apology strategies. It has been noted that strategies may vary based on social factors. The responses may be different due to differences in age, distance and power relations for the same offence. They may also vary according to the formality of the situation, which also corresponds with the power relations and the distance between the offender and the offended. For the purpose of this study, it was assumed that the three social factors would be similar as all the respondents belonged to the same university and were from the same age group enjoying equal rights on the campus. However, it was expected that the apology strategies may vary across gender. For the purpose of the study, the data collected was related to six social situations:

1. apology strategies between Urdu-speaking female students
2. apology strategies between Urdu-speaking male students
3. apology strategies between Urdu-speaking female and male students
4. apology strategies between Pashtu-speaking female students
5. apology strategies between Pashtu-speaking male students
6. apology strategies between Pashtu-speaking female and male students
Data Analysis and Discussion

Apology Strategies of Female Students

The data indicates that the apology strategy of Urdu-speaking female students varied according to the gender of the hearer. While dealing with the same sex, majority (75%) of them preferred a more formal means of tendering apology and would use IFID. They were also found less caring or concerned about the offence that they had committed. However, in some cases they would use REPR (25%) which indicated that they would preempt and apologize fearing an unpleasant reaction from the hearer. In comparison, the response strategies of female students in case of encounter with male students were considerably different. Majority (62.5%) of them used the strategy of RESP which indicated that they were more prone to accept responsibility with male students in comparison to female students. This was interpreted as a response to the predominantly male-oriented setup in the society where men were perceived more powerful and resourceful than women. One female member preferred the use of FORB committing that she would try to avoid such situation in future. The response of 25% female students was in the category of IFID signifying formality in relation and trying to remove any hard feelings in future.

Like Urdu-speaking female students, the apology strategy of Pashtu-speaking female students also varied when they encountered female and male students. However, there were visible differences in the inclinations of the two. Pashtu-speaking female students (50%) were found prone to use RESP which was a clear indication that they were willing to accept the responsibility for the offence and preferred to leave nothing for future to settle. Like their Urdu-speaking counterparts, they also tended to use IFID (50%) while strategizing apology with other female members. While dealing with male students, majority (75%) of them used FORB which was again different from Urdu-speaking respondents. It is important to note that Pashtun society valued gender segregation both in theory and in practice. Further, their social structure was patriarchic and male-dominated (Khan, Sultana, Bughio & Naz, 2013). The trend was also reflected in the majority (75%) response of the female students who were found willing to submit and resign. They would also assure the hearer that they would take care in future and would do their best not to repeat such act in future. Likewise, some (25%) of them used REPR which again showed their submissive nature in gendered encounters.

Comparatively, the significant difference between female students in the Urdu and Pashtu speaking communities was their perceptions of men. The former were closer to male students while Pashtuns believed in
segregated and male-dominated social setup as reflected in their apology strategies.

Overall, IFID tended to dominate apology strategies among female students (63%) in dealing with members of their own sex while majority of them (44%) used FORB with a significant inclination to RESP (31%) while dealing with male students. It can be said that the strategies reflected the broader social structure where female members were found more informal among themselves and observing segregation from the male members. With particular reference to the context, Pashtuns social structure was strictly patriarch and male-dominated that did not encourage free mixing and informality between genders. Women were supposed to keep away from male members and to submit and surrender in case of any offense (Khan et al., 2013). In comparison, Urdu-speaking culture was not much different from the Pashtun one (Khan & Sultana, 2012). However, with the advent of modern means of communication particularly media and computer technology, traditional cultural views had undergone modification and reinterpretation in urban societies. Therefore, majority of the Urdu speakers were less chained by their tribal laws and affiliations as were their Pashtun contemporaries. The latter still formed part of the largest tribal society in the world (Ahmad & Boase, 2003) the culture of which had less to offer and to accept change in attitudes towards gender. The data collected from Urdu and Pashtu-speaking female students is presented in tabulated form as follows:

Table 2: Apology Strategies Used by Urdu/Pashtu-Speaking Female Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation/encounter (Total respondents=8)</th>
<th>Apology Strategies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>EXPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With female student</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With male student</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pashtu-Speaking Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation/encounter</th>
<th>Apology Strategies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>EXPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With female student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With male student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Overall Female Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation/encounter</th>
<th>Apology Strategies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>EXPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With female student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With male student</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Apology Strategies of Male Students

The analysis of the apology strategies revealed that half (50%) of the Urdu-speaking male students preferred to keep their relation at formal terms with female students by preferring IFID while the other half (50%) prefer RESP. Like female speakers of the same language, the trend indicated their inclination to keep the relation closer and open by accepting the responsibility. In comparison, the Pashtu-speaking male students were found more formal and less caring about their relation with female students. All of them (100%) found IFID more appropriate strategy which also corresponded with the gender segregated social structure to which they belonged.

On comparative analysis, Urdu-speaking students were more caring and receptive to female students in dealings and hoped for
informality in their relations with them. However, half (50%) of them were also motivated to use FORB that signified the segregated social structure where women were given respect and those who did so were considered socially and culturally more sophisticated. It also indicated the unintentional acceptance of the act committed as the cultural values in Pakistan give utmost importance to be true to women and discourage any harm to them.

Upon analysis of the apology strategies of male students, the data revealed that Urdu-speaking students mostly used IFID (75%) and remained more formal with students of their gender. Some students (25%) were found more caring, however. They used RESP strategy which indicated their accommodative nature by accepting the responsibility. In comparison, Pashtu-speaking students were found more caring, accommodative and submissive in their relations. Half (50%) of them used RESP while the other half (50%) used FORB. It also revealed that they were more worried about their future relations and attempted to keep closer to their own gender.

Comparative analysis of the data collected from male respondents revealed that in Urdu-speaking community, male students gave more importance to their relation with the opposite gender while Pashtu-speaking students tended to keep distance with female students and worried more about their relations with students of their own sex.

As a whole, it is said that majority (75%) of male students prefer IFID when dealing with female students which indicates the comparatively segregated gender identities in the society. This trend also reflects the national culture of Pakistan where men and women are treated separately and majority still do not approve of mix-gender groupings.

The data gathered from male students point to differences across gender and language. It also highlights the subtle variations across cultures. Urdu-speaking male students are found inclined towards better relations with members of the opposite gender. They frequently interact with them and have a general tendency of giving them equal space in the social structure. They do not find women alien to their existence and strive for informality in their relations. In contrast, the Urdu-speaking male students are found less careful about their relations with other male students. In a sense, they value their relationship with female students and do not worry about other male students. As far as Pashtu-speaking male students are concerned, they are found more worried and concerned about keeping face when with members of their own gender in comparison to the opposite gender. This trend is also in conformity with the strictly gender segregated pattern among Pashtun ethnic group. As
highlighted in the context of Pashtu female speakers, Pashtun culture does not encourage mix gatherings and warn about the drastic social consequences. Further, the social structure reserve specific gender based domains where each gender is expected to perform his/her social roles. Further, the traditional code of *Pashtunwali* clearly differentiates between men and women (Ahmad & Boase, 2003; Babar, 2005; Banerjee, 2004; Hussain, 2005). It makes it binding upon women to keep away from men and expects the latter to keep his eyes away from the former.

In summing up the whole situation, a visible gap between apology strategies of Urdu and Pashtu-speaking male members can be found with reference to their relations and encounters with men and women. Urdu-speaking male members are more informal and caring than their Pashtu-speaking counterparts. The details of the data are presented in the form of a table below:

Table 3: Apology Strategies Used by Urdu/Pashtu-Speaking Male Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation/encounter</th>
<th>Apology Strategies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>EXPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With female student</td>
<td>4 50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With male student</td>
<td>6 75</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation/encounter</th>
<th>Apology Strategies</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IFID</td>
<td>EXPL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
<td>No %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With female student</td>
<td>8 100</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With male student</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Summary and Conclusion

The study was undertaken with the aim to highlight apology strategies adopted by male and female undergraduate students at university level. The study was conducted to know the pattern of apology strategies with the same gender and with members of the other gender. The data was collected on the basis of an open-ended questionnaire which had been designed to reflect everyday occurrences in relevance to an educational institution. The findings of the study provided an insight into the ways through which particular strategy was preferred by the students in line with gender preferences and the pattern of the relationship that they wanted to maintain. The results also highlighted variation in the choice of apology strategies based on the nature of the offence. It also revealed that differences existed in the choice of strategy at cultural level. It was found that there was a marked difference between the choices and preferences of Urdu-speaking and Pashtu-speaking students. Their approach also varied across gender. This also highlighted the underlying social structure from which the students had come and the cultural legacy they carried with them. The findings further revealed that the Urdu-speaking community was more liberal and accommodative and looked positively to future relations with the other gender while Pashtuns were more conservative and formal to members of the opposite gender. The study could be of considerable help in understanding the approach of the offender while tendering apology. It tells us whether the respondent attempts to dominate or prefers defensive attitude during the process. Equally significant is the aspect of keeping public face that can be compromised by resorting to more formal and less caring strategies of apology. The too much use of IFID although less threatening in this regard,
can prove otherwise in the context of Pakistani culture where people tend to be more emotional than rational.

The findings also revealed that the respondents more often apologized by the use of IFID in majority of the situations. It meant that they tended to protect their positive face wants by using less dangerous apology strategies. By choosing such categories the respondents did not apologize explicitly but implicitly. They also used FORB in order to negotiate their relations with their fellows. In educational context, such strategy seemed more appropriate as it pointed to the willingness on the part of the respondent to continue with the relational encounters and to avoid any embarrassing situation at the same time.

Owing to the particular nature of the study that focused interaction at micro level, a comparatively smaller population sample was selected. The findings of the study therefore should not be generalized to a wider population. The researchers are of the view that the results can be applied to universities which are located in major cities of the country where the presence of Urdu-speaking and Pashtu-speaking groups is in considerable number.

Lastly, the two-culture theory can be applied to the findings of the study in a careful manner. Its incidence and currency is clearly visible in the attitudes of Pashtu-speaking students who are socialized in a gender segregated and conservative social setup. Guided by the code of Pashtunwali, they behave in a gendered manner and have separated masculine and feminine domains. In comparison, Urdu-speaking students are less conscious to such differences owing to their exposure to modern means of communication, media and commercialization. Although not included in the scope of the study, the attitudes of students from major cities and business centre can best be described by *dominance* theory than the two-culture theory.
References


Lakoff, R. (1973). *The logic of politeness; or minding your p’s and q’s.* Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society (pp. 292-305). Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic society.


**Appendix**

*Discourse Completion Test (DCT) adapted from Majeed and Janjua (2014)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mother Tongue</td>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resident of city/ town/ village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please read the following situations carefully and imagine yourself in these situations practically and write down your reaction under each situation.

1. You have borrowed your class fellow’s book and any child at your home tore some of its pages. What would you say when you return the book?

2. You were supposed to meet your class fellow at the university library but you got there an hour later. What would you say, when you apologize to your class fellow?

3. You were to submit the assignment of your friend who could not attend the class due to ill health; you have not been able to do so. What would you say to your fellow?

4. You were to share library books with your class fellow before the final paper but you failed to do so. What would be your response to your friend after taking the paper?

5. You promised with your friend to go for outing, but at the nick of time you got an urgent piece of work at home and couldn’t go with him/her. How would you apologize with your friend?
6. You promised to reach at your friend’s house at his/her marriage two days before the ceremony. But you couldn’t get leave from university. What would you say to your friend when you meet him/her?

7. You were getting late from the class and hurriedly ran towards the class. While going upstairs you dashed with male/female student. How would you react?

8. You were given a form to fill in and return for getting library card but you lost the form. What would you say to your class representative when you meet him/her?

9. You promised your friend to accompany him/her to a movie theatre on Sunday. But you stayed at home the whole day and forgot your promise. The friend calls you and reminds the same. What would you say to her/him?

10. You had promised your friend to share your birthday cake but you forgot to bring one. What would you say to your friend on reaching the university?
A Critical Debate in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Theory

Liaquat Ali Channa

Abstract

Firth and Wagner’s publication titled “On Discourse, Communication, and (some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA” was published in 1997 in the Modern Language Journal, volume 81, no. 3. The SLA community received the publication very well. The paper came out to be the seminal publication due to its innovative ideas. The paper not only challenged the mainstream Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Theory but it also argued for reconfiguring boundaries of the theory as it could explain SLA in a balanced and comprehensive manner. The papers that supported, but they had their own perspectives, and the papers that opposed Firth and Wagner’s position accompanied the Firth and Wagner’s publication in the same volume and number of the Modern Language Journal. This review paper examines the important debate with the following two aims to understand (a) how new perspectives are suggested for approaching SLA phenomenon and theorizing it and (b) how such debates be considered. This review paper is divided into four parts. The first part presents Firth and Wagner’s arguments in detail. The second part deals with the objections leveled against Firth and Wagner’s arguments by other scholars viewing SLA from the dominant positivist narrative. The third part presents the views of those scholars who support Firth and Wagner but have their own agenda. The final part examines and sums up the debate. The review paper points out that rather than viewing the SLA theoretical debates through “either/or” or “right/wrong” binary, it may be useful to view all of them as opposing, challenging, and competing sides of the same spectrum.

Keywords: SLA, emic/etic perspectives, input, conversation analysis

Introduction

Thomas Kuhn, in his seminal book The Structure of Scientific Revolutions (1962), writes that when a field of inquiry can no longer evade anomalies that subvert the existing tradition of scientific practice – then begin the extraordinary investigations that lead the profession at least to a new set of commitments, a new basis for the practice of science. The extraordinary episodes in which
that shift of professional commitments occurs are the ones known . . . as scientific revolutions. They are the tradition-shattering complements to the tradition-bound activity of normal science. (p. 6)

This process of “tradition-shattering” and “tradition-bound” episodes applies to all fields of knowledge including second/foreign language (L2/FL hereafter) acquisition and/or learning (the terms such as acquisition and learning are used interchangeably with the same sense in this paper). Indeed, such episodes are evident in the domain of L2/FL acquisition. For instance, one notices that Behaviorism remained dominant in terms of explaining how one learns a language at an early stage. It implied that one learns a language through stimulus and response mechanism. Innatism competed with Behaviorism by positing that human learns a language because s/he is born with an innate language acquisition device (LAD). Learning a language, from this perspective, is more of an innate/cognitive phenomenon than a culmination of the stimulus and response process. Social Constructionism competes with both Innatism and Behaviorism in the field. Social Constructionism holds that since a human being is a social animal, learning and cognition is not only social but also contextual. From this position, language learning initiates from and within a society/situation. Language learning is more a social and contextual than an isolated cognitive phenomenon (Hall, 1997; Lightbown & Spada, 1999). These various perspectives not only explain SLA from various angles but also challenge each other.

Such debates rooted in various paradigms are not free from acute tensions, academic quarrels, and paradigm-shift contentions. This paper is about such a paradigm-shift conflict. Specifically, the paper reviews the debate initiated by Firth and Wagner’s seminal publication titled “On Discourse, Communication, and (some) Fundamental Concepts in SLA.” It was published in 1997 in the Modern Language Journal. The present review paper examines the debate with the aims to understand how such contests be considered and how new perspectives are suggested for approaching SLA phenomenon and theorizing it. The paper is divided into four parts. The first part presents Firth and Wagner’s arguments in detail. The second part deals with the objections leveled against their arguments by other scholars. The third part presents the views of those scholars who support Firth and Wagner. The final part examines and sums up the debate.
Firth and Wagner’s Argument (1997)

Firth and Wagner’s paper “examines critically the predominant view of discourse and communication within second language acquisition (SLA) research” (p. 285). The first part of their paper introduces the research problem their paper is going to address. That is, they aim at critically reviewing the mainstream perspectives of “communication” and “discourse,” which, according to them, are “individualistic,” “mechanistic,” and, which “fail to account in a satisfactory way of interactional and sociolinguistic dimensions of language” (p. 285). They hold that their “critical assessment” of these “core” concepts “is in part, a reaction to recent discussions on theoretical issues within the field,” which, according to them, vie for the need for “theory culling” and “quality control” on the base of “established” and “normal” scientific standards (pp. 285-286).

Notwithstanding agreeing that “many findings and theories in SLA have been important and even groundbreaking,” they call for a “reconceptualization of SLA as a more theoretically and methodologically balanced enterprise that endeavors to attend to, explicate, and explore, in more equal measures and, where possible, in integrated ways, both the social and cognitive dimensions of S/FL use and acquisition” (p. 286). In fact, their call vies for three such modifications: “(a) a significantly enhanced awareness of the contextual and interactional dimensions of language use, (b) an increased emic (i.e., participant-relevant) sensitivity towards fundamental concepts, and (c) the broadening of the traditional SLA database” (p. 286).

The second part of their paper substantiates their call for the “reconceptualization.” It looks into the history of the field and marks out “the origins of the perceived imbalance” (p. 286). Taking Chomsky’s ideas of “formalistic, context-free, ‘grammatical competence’” as irresistible, they hold that, this led the field to focus upon only cognitive aspects (p. 287). Although this produced some fruits, it overlooked “the social and contextual” aspects, and was “heavily in favor of the individual’s cognition, particularly the development of grammatical competence.” Consequently, this resulted in an “imbalance of adopted interests, priorities, foci, methodologies, perspectives, and so on, resulting in distorted descriptions of views on discourse, communication, and interpersonal meaning – the quintessential elements of language” (p. 288).

The repercussions of this focus are discussed in detail in the third and fourth parts of their paper. Specifically, the third part points out the influences of the repercussions in the established domain of communication strategies in SLA. By quoting the studies of Faerch and Kasper (1983), Poulisse (1993), and Kasper and Kellerman (1997) and
drawing upon Rampton (1997), Firth and Wagner take issue with the concept of learner (emphasis added), who, according to them, is not only taken “at the expense of other potentially relevant social identities,” but also “viewed as a defective communicator.” Thus, “the focus and emphasis of research – a reflection of the quintessential SLA ‘mindset’, [ . . . ] – is on the foreign learner’s linguistic deficiencies and communicative problems” (p. 288).

Referring to Poulisse and Bongaert’s (1990) study in this context, Firth and Wagner hold that they “see social processes being interpreted from the perspectives of cognition.” In the perspective of the study, Firth and Wagner argue, “explanations are not sought in terms of interactional or sociolinguistic factors.” The scholarship of this area, they think, takes “communication . . . as a process of transferring thoughts from one’s mind to another’s,” which is founded “upon the mechanistic” and “telementational” concept of message exchange.” In addition, critiquing an excerpt from the Faerch and Kasper’s (1983) study, Firth and Wagner write that “[their] assessment seems to be based on an etic view that sees language encoded in a “marked” (e.g. L1) form as an indicator of difficulty for the speakers,” which, they continue, shows “learner-as-defective-communicator mindset.” By viewing the excerpt through the lens of the adjacency pair of conversation analysis framework, they offer an alternative analysis. They hold that “[m]eaning, from this perspective, is not an individual phenomenon consisting of private thoughts executed and then transferred from brain to brain, but a social and negotiable product of interaction, transcending individual intentions and behaviors” (p. 290).

The fourth part of their paper continues exposing the repercussions in the “input modification studies,” conducted from Long’s interactional framework. Before discussing these studies, Firth and Wagner showcase their views on the superior status of native speaker (NS) and the inferior one of the non-native speaker (NNS). They hold that in SLA in general and in such studies in particular: (i) “the NS is a seemingly omniscient figure . . . and the warranted baseline from which NNS data can be compared”; (ii) thus, “NNSs are unproblematically viewed as NSs’ subordinates, with regard to communicative competence”; (iii) researchers “approach the NS and NNS interactions . . . as inherently problematic encounters”; (iv) the terms (i.e., NS and NNS) are taken as homogenous and with “clear cut distinctions between them” in favor NSs; (v) “the identity categorizations NS and NNS are applied exogenously and without regard for their emic relevance” (p. 292). In the conclusion, they lament that, even “‘comparable’ NS interactions” are employed as “baseline data” for the studies which explore NNS – NNS interactions from this framework (p. 292).
Furthering their argument, they subsequently look into the “extraordinarily influential concept of inter-language (IL)” and the studies conducted through this framework. They show that the same type of bias exists in these studies too. The concept of IL is conceptualized as “a system” which is supposed to predict the transitional phase of NNS for reaching to the point of an ideal NS. Drawing upon Rampton (1997), they lament that despite the fact that the variables such as “social relations,” “identities,” “task,” “physical settings,” and “both global and turn-by-speaking-turn agenda” impact one’s language, “IL studies remain locked into a pattern” employed by the interactional studies. Firth and Wagner posit that studies such as these gloss over the fact that NNSs and their interpretations of NSs’ turns may be recipient-oriented and local in their orientations of their turns (p. 293).

Continuing their argument, they investigate the input modification studies. Referring to the Larsen-Freeman and Long’s (1991) study, they show their concerns at the validity of their claims founded upon a baseline, which, according to Firth and Wagner, rests “on the built-in assumption that a baseline form of interaction would be different from foreigner talk solely as a result of involving NS” (p. 294). In addition, they hold that the researchers not only overlook the impact of experimental settings upon NNSs’ utterances but also exhibit that their assigned identities of NNS as “information gatherer” and NS as “information provider” gloss over the other social identities of NNS in their interpretations (p. 294).

Before concluding their paper, they expose the pervasiveness of the same “mindset” in the study of Gass and Varnis (1985a). In addition to offering an alternative interpretation from a conversation analysis perspective, Firth and Wagner question their discourse model which is based on an assumption that a normal “form of discourse . . . is free of misunderstanding and . . . unaccepted input routines.” They view that “[m]isunderstandings and repair sequences [in Gass & Varnis] are not aberrations.” They are rather “integral parts of the progression of normal, conversational discourse” (p. 295). They wrap their argument up in the fifth part by calling for reconfiguration of the SLA field in both theory and methodology (p. 296).

Objections Leveled against Firth and Wagner

Firth and Wagner’s criticism of the mainstream SLA was destined to receive criticisms since they challenged the dominant and established concepts. There are three major respondents, whom Firth and Wagner criticized, who sought to defend their positions and tried to present the other side of the coin that Firth and Wagner did/could not see. Unlike Firth and Wagner who viewed and explained SLA from an emic/social
constructionist perspective, these three argue largely from cognitivist and/or etic perspectives of SLA. I shall briefly present their key arguments one by one below.

**Poulisse (1997)**

Poulisse divides her response to Firth and Wagner into two parts: The first part defends the methodological concerns Firth and Wagner show; and, the second one critiques the Firth and Wagner discussion about communication strategies in general and her study in particular.

In the first part, for instance, she believes “no matter what paradigm one uses, psychological or sociological, it makes good sense to follow” etic/theoretical assumptions and the practices “of coding, quantifying, and replicating results.” Therefore, she argues that etic theoretical frameworks help a researcher code data according to his/her purposes. Quantification “may serve to give an empirical validity. Replicating results is “useful” in terms of establishing “reliability.” Researchers need not only “describe” but also “explain” and “predict.” Experimental studies follow manipulation of variables mechanism; they “can contribute to both psycholinguistic and sociological research.” Lastly, the search for “universal and underlying features of language processes” is “useful.” These all, she concludes, have rendered “very sound and fruitful” results in the SLA field (pp. 324-325).

The second part of her paper shows a set of comments. First, she holds that “there is a good reason” to take “learners’ deficiencies and communicative problems”; for, they are “relatively frequent” in their speech, “and hence of interest of researchers of SLA and L2 use.” She thinks that this does not necessarily “mean to say that L2 speech is full of problems, degenerate, unsuccessful, or inferior to L1.” Second, referring to Firth and Wagner’s critique of her study (i.e., Poulisse and Bongaerts’ (1990)), she argues that Firth and Wagner “do not distinguish between the strategic and automatic types of transfer” employed in their study. Also, she defends that they do not take into account certain contextual factors. Third, discussing the Faerch and Kaspers’ study (1983), she argues she does not object to Firth and Wagner’s take on “meaning” as constructed and negotiated in conversation. She, however, thinks it “incorrect to say that meaning does not lie in the speaker” (p. 326). Finally, taking into account the Firth and Wagner’s discussion on input modification studies, she argues that “it makes perfect sense to compare” the behaviors of NS and NNS. However, this does not imply that “NNS are defective communicators.” She writes that “the most important identity is that of L2 learner” rather than others in order to validate one’s research in SLA.
the end, although she appreciates Firth and Wagner’s call, she believes that we should not “throw away the baby with bathwater” (p. 327).

Gass (1997)

Gass also responds to Firth and Wagner’s articles and divides her response into three parts. The first part deals with the framework and scope Firth and Wagner critique; the second with “learner as deficient communicator”; and, the final one discusses the Firth and Wagner’s interpretation of her data.

She begins the first section by outlining the interdisciplinarity of SLA stating that there are many ways “to [approach] the field”; and, she implies that Firth and Wagner have done the same (p. 84). What strikes her “odd,” however, is the major fact that goal of her inquiry of over more than a decade “has never been to understand language use per se (i.e., use is not end in itself), but rather to understand what types of interactions might bring about what types of changes in linguistic knowledge” (p. 84). Dismissing the confusion created by Firth and Wagner “between learner as opposed to user,” she argues, “the approach that Firth and Wagner advocate is not actually part of SLA, but part of the broader field of L2 studies.” Therefore, she writes that “[t]he research question central to SLA that I and others ask is: How do people learn a L2? – The question is not: How do people use a L2, unless the latter question is a means of getting the former” (p. 85).

Discussing why learners are taken as communicatively deficient in her second part, she argues, “being unable to communicate in L2 is not viewed as something as derogatory” as Firth and Wagner imply. She argues that “the emphasis in SLA in not deficiencies qua deficiencies. Rather, the emphasis is on the nature of linguistic systems qua systems of learners . . . this is the whole point of looking at learners systems” (p. 85). She argues that the other social identities of a learner are not pertinent to the main research problem “which is, how are L2s acquired and what is the nature of learner systems?” Finally, she justifies using baseline data by holding that since SLA is concerned with learning a language; they “reflect data from those who are not involved in learning” (p. 86).

In her third part, she critiques the Firth and Wagner’s critique of her and others’ studies. First, she holds that they “point to specific examples” where she does not see eye to eye with their take on the issues. They do not “cite the entire example [of her study] that is analyzed” in another study. Defending her model of discourse from Firth and Wagner’s critique, she argues that “we did not claim that NS discourse does not have” triggers, pauses etc. They conceptualized their model as “the top horizontal progression as that part of the discourse that moves along
without “interruptions” for clarification.” She concludes her response by
taking Firth and Wagner’s position as “somewhat perplexing” and
unaccountable to the question of language being “an abstract entity that
resides in the individual” (p. 88).

Long (1997)

Long’s response may be divided into two parts. The first may be
taken as his comments on the issues raised by Firth and Wagner; and, the
second one may be viewed as his critique of Firth and Wagner’s
assessment of his study. This may perhaps be the severest critique of Firth
and Wagner’s position.

Long discusses many points about the Firth and Wagner’s call from
the interactional position of SLA. For example, he echoes Gass in terms of
distinguishing L2 acquisition from L2 use, implying that Firth and Wagner
seem more concerned with the latter than the former. In this context, he
writes, “the very nature of SLA beast” as “most SLA researcher view the
object of inquiry” is “internal, mental process: the acquisition of new
linguistic knowledge.” He adds that the importance of context in learning a
language varies according to different theoretical frameworks. However,
what seems “ironic” in Firth and Wagner is that the very “villains” Firth and
Wagner “claim have ignored context are among those who have most
often explicitly focused on at least some dimensions of it in their work” (p.
318). He believes that Firth and Wagner’s position has “very little” to offer
to mental processes of learning.

In the second part of his response, he comments on Firth and
Wagner’s critique of his and others’ studies. He argues that “NNS label”
employed by him and others is “relevant” to the purposes of their
research. He still maintains his claim, scathingly critiqued by Firth and
Wagner, that “certain kinds (not any kinds) of interaction with NNSs are
the necessary and sufficient condition.” He agrees that there is not any
“normal or standard way of talking”; he adds, that’s why “it is incumbent
upon researchers to collect comparable baseline data...from NS-NS dyads,
not just NS-NNS or NNS-NNS dyads” (p. 320). He adds that most of the
generalizations made by Firth and Wagner are specified in his and others’
studies. Thus, Firth and Wagner misinterpret them. He dismisses their
critique of experimental settings by saying that “over 20 years and dozens
of studies show that findings in “laboratory” and “natural” settings have
generally been very similar.” Thus, their charges are “unsupported” and
“baseless” (p. 321). Having challenged their position in terms of
“methodology,” “verifiability,” and “relevance,” he concludes his response
by referring to Firth and Wagner’s position as “strawman arguments” and
“sweeping claims,” founded upon “unfortunate,” “irrelevant,” and
“misleading” information of those whom Firth and Wagner have referred for supporting their arguments (p. 323).

Support of Firth and Wagner’s Call

In addition to these three who defend their positions and attempt to exhibit what lies on the other side, there are four others who largely support Firth and Wagner’s call. Since these supporters maintain Firth and Wagner, which implies that they see eye to eye with them, I shall also briefly present what their views are before summing up the debate.

Rampton (1997)

Rampton finds himself “in line with Firth and Wagner.” His aim is to take the issue further from there where Firth and Wagner “leave off,” as to make SLA more accountable to the realities of “late modernity” (p. 330). Taking their call, Rampton holds that contemporary sociolinguistics is looking into the postmodern realities of “fragmentation, contingency, marginality, transition, indeterminacy, ambivalence and hybridity,” as found in the today’s social groups; SLA should also “carry the right conceptual kit” accordingly.

Arguing that the mainstream modernistic SLA, being concerned with “universal” and “disembedded cognition, value-free inquiry,” has “shown very little interest in the context sensitive, value-relevant, interpretive methodologies that fit more comfortably with late modern assumptions” (p. 330). In this context, he argues that, Firth and Wagner “have a lot to offer in helping us to escape from our analytic prejudices about people, groups, speech acts . . . but it is not only ethno-methodological discourse analysis that manages this discourse.” He holds that others have also done this too while referring the field of dialectology. But, SLA as being preoccupied with modernistic agenda, as he implies, has not kept pace with the issues. Thus, he feels SLA needs to “reconfigure itself methodologically” and theoretically as to better explicate and address the issues and phenomena of later modernity.

Liddicoat (1997)

Liddicoat also sees eye to eye with Firth and Wagner’s call for a balanced SLA in terms of theory and methodology. The author mainly focuses on the importance of social, emic perspectives for SLA and echoes Firth and Wagner in his response. For instance, from this social, emic perspective, he argues that language interactions cannot be understood without taking into account their natural contexts of occurring. He holds that SLA, therefore, should be a balanced field by looking into these contexts in order to offer sound interpretations of language learning. In addition, discussing the implications of Firth and Wagner’s call, he
underlines the role and importance of naturally occurring data. He emphasizes “the need for a more sophisticated understanding of what is meant by interaction and of the relationship of interaction and social context,” and, “the need for an appropriate level of analysis and appropriate data.” Summing up his response in Firth and Wagner’s favor, he writes that “[w]hat Firth and Wagner propose in their call for rebalancing the field of SLA requires not only a rebalancing of the theoretical stance of the field, but has far reaching implications for the ways in which research in the field is designed and carried out at practical levels” (p. 316).

**Hall (1997)**

Although Hall’s reply supports Firth and Wagner’s call, she offers “an alternative approach to the study of SLA” rooted in Vygotskian ideas (p. 301). Unlike the Firth and Wagner’s emic approach towards SLA discourse, which largely relies on ethnomethodological and conversation analytical underpinnings, she offers sociocultural view based upon the work of Vygotsky and others, and compares it with the psycholinguistic tradition of SLA. According to this approach, she, for instance, holds that unlike the cognitive assumption that “language learning consists of a hierarchy of . . . linguistic systems,” it is “inextricably linked to the culturally framed and discursively patterned communicative activities.” Thus, learning a language “originates in our socially constituted communicative practices.” Language learners are “active and creative participants in what is considered a socio-cognitively complex task” (pp. 301-304). Above all, her major argument is that language learning, thus cognition too, is more sociocultural than purely mental or internal phenomenon. And, one can reconfigure one’s SLA research and pedagogy focusing upon the principles of this theory (p. 305).

**Kasper (1997)**

Although Kasper deems Firth and Wagner’s assessment of “taken-for-granted concepts in L2 research” as “well-taken,” she finds some of their positions “problematic.” For instance, Kasper agrees with Firth and Wagner on “[tightening] up” of transcription practices of interactional data, she also thinks that one is invariably driven by one’s research purposes and theoretical commitments; as was Sacks, for instance, to substantiate his claim of social orderliness. Thus, she does not seem to find any fault with any emic or etic theoretical frameworks. Rather, she holds that “a more data-loyal presentation could obscure the purpose at hand, which is to demonstrate a structural relationship between utterances in adjacency pair.” Arguing for the “three way dependency – theory shapes transcripts, transcripts shape results, the results shape theory,” she agrees
with Firth and Wagner that “in L2 research, this circle of dependencies has not always received the attention it deserves” (p. 308).

In addition, critiquing Firth and Wagner’s concerns about the learner, she writes, “perhaps such terms [should] be seen more indexical than referential in function”; and, the “researcher has theoretically or empirically motivated reason to believe that such variables [social class etc.] may influence L2 use and learning in some way.” Finally, being “comfortable with essentially cognitivist definition of SLA,” she holds that Firth and Wagner’s “paper has in fact very little to say about L2 acquisition” (p. 309). She ends on a note favoring the employment of CA tools into “language socialization approach to SLA” (p. 311).

A Way to Take

After going through the debate, one ends up having multiple views about Firth and Wagner’s call for reconfiguring the field of SLA that, Firth and Wagner think, should be based upon a balanced sensitivity towards context, naturally occurring data, data analysis, and the research participants from whom data are collected. Interestingly, the Firth and Wagner’s ethnomethodological and conversation analytic position seems relatively “irrelevant” to Poulisse (1997, p. 327), “perplexing” to Gass (1997, p. 88), and “strawman arguments” and “sweeping claims” to Long (1997, p. 323).

On the other hand, those scholars who support Firth and Wagner seem to have their own agenda, except Liddicoat (1997). For instance, Rampton wishes SLA take into account the late modernity phenomena emerging due to globalization and other sociological processes. Hall (1997) exploits this opportunity to present a sociocultural view of SLA rooted in Vygotskian thought. Finally, Kasper (1997) supports what is in her favor (i.e., CA transcription practices) and critiques what is not. She advocates conversation analysis for a “socialization approach to SLA” (p. 311). Thus, what one has are either up-front opponents and/or partial supporters. What unites the partial supporters, however, seems to be their collective concerns against the positivist, cognitivist and/or mentalist underpinnings of SLA that form the dominant narrative in SLA theory.

One who may be following this critical debate with zeal to know its logical conclusion may be saddened to learn that the conclusion of this debate and alike may not be simple, straightforward, and linear. Theoretical perspectives do not only become dominant but also comfort zones that get hard to be shaken and forsaken. An inquisitive researcher, however, may wish to know why a phenomenon, namely cognition and/or language, seems mental to some and social or sociocultural to others. S/he may wish to understand why some scholars view language learning
phenomenon through acquisition and/or learning and some through using lens. One may wish to learn why one sees learner as NNS, who is invariably comparable to NS, and others see NNS as active and self-sufficient from within. One may wish to understand why one prefers quantification, universalization, and experimental settings, and others specificity, natural settings, and contextualized milieu.

In fact, Gass (1997) and Long (1997) may help in directing the curious researcher that this is due to the theoretical frameworks one situates oneself into in the field. The theoretical frameworks frame researchers to view and explicate phenomenon accordingly. The question, however, emerges whether these frameworks of SLA are brand new. One may argue that the frameworks may, indeed, not be new. One may trace their roots in the philosophical and sociological macro-theories such as positivism, constructionism, structuralism, social functionalism, post-structuralism, etc. One may also trace such paradigm-shift conflicts at macro levels in philosophy (i.e., the mega conflict of “I think therefore I am” vis-à-vis to “I am therefore I think”) (see Crotty, 1998; Foucault, 1966/1070).

The only peculiarity that one may note is the fact that these macro theories are applied in the burgeoning sub-fields (i.e., SLA) of knowledge in order to problematize the established concepts and explicate in an innovative manner the time-wise emerging phenomena. With the application, new perspectives are brought into life. This process of bringing new perspectives into life, in effect, produces refinement and balance in both theory and methodology that later affords to offer sound solutions and logical explanations. The evolutionary process should be taken as must and should be allowed to continue.

By following this line of argumentation, one may, thus, expect that some eminent scholars shall, for instance, challenge the Firth and Wagner’s position too in future exactly the way they challenge the traditional etic and cognitivist approaches in the growing field of SLA. The continual debate should offer new vistas to approach phenomena and explicate them accordingly. We may, therefore, want to believe what Kuhn says that “We may, to be more precise, have to relinquish the notion, explicit or implicit, that changes of paradigms carry scientists and those who learn from them closer to the truth (emphasis added)” (1962, p. 169). Changes of paradigms may not get closer to the truth. Thus, we may, perhaps, have to train ourselves to believe that rather than taking each perspective as getting closer to the truth, we may want to take each perspective as one of the possible explanations of one of the myriad hues of the same spectrum/truth.
Consequently, this position may offer the following points rooted in the philosophy of pragmatism as discussed by Dewey (1929). First, it may help us see unique characteristics of each analytic and/or methodological perspective that offer an explanation from a certain angle. Second, one may think that what an analytic and/or a methodological perspective may not explain, another analytic or methodological perspective, if combined with other perspective(s), may explain in ways that may end up offering sound, balanced, and sophisticated explanations. Last but not the least, it may, thus, help us to not only embrace diversity/complexity but also taste its synergizing fruits. Above all, the major implication we may want to reach at is rather than viewing SLA issues such as discussed above in binaries and taking each binary as the correct, we may need to view them as opposing, competing, and complementary sides of the same spectrum offering possible explanations from various angles. As a result, the implication may help to appreciate complexity involved in second language acquisition/learning phenomenon.
References


Postcolonial South Asian Literature and the Quest for Identity

Jamil Asghar

Abstract

In the present world of globalization, the question of identity has assumed new and critical dimensions. In this paper I have explored the theme of identity with reference to postcolonial South Asian literature. The notion of identity has been critically investigated across a variety of perspectives such as psychological, historical, sociological and literary. This gives present study a multidisciplinary character. Notwithstanding the advent of decolonization that began in the 1940s, South Asian literature is still in the formative phase of its identity. I have given a comprehensive account of identity found in the diverse range of literary compositions by the Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi writers. The South Asian writers seem not only fully alive of the challenge and necessity of identity; they have also forged different responses to this challenge. The question of canon and acceptability also occupies the central space in the identity debate. I have also dealt with the thorny issue of the choice of English as a medium of literary expression. Various literary debates centering on such issues as nationalism, neocolonialism, globalization and migration form the backdrop of the discussion. Whereas some of the older writers see the modern day globalization as a neocolonial onslaught; the younger writes are thrilled by the opportunities and promises it offers. The South Asian writers settled abroad have also been taken into account as their contributions form an essential part of what has lately been called the diasporic literature. While the reclamation of identity still remains a formidable task for the South Asian writers, many a writer has already produced sterling texts indicative of identity consciousness.

Keywords: identity, representation, narrativity, voice, postcolonial

Identity—Some Definitional Considerations

The question of identity has always intrigued humans since time immemorial. Over the last few decades, there has been a veritable explosion of books, articles, journals, reports, websites devoted to the subject of identity and still more work is in the offing. Each one of us has a self-conception premised upon our individuality and a sense of belonging. We view ourselves both as a person (thus having a private persona and therefore possessing a personality) and in relation to other persons (thus having a public persona). There are different aspects of identity such as
race, ethnicity, religion, gender, culture, and nation. In cognitive psychology, the term identity refers to one’s capacity for self-reflection (Leary & Tangney, 2003, p. 3). Within this cognitive-psychological perspective, Peter Weinreich, professor of psychology at University of Ulster, speaks of a totality of identity and gives a composite and inclusive view of it (1989). If cognitive psychology founds identity on the self, social psychology speaks of an identity negotiation process by which we learn various social roles through personal experiences and come to an understanding of ourselves vis-à-vis our fellow humans. We define our identity with various experiential markers socially acquired and subjectively internalized.

As regards the definition of identity, it has to be said that it is notoriously difficult to formulate its definition and William James rightly warned us that the notion of identity is “the most puzzling puzzle with which psychology has to deal” (James, 1890, p. 330). Etymologically, the term identity originated from the Latin idem (same) and identidem (over and over again, repeatedly). Subsequently, it also came to denote such implications as likeness, and oneness (Owens, 2006, p. 117). Thus, identity can generally be defined as “categories people use to specify who they are and to locate themselves relative to other people” (p. 208). John P. Hewitt, professor of sociology at University of Massachusetts, Amherst, has given another valuable definition of identity: “. . . the person’s biographical sense of relationship to the others with whom he has been and is customarily associated” (2011, p. 205). Hewitt has further elaborated the word biographical by positing four meanings for it. First, humans harbor memories of the past based upon their victories, failures, hopes, and roles which are transfixed in time and space. Second, the memories are used by humans to situate themselves with reference to others. Third, humans define themselves by constantly evoking these memories. Last, humans’ biographies are created not only by themselves but also by the people and circumstances that surround them (p. 207).

In addition, the question of identity has also been systematically treated by such diverse writers as William James, Charles Cooley, William Thomas, G. H. Mead, Don Martindale, and, more recently, Howard Gardner. William James incisive contributions were followed by Charles Cooley and William Thomas. Both of them dealt with the issue of identify in a sociological paradigm. However, a more philosophical treatment of the question of identity had to wait for G. H. Mead who, subscribing to his objective relativism, conceptualized the question of personality and consciousness as objective properties of nature which appear only under particular sets of conditions (Blumer, 2004). Nevertheless, more rigorous work on identity did not come into existence until the second half of the
20th century when Don Martindale (1981) gave it a more systematic and empirically-rooted expression. The ground-breaking work of Howard Gardner (1985) also made sterling contributions to the discussion of this question and approached it largely through the perspective of cognitive psychology.

With reference to the definition of identity, it is also pertinent to mention here that William James and G. H. Mead drew a distinction between “I” and “me” i.e. between the self as a subject and as an object (i.e. as a knower and as known). To him, “me” represents the social self and “I” stands for the creative self. This is a well known phenomenon commonly known as reflexivity which implies a uniquely human ability to conceptualize oneself as an “object capable of being not just apprehended, but also labeled, categorized, evaluated, and manipulated” (Owens, 2006, p. 110). This reflexivity largely hinges upon the use of language and a psycho-social interaction. It also enables humans to view themselves from a distance and with a degree of detachment i.e. from an external perspective as other people might view them. Through this unique ability the self can reflect back upon itself.

Despite numerous theoretical intricacies attached to the definition of identity, it remains a topic of avid and continuous interest in a wide array of subjects, such as postcolonialism, international relations, history, philosophy, social psychology, cultural anthropology, and literary theory. It is one of the deepest yearnings which compel us to conceptualize our existential experience in some individualist way on the one hand and to relate it in some meaningful way with the members of our group. When it comes to identity, we all have an intuitive awareness of its existence and significance. It is a product of a complex and multiple set of historical and geographical circumstances. Therefore, identity is as much relational as contextual and is characterized by a wide range of disparate components that cannot be separated without tearing down the whole.

Identity, Self and Society

We have our bodily mass inasmuch as our memories. We are extended not just in space but also in time. This brings us an understanding of our identity. With respect to our temporal and spatial extension, one of the most influential accounts of identity in the 20th century was advanced by the French philosopher Paul Ricoeur whose notion of narrativity is a landmark contribution in this regard. According to Ricoeur, our identity is a story (a narrative) and we ourselves are its protagonists. This story links all our actions and thoughts coherently (1992). In Ricoeur’s view, the self and the society are twinborn and both collaborate in a seamless way:
Personal identities serve as the pegs upon which social identities and personal biographies can be hung. If an individual could not be recognized from one occasion to another as the same person, no stable social relationships could be constructed, and therefore there would be no social identities at all. Both types of identification are vitally important in the process of human interaction. (as cited in McCall & Simmons, 1966, p. 65)

Historically the question of identity has been of paramount concern to philosophers and thinkers. Over millennia people have been grappling with these questions: Who are they? What constitutes them? In other words, what makes them? Individually, at one time or the other, all of us are occupied by such fundamental questions: Why am I here? What does my life mean? Where did I come from? Am I a good person? Am I capable of change? Am I loved? Can I love? Do I love? And what makes me, me and you, you? All of these questions imply a conscious self capable of a subjective experience.

Even apart from these abstract questions, a sense of identity is intrinsically self-satisfying and we are instinctively aware of it. Our identity not only guides our behaviors but also defines our notions of reality for us. We know intuitively that we have some kind of bodily as well as psychological continuity. We continue to be in many recognizable ways in spite of all the flux and strife around us. Furthermore, identity has the bearings of multiple interpersonal as well as intrapersonal experiences/processes. We all seek to make some kind of impression on others. We control images that we project in the society or, at least, seek to control them. We perceive ourselves in some distinct way and it is essential to keep our beings intact and not to let them submerge under the corporate and collective vogues and drifts. Our self-concept is inextricably linked with “I— the totality of an individual’s thoughts and feelings about a particular object—namely, his or her self” (Rosenberg, 1979). This self-concept has an emotive side to it as much as a cognitive side. Thus, our identity is both an object of perception as well as an emotional response to that perception—an emotional objectification of that perception.

Identity, with reference to a society and its literature, necessitates some kind of collectivity—some kind of sharedness. For example, in the societies which are marked by considerable cultural diversification such as India, Canada and the United States, the shared national identity is based upon common values and beliefs. These three countries have been diversely exploiting their reservoirs of history to underpin and crystallize their national identities. Obviously this is true of all the nations as every nation has its own reservoir of history which serves to feed its culture and
shape its identity. Although identity is marked by considerable flux and change, there are a considerable number of relatively stable factors/structures which persist over time. Individuals operate within a complex of cultural and historical identities. Moreover, identity is situated at the cross-section of subjectivity and objectivity. The objective pole of identity invests it with stability; whereas, the subjective pole keeps it dynamic and vibrant. Objectivity is essential to make identity worthwhile and subjectivity is essential to make it a living thing and not a fossilized relic of the past.

Beside history and geography, identity is also a question of genetics, gender, discourses and narratives. Small wonder it remains an ultimate site of flux, contestation and strife. Literary narratives construct identities in myriad ways, only to deconstruct and reconstruct them. At present, in terms of identity, an omnipotent Euro-Americanism seems to reign supreme. This Euro-Americanism is largely responsible for shaping new discursive practices and distributing them across the globe. Such discursive practices, backed by the powerful Anglo-American publishing houses, result in highly complex and multilayered discourses of identity. These discursive practices have lead to the creation of an Indo-European context which has yielded profound consciousness to the modern writers who find their identity fractured due to various waves of colonial and neo-colonial onslaughts. Moreover, the powerful discourse of postmodernity and globalization are presenting new challenges to the task of identity formation.

Finally, the role of literature in the construction and articulation of identity is also of fundamental importance and this fact is recognized by as diverse writers as Paul de Man, Michel Foucault, Edward W. Said, Homi Bhabha and Terry Eagleton. Homi Bhabha, for example, uses the image of a mask for an identity of “no presence”—a trope of “unrepresentable identity” (1994, p. 290). By employing this trope, Bhabha, in effect, is pointing to a loss of identity present all around the literary scene (p. 294). He contends that literature can play an important role in investigating the question of identity. To him, the study of world literature implies approaches whereby different cultures can identify themselves through their projections of otherness (p. 296). Edward W. Said in his seminal work Orientalism (1978) has interrogated the Western scholarship and its long standing literary lore which constructed a highly textual and stereotypical identity of the Orient. Confronting the Western formulaic notions about the Orient, he says:

No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience
for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental. Yet just as human beings make their own history, they also make their cultures and ethnic identities. (1994, p. 78)

Besides, within the realm of literature too we find a very visible foregrounding of and a preoccupation with the issue of identity in the works of such literary giants as Fyodor Dostoevsky, Franz Kafka, Joseph Conrad, Hermann Hesse, to mention a few.

**The Question of Identity and the Paradox of Language**

Having dealt with some of the technical and definitional issues of identity, now I will discuss it with regard to South Asian postcolonial literature. The issue of language with reference to identity has always been a topic of passionate argumentation among the postcolonial South Asian writers. The Indian writer R. K. Narayan describes this culturally dislocating side not only of the English language but of the whole scheme of colonial education:

. . . from the Sanskrit alphabet we passed on directly to the first lesson in the glossy primer which began with “A was an Apple Pie”. . . and went on to explain, “B bit it” and “C cut it.” The activities of B and C were understandable, but the opening line itself was mystifying. What was an Apple Pie? (1965, p. 120)

This is Narayan’s account of his school days in Mysore, a historic city in the present-day India. Narayan is, in effect, describing the culturally alienating consequences of a language as well as an education brought by the colonizers to the Indian Subcontinent. Besides, it also conveys a sense of an affiliation which, in this specific case, is born of Narayan’s early contact with the language of the colonizers. What Narayan has said, has been felt and articulated by other South Asian writes as well. Ever since the Independence, the crucial debate has been about the legitimacy of English as a medium of literary expression and the status of indigenous writings in English (Iyengar, 1984). After the Independence, the issue arose as to whether a foreign language, rooted in a faraway literary tradition and which was learnt mainly from books, could ever be tuned adequately and delicately to the task of representing indigenous experience (King, 1987).

In line with W. B. Yeats’ maxim that “no man can think or write with music and vigor except in his mother tongue,” the Bengali writer and
poet Buddhadeva Bose said in 1963 that “to the great majority of Indians this admonition was unnecessary, but the intrepid few who left it unheeded do not yet realize that Indo-Anglian poetry is a blind alley, lined with curio shops, leading nowhere” (as cited in Lal, 1971, p. 5). An overstatement as Bose’s opinion might be, we just need to recall the emotionally tense period through which the Indian literature was going at that time. Besides, to some extent, Bose’s opinion is characteristic of the mid-twentieth century Indian literary mood (as cited in King, 1987). Nevertheless, an utterly opposite view came from Purushottama Lal, a Calcutta-based Indian poet, essayist and translator, who not only declared that English was an appropriate vehicle for literary expression, but also maintained that Indo-Anglican poetry is “a part of the Indian literary spectrum” (1971, p. xxxi). Bose and Lal marked two opposite ends of a wide spectrum and, ever since, most of the subsequent writers have tended to gravitate to one of these two antipodal positions. Many like Bapsi Sidhwa, Nissim Ezekiel and Kamala Das wrote happily in English, but everyone was not as enamored about the use of English (Shamsie, 2007).

On the other hand, people like A. K. Ramanujan came with a more blunt estimation who maintained that the issue was not whether the South Asian writers should or should not write in English but “whether they can. And if they can, they will” (as cited in Lal, 1971, p. 444). This is how purely linguistic considerations emerged and problematized the question of appropriate language for their literary expression. However, a large number of writers were prepared to write in English with increasing self-assurance and an admirable poise. At the same time, some of the writers also employed and/or bent the English language while maintaining a love-hate relationship with it. The Indian novelist Sujata Bhatt (1988), for example, confidently lays claim to the English language:

Which language
has not been the oppressor’s tongue?
Which language
truly meant to murder someone?
And how does it happen
that after the torture,
after the soul has been cropped
With a long scythe swooping out
of the conqueror’s face—
the unborn grandchildren
grow to love that strange language. (p. 37)

Some other writers were more direct in their estimation of the English language. Such writers made little effort to conceal their hatred of a
language which originally belonged to the oppressors and enslavers. This was acidly made clear by the Indian writer Lakdasa Wikkramasinha:

I have come to realize that I am using the language of the most despicable and loathsome people on earth; I have no wish to extend its life and range, or enrich its tonality. To write in English is a form of cultural treason. I have had for the future to think of a way of circumventing this treason; I propose to do this by making my writing entirely immoralist and destructive. (as cited in Gooneratne, 1979, p. 6)

Subsequently, many other writers also held that the global hegemony of English was not just a matter of a benign *internationalization* of a language. Anglophone dominance has more to it than we ordinarily tend to think (Brians, 2003). In this regard, to command someone to write in English is not just to ask someone to use a particular grammar and vocabulary but to command him/her to enact a particular identity. Given this legacy of a historico-linguistic complexity and Anglophone dominance, the modern South Asian writers have to straddle not only more than one culture but also more than one language. Such writers as Bapsi Sidhwa, Mohsin Hamid, Hanif Qureshi, and Zulfikar Ghose routinely employed in their works a wealth of words from native languages which their characters manipulate with flair and gusto (Shamsie, 2007).

With reference to the use of an imperial language in order to express the intrinsically indigenous experience, the mention of the Pakistani writer Bapsi Sidhwa is very significant. Like other postcolonial writers, language is also a major preoccupation with Sidhwa. Although she looks approvingly at English as a literary medium employed by the postcolonial writers, she introduces a fair deal of words from Urdu, Gujrati and Punjabi. This is how she explains her linguistic experience with respect to colonialism:

My first language of speech is Gujrati, my second is Urdu, my third is English. But as far as reading and writing goes I can read and write best in English. I’m a tail end product of the Raj. This is the case with a lot of people in India and Pakistan. They’re condemned to write in English, but I don't think this is such a bad thing because English is a rich language. Naturally it is not my first language; I’m more at ease talking in Gujrati and Urdu. After moving to America I realized that all my sentences in English were punctuated with Gujrati and Urdu words. (as cited in Dasenbroke, 1992, p. 214)
As a result, even if Sidhwa decides to write in English, it is a different English—an English punctuated with words from the native Indian languages. These words are translated in the glossaries given at the end of her novels. For example, in *Cracking India* (1991), she uses a huge variety of words from Urdu such as: “pahailwan” (wrestler), “choorail” (witch), “shabash” (bravo!), “kotha” (roof), “khut putli” (puppet), “mamajee” (uncle), “badmash” (scoundrel), “gora” (whiteman), “heejra” (eunuch) and so on. What makes Sidwha’s linguistic stance all the more radical is that apart from these words, there are certain other words from the native languages which are left altogether untranslated such as: “sarkaar,” “yaar,” “doolha,” “chichi,” “Angrez,” “chaudhary” and so on.

Such a use of indigenous vocabulary is extremely significant from the perspective of postcolonial literature. It signals, among other things, an assertively authorial intrusion into the language of the conquerors and colonizers. Further, such a use of language constitutes a discursive practice intended to reclaim space in a discourse which has been known for its aloofness and imperial ascendancy. The inclusion of these words not only complicates the signification pattern of the narrative but also the transcultural experience the reader has. Moreover, beside these Urdu and Punjabi words, Sidhw, also quotes Muhammad Iqbal, the foremost Muslim poet of the 20th century. *Cracking India* (1991) opens with the following anticolonial lines by Iqbal:

> The times have changed; the world has changed its mind.  
> The European's mystery is erased.  
> The secret of his conjuring tricks is known:  
> The Frankish wizard stands and looks amazed. (p. 1)

In sum, even if a considerable number of South Asian writers approvingly used English as a literary medium, they considerably bent its lexis and syntax to give it what I will call *a strategic unfamiliarity* whose chief purpose was to dismantle the colonial narrative and create a space for a cultural diversity which is at once emancipating and egalitarian. The real motive behind all these hybrid writing patterns seems not simply to problematize the experience of the reader, but also to stake a claim to the English language which is no longer considered to be an exclusive prerogative of the colonizers.

**The Mature Voices**

As early as 1938, the Indian novelist and short story writer Raja Rao presented a somewhat more balanced and quite realistic view about the use of English with reference to identity formation: “We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us” (p. 67). The outcome of this
recognition was that the Indo-Anglian literature (especially novel) became the site of conflicts enacted between the canons of a borrowed literary form and the actualities of the indigenous fictional patterns. The Pakistani writer and diplomat Mumtaz Shahnawaz’s novel *The Heart Divided* and the Indian author Meenakshi Mukherjee’s novel *The Twice Born Fiction* set the tone of most of subsequent novel writing. Most of the early Indo-Pakistani novels deal with the concerns of socio-political realism in a newly emancipated land where an individual's search for identity becomes an urgent concern. In the Indo-Anglian novel of the 1950s and 1960s, the recognition of alienation born of an identity loss is usually expressed through a conscious engagement with the issues of form and technique (Shamsie, 2007).

Even from the early days of the British Raj, we find the themes of patriotism and nationalism in the prose and verse produced by the South Asian writers. An acute sense of attachment to home occupied the minds of a large number of writers as early as the mid-19th century. The 19th century Bengali poet Michael Madhusudan Dutt (as cited in Gibson, 2011, p. 216), echoes this nationalist impulse:

Where man in all his truest glory lives,  
And nature's face is exquisitely sweet;  
For those fair climes I heave impatient sigh,  
There let me live and there let me die.

Whereas Dutt was harping upon a purely nationalistic and cultural theme, there were certain other writers who wrote with a cross-cultural imagination. One gets the impression that as time passes, Dutt’s romanticized preoccupation with the homeland gave way to a broader conceptualization of homeliness, albeit the question of identity remains timelessly urgent. Look, for example, at the following small poem in which the 20th century Indian poet A. K. Ramanujan (1971) exquisitely relates the richness of Indian tradition with the vastness of its transcontinental history:

And ideas behave like rumours  
once casually mentioned somewhere  
they come back to the door as prodigies  
born to prodigal fathers, with eyes  
that vaguely look like our own,  
like what Uncle said the other day:  
that every Plotinus we read  
is what some Alexander looted  
between the malarial rivers. (p. 42)
Here the poet’s ingenuity is built upon the thought of cross-cultural and essentially historical transformations. What is more, in these lines, a borrowed language is skillfully employed until it successfully embodies the intended vision of the poet—a depiction of a typical Indian house, jumbled with local minutiae and marked by a plentitude of history.

The more recent novelists both in India and Pakistan show a powerful compulsion to reclaim past through a self-conscious re-conceptualization of history and myth. In the context of India and Pakistan, fiction remains unusually inextricable from history and geography. The first thing which strikes the reader of postcolonial South Asian literature is its inextricable linkage with geopolitics and geography. The postcolonial redistribution of the Subcontinent and the emergence of the sovereign postcolonial nation-states had far-reaching implications for the region’s literary landscape. What appeared to be a cohesive literary culture before 1947 abruptly broke up into disparate geo-national traditions—each claiming a separate history, canon and aesthetics. Both Pakistani and Indian literatures parted ways and a self-critical consciousness began to dawn on them. Soon these two literary traditions were to achieve distinct orientations and trajectories. The shock and horror which accompanied the Independence became paradigmatic for most of the literature produced thereafter. A collective historical memory firmly embedded in colonial experiences kept shaping the individual expression (Shamsie, 2007). A relentless preoccupation with self-expression and self-exploration set in and the notions of self and sensibility were increasingly foregrounded. The themes of cultural and colonial collusion were replaced with the traumatic themes born of the turmoil of Independence.

During this period, the foremost task awaiting the writers was to recover from the estranging burden of history a consciousness of commonalities found among the indigenous cultures. These commonalities were taken as a defense mechanism intended to combat debilitating effects of an imperial cultural encroachment. It was hoped that this would lead to a sense of belonging and homeliness. In Pakistan, this trend was typified by Bapsi Sidhwa, whereas, in India this trend was represented by Anita Desai. In the novels of these two writers, most of the time, we come across a rigorous interrogation of the past largely due to a substratum of silence and suffering. Anita Desai’s stories are a passionate search for identity and voice. Her Clear Light of Day (1980) is a fine example of this search. The female characters of Desai are embittered and their fight for their identity is, though unrelenting, foredoomed. They are constantly constructed, objectified and used by others. Redemption is precluded. While the characters keep searching for their authentic selves and viable
modes of expression, nothingness prevails which rules out any possibility of change or alleviation:

“How everything goes on and on here, and never changes,” she said. “I used to think about it all,” and she waved her arm in a circular swoop to encompass the dripping tap at the end of the grass walk, the trees that quivered and shook with the birds, the loping dogs, the roses—“and it is all exactly the same, whenever we come home.” (Desai, 1980, p. 34)

On the other side of the border, in Pakistan too, one finds a growing preoccupation with the question of identity and voice. In Pakistani literature, a considerable number of writers embraced a diverse cosmopolitanism in which the elements of Islamic, European and Indian traditions were blended with finesse. Most of them articulated a spectrum of anti-colonial protestations in their writings. Their themes stretched from an aesthetic eroticization of Europe to a rarefied conceptualization of a romanticized India. We can also notice a thematic divide between the older and the younger writers—the former aim at evolving an anti-colonial narrative; the latter just went on ignoring these issues and welcomed the thrill and excitement offered by the neocolonial order emerged from globalization (Shamsie, 2007). Notwithstanding this thematic revolt on the part of the younger writers, the issues of identity, representation, migration, dislocation, and voice remained sufficiently foregrounded.

Take the example of Zulfikar Ghose and Shuja Nawaz. Both of them are Pakistani-born diasporic writers and are settled in America. They are, in the main, preoccupied with such themes as migration, displacement and a persistent nostalgia. Call it an outcome of the postmodern crisis of meaning or a corollary of their diasporic experience that, at times, their writings appear to be fragmented and stricken compositions. They seem to be wrestling with the issues of a checkered history, an irretrievable past and a formidable present. By and large, in all these writers, the issue of identity is the one which features invariably prominently. An agitated and schizophrenic self is often seen struggling between the bygone cultural stabilities and the modern day uncertainties (Shamsie, 2007). The certitude of the past seems to have given way to a skepticism which is at once nihilistic and depressing.

At the same time, quite a few writers have a Pakistani identity which is merely titular such as Sattiya Paul Anand, Daniyal Mueenuddin, and Maliha Masood, just to name a few. They have never lived in Pakistan. They have settled abroad for good and ever since there has been no looking back. Nostalgia made them write about their ancestral homeland
but that homeland turned out to be a highly *textualized* and *romanticized* Pakistan. In case of these writers, distance obscures the vision both literally and figuratively. The temporal and spatial distance which separates these writers from Pakistan proper also tends to alienate them from the subject matter of their immediate topic. At times this distance becomes exceedingly critical and seems to have ambiguated their attitude towards Pakistani history, society and politics by nurturing tropes of irony, skepticism and even aversion.

**Conclusion**

We should recognize the critical potential of literature in the process of identity formation and identity maintenance. Giving voice to a muted and marginalized community remains one of the definitive goals of literature. Indeed, no literary tradition can survive, let alone prosper, if it is fundamentally cut off from its moorings and disinherit of its past. However, in the construction and assertion of identity, no attempt should be made to propose identity as an overdetermined signifier as it is essentially a site of conflictive and cumulative significations. The search for identity is a quest for voice and a struggle to find viable modes of *representation*. We have observed that by deliberately modifying the lexis and syntax of English, some of the writers have sought to stake a claim to the English language which is no longer considered to be an exclusive prerogative of the (neo)colonizers. It has been seen how the insertion of the words from Urdu and Punjabi by some of the writers has complicated the signification patterns of their works as well as the trans-cultural experience of their reader. A large number of South Asian writers have been roving between two worlds and many of them have been striving to combine the best of both of these worlds in order to forge a recognizable voice of their own. At the same time, some of the writers have sought to go beyond the mere fusion of the English literary canons and Anglophone content and have tactfully bent the language itself in order to communicate the indigenous thought-patterns and verbal flavors. Bapsi Sidhwa and Anita Desai typify this trend admirably. What is really required is the emergence of some sort of linguistic pattern which could serve as a broad paradigm with a distinctiveness of its own. Therefore, quite a few writers have also been concerned with the indigenous canon-formation. As regards their success, it will be some time before anything definitive is said.
References


An Analysis of Cultural Load in English Textbooks Taught in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

Azhar Habib

Abstract

The present study is related to the incorporation of native, target and international culture in the reading texts of the textbooks taught at Secondary School Certificate level in the government schools of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (henceforth KPK, one of the provinces in the country), Pakistan. In order to explore the contents of the textbooks and to determine their cultural load, help is taken from Byram’s (1993) checklist. The present research is a qualitative study with theory based content analysis. The results of the study indicate that a balanced amount of reading texts about native, target and international culture are provided in the textbook of class 9 as far as the number of texts is concerned. There are 14 reading texts in the textbook of class 09 in which 04 texts are related to source culture, 03 texts are about target culture and 03 are related to international culture. Nonetheless, 04 reading texts are such which do not come in any category. However, the cultural load of the reading texts pertaining to native culture has been dealt with more depth than the other two cultures in terms of quantity within the texts. Likewise, in the textbook of class 10, there is a lack of balance regarding cultural load. There are 13 reading texts in the textbook of class 10 in which 07 texts are about native culture, 03 texts are about target culture and only 01 text is about international culture. Nevertheless, 02 texts are culture neutral. The results show that the reading texts pertaining to native culture dominate the other two cultures especially international culture which is almost neglected in the textbook under study. It is, therefore suggested to improve the textbooks of class 9 and 10 in order to achieve the goal of intercultural communicative competence.

Key Words: English, cultural load, textbooks, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Introduction

As the world has become a global village and English is an international language, it has become necessary to integrate native, target and international culture in English textbooks. Textbooks have been used to inculcate cultural values in the mind of readers so much so that Cunningsworth (2002) called it a hidden curriculum and the researcher is of the view that hidden curriculum is more significant than the official one.
The basic aim of education is to instill the values like tolerance, enlightenment and more importantly harmony among people having different religion, culture, color and sect. The textbooks if written and compiled appropriately can play a pivotal role in creating harmony, peace and stability in the world. A person cannot learn a language until and unless he/she gets knowledge of the culture of the target language speakers. According to Kramsch (1998, p. 63) “one cannot learn to use a language without knowing the culture of the people who speak that language.” The present study is an attempt to analyze the textbooks taught at Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in order to know whether there is a balanced amount of material pertaining to native, target and international culture.

**Literature Review**

Language and culture are inseparable. According to Council of Europe (2001, p. 6) “language is not only a major aspect of culture, but also a means of access to cultural manifestations.” Corbett (2003, p. 20) is of the view that culture includes implicit conventions and norms of a society. Moreover, these norms and conventions are not only transferred historically but are also adaptive ethos. According to Kramsch (1998) culture is

> membership in a discourse community that shares a common social space and history, and common imaginings. Even when they have left that community, its members may retain, wherever they are, a common system of standards of perceiving, believing, evaluating, and acting. These standards are what is generally called their “culture.” (p. 10)

The integration of culture in language teaching and learning is indispensible and as has been discussed earlier in reference to Kramsch (1998) that language cannot be learnt without having know-how of the culture of the target language speakers. Kramsch (1993) is so much in favor of its inclusion that he did not consider culture as a fifth skill like reading, writing, listening or speaking. Culture is present in the background from first day when a learner starts learning a language and challenging his/her competency in the language when he/she is not expecting it.

There are many approaches regarding culture in language teaching and learning, one of them is intercultural approach, the aim of which is to enable learners to achieve the goal of intercultural communicative competence (Corbett, 2003). The capability to comprehend language and behavior of target culture and to become a mediator between native and target culture is called intercultural communicative competence. In
intercultural approach such ability is considered important than achieving
native speaker like proficiency. Corbett (2003) is of the view that in
intercultural approach equal importance is given to linguistic and
intercultural understanding.

mean “to be open for and susceptible to the other no matter whether this
other is different from a national, ethnic, social, regional, professional or
institutional point of view.” Hinkel (1999) is of the view that
communicative competence which consists of grammatical, discourse,
sociolinguistic and strategic competences does not seem sufficient in
relation to language learning. He emphasizes the need of intercultural
competence and views that communicative competence is too wide-
ranging.

Byram (2001) has discussed about three components of
intercultural competence that is intercultural attitude, knowledge and
skills. By intercultural attitude he means to be curious about and accept
foreign cultures and to understand the fact that in order to perceive the
world, a person’s own attitudes are not the only possible way. Intercultural
knowledge is based upon the knowledge of social groups and identities of
foreign culture and their function. Intercultural skills include some skills
which should be taught to students like comparing, interpreting and
relating not only one’s own culture but also foreign cultures. Moreover, it
is also necessary to teach learners to search information by themselves
because it is not possible for the teachers to foresee about the information
that they will be in need of in future. He has also talked about the concept
of critical cultural awareness that should be acquired by the learners. By
critical cultural awareness Byram (2001, p. 7) means “an ability to
evaluate, critically and on the basis of explicit criteria, perspectives,
practices and products in one’s own and other cultures and countries.”

Another approach pertaining to culture in language teaching and
learning in order to achieve the goal of intercultural communicative
competence is called Intercultural language learning which according to
Liddicoat, Scarino, Papademetre and Kohler (2003), involves the mixing of
language, culture and learning into one educative approach. The
fundamental idea behind this approach is that language, culture and
learning are basically related to one another and in learning process such
relationship is of paramount importance. This has not only brought
changes in language teaching but has also shown new ways to link
languages with other areas of learning. In this approach, the concepts of
language, culture and learning play a crucial part in making curriculum as a
whole and especially language curriculum. Intercultural language learning
helps learners not only understanding their own language and culture but
also another language and culture. According to Liddicoat et al., “It is a
dialogue that allows for reaching a common ground for negotiation to take
place, and where variable points of view are recognized, mediated and
accepted” (2003, p. 43).

In order to investigate culture in textbooks, Cortazzi and Jin (1999)
have suggested three categories. The first is related to source culture that
is the native culture of the learners, the second is about target culture that
is the culture of the people where the target language of the learners is
used as a first language like American and British culture and lastly,
international target culture, which means varieties of the target language
speakers’ culture both English and non English like France, Spain, etc. In
the same vein, McKay (2003) has also discussed materials in the textbooks
from the same point of view; native culture, target culture and
international culture. By international culture, she means variety of
knowledge of different cultures throughout the world by using target
language.

**Target Culture**

Byram (1991) is of the view that the textbooks should portray
target culture to the learners in order to enable them to get the language
in original setting. It is to be noted that in this regard Kachru’s (1992)
“World Englishes” is against this view. Nevertheless, Politzer (1959, pp.
100-101) strongly favors the integration of target culture in textbooks and
opines that “if we teach language without teaching at the same time the
culture in which it operates, we are teaching meaningless symbols to
which the students attach the wrong meaning.” The researcher agrees
with this point and views that as in Pakistan, Urdu is considered lingua
Franca and for English second person pronoun you, Urdu language has
three words *aap, tu, and tum* and they are used according to the level of familiarity with whom the person is talking to. The
word *Aap* is used when talking with elders, teachers, parents, unfamiliar
people etc., *tu* is used when talking to those with whom the person is very
frank and *tum* is used when talking to those with whom the addressee has
a little bit familiarity. If anyone who is learning Urdu as a second or foreign
language without focusing on Pakistani culture, he/she will face serious
problems.

**Native Culture**

Cortazzi & Jin (1999) are in favor of introducing native culture in
textbooks because it enables the learners to learn language in the social
context of their own. Moreover, such learning enables learners to make
their culture clear by using target language. Alptekin (1993, p. 140) is of
the view that integrating native culture enhances target language learning, its knowledge “facilitates foreign language acquisition and, in particular, comprehension.” In this context, the researcher has observed that any learning becomes easy whenever the person moves from known to unknown. In the context of culture, it is necessary because if a person does not have knowledge of his own culture how he/she will be able to compare and contrast and critically examines native, target or international culture.

**International/Other World Cultures**

The integration of international culture or other world cultures in textbooks is also necessary for bringing intercultural harmony. The Common European Framework work of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (2001) stresses on the incorporation of world cultures in the textbooks because though a relationship between native and target culture exists, it is not enough for intercultural communication. In the context of Pakistan, the researcher views that the knowledge of other cultures can play a pivotal role. Pakistan is a developing country and lots of people move to different countries for education and jobs, therefore knowledge of other cultures will prove to be an asset.

**Significance of the Study**

The integration of cultures in textbooks is very important because it helps in acquiring intercultural communicative competence which is a step ahead to communicative competence. Communicative competence includes linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence but they are not adequate. This is also affirmed by Hinkel (1999) who stresses upon intercultural competence. The world has become a global village, knowledge of different cultures will not only enable the learners to communicate with people of different countries but such knowledge will also broaden their thinking process. The learners will be able to critically evaluate different cultures and even they would be able to find weaknesses in their own cultures. According to Tomlinson and Masuhara (2004) the knowledge and awareness of different cultures have multifold benefits. It broadens the mind and enables the learners to achieve empathy of culture and sensitivity. Moreover, it helps in developing tolerance.

A balanced amount of cultural content in textbooks is of paramount importance because it has been observed that teachers and students both consider textbooks valuable and authentic that can be trusted upon. If wrong or inappropriate information is presented in the textbooks, it will not only de-motivate the students but they will also unknowingly misunderstand the facts. The researcher is of the view that the only panacea in order to bring peace, stability and harmony in the
world is to develop tolerance, moderation, enlightenment and the feeling of empathy for others irrespective of caste, color, country, religion and region, and textbooks is one of the sources which can do something in this regard.

**Research Question**

To what extent are native, target, and international cultures represented in the reading texts of English textbooks taught at Secondary School Certificate level in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa?

**Methodology**

It is a qualitative study with theory based content analysis. There are two textbooks taught at Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at Secondary School Certificate level; Textbook of English Grade-9 and English Reading Book Grade-10, having 14 and 13 reading texts respectively. These textbooks are written and compiled by Ruhi Zaka and developed by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Textbook Board, Peshawar, Pakistan. The writers of the reading texts are varied, Pakistani as well as foreigners. For the purpose of this study, help is taken from Byram’s (1993) checklist of intercultural language teaching and learning for analysis. This list includes

1. Social identity and social group (social class, regional identity, ethnic minorities)
2. Social interaction (differing levels of formality; as outsider and insider)
3. Belief and behavior (moral, religious beliefs, daily routines)
4. Social and political institutions (state institutions, health care, law and order, social security, local government)
5. Socialization and the life cycle (families, schools, employment, rites of passage)
6. National history (historical and contemporary events seen as markers of national identity)
7. National geography (geographical factors seen as being significant by members)
8. Stereotypes and national identity (what is “typical” symbol of national stereotypes?) (Byram, 1993, pp. 5-10)

The procedure of analysis is that first of all the reading texts of both the textbooks are categorized under the headings; native culture, target culture and international culture, cultural neutral and presented in the form of tables. In addition each reading text is discussed qualitatively keeping in view Byram’s checklist.
Data Analysis

There are two textbooks of English taught at Khyber Pakhtunkhwa at Secondary School Certificate level. In this section first of all the cultural load of each textbook pertaining to native, target and international culture is shown through tables and later on each category is explained keeping in view Byram’s checklist.

Table 1: Textbook of English Grade-9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.#</th>
<th>Name of Reading Texts</th>
<th>Target Culture</th>
<th>Native Culture</th>
<th>International Culture</th>
<th>Culture Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I Knew a Man Who Was a Giant</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Three Days to See</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Quaid – A Great Leader</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Medina Charter</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A Fable</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Two Bargains</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A Visit to Swat Valley</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Avalanche</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Damon and Pythias</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A New Microbe</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Confessions of a TV Addict</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Hope is the Thing with Feathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>The Old Woman</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Daffodils</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand Total

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Reading Texts</th>
<th>03</th>
<th>04</th>
<th>03</th>
<th>04</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage %</td>
<td>21.42</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>21.42</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table indicates, there are 14 reading texts in the textbook of class 9 out of which 04 (28.57 %) are related to source or native culture. In the same way, 03 (21.42%) are related to target culture and the same number of reading texts that is 03 (21.42%) are related to international
culture. Nevertheless, 04 reading texts (28.57 %) are such which do not come in any category.

Native Culture

As far as native culture is concerned, there are four reading texts regarding native culture. The reading text “Quaid- A Great Leader” by John Walton is about the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and the typical features of his character. Moreover, there are some references to the history of Pakistan as well like creation of Pakistan, the troubles that Pakistan faced after her inception. It is told that Pakistan is the greatest of the Muslim states and the 5th largest nation in the world having the population of seventy million people. Likewise, some typical words of Urdu language that is the national language of Pakistan have been used by the writer like sherwani (a knee-length coat with buttons up to the neck, sometimes worn by the men from south Asia), zindabad (a slogan which means may you live long), etc.

The reading text “The Medina Charter” is related to religion, Islam and some points in the text are about historical religious events. The word “Medina” itself is very sacred for Muslims all over the world because it is the city where Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) spent time and his mausoleum is also in Medina. In this text, it is told that as different communities were living together in the city Medina, Holy Prophet (PBUH) was very farsighted as he knew that in such situation tolerance is very necessary; therefore, he made a charter named as Medina Charter. There are also some words of Arabic and Urdu Languages like Haram (things/deeds which are forbidden in Islam), Muhajireen (those who migrated from Makkah to Medina in the time of Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) and now it is used for all those who migrate from one place to another), Ansars (those who helped Muhajireen). Moreover, there are some points regarding religious beliefs as well.

The text “The Two Bargains” is again related to religion in which there are references to historical events and caliphs, Usman (May Allah be pleased with him) and Umar (May Allah be pleased with him). The themes of the text are strong belief in Almighty Allah and generosity. Umar (May Allah be pleased with him) was the second and Usman (May Allah be pleased with him) was the third caliph of Islamic history, and the writer has given events from their lives to substantiate the themes. Likewise, geographical condition of the place Arabia has also been discussed. It is told that Arabia is a country where water is scarce and even if water is found, it is not always suitable for drinking.

The text “A Visit to Swat Valley,” written by H. P. Stewart is about a tourist place Swat situated in KPK (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa ) and the weather
of that place. Furthermore, some place names of KPK like Malakand, Saidu Sharif and the river of Swat are also mentioned. In the same way, Punjab which is one of the provinces of Pakistan is also mentioned in the text.

Target Culture

As far as target culture is concerned, the reading text “I Knew a Man Who Was a Giant” written by Elad Nostaw is related to American culture in which American names, place names and social classes of America like rich and poor, black and white have been projected. It is told that the giant was a large black muscular man. Secondly, he did not have any formal education, probably not even high school and was doing manual work like breaking up metal cast items and his boss was a white man. It is also told that in those days a white child talking to a black man was not common in Louisiana at all.

The reading text “Three Days to See” is about a famous personality of America, Helen Keller, who after an illness was left blind and deaf at the age of two. Despite being blind and deaf, she did her B.A and got rewards and distinctions. In American Foundation for the Blind in New York City, there is a room by the name of “Helen Keller Room.” In the text, the writer has remarkably portrayed the feelings of the deprived people. Her physical fitness is a gift which is not appreciated by the people who have it. She emphasizes that we should be thankful to God for His blessings.

The reading text “A New Microbe” by O’ Henry is about target culture in which American’s names as Dumber who was a geologist, Ellen who was narrator’s wife, and place names like Houston, New York Academy of Sciences and the life style of people who live in these cities has been depicted. The man whose name is John is an ardent lover of science and he neglects his business in order to give more time to experiments so much so that he does not participate in any social activity. He is rather interested in reading Pasteur’s and Kochi’s writings. It is a humorous story having twist in plot and surprise ending which are the hallmarks of O’ Henry’s stories.

International Culture

The representation of international culture is also depicted in the textbook. The reading text “Avalanche” is written by a Dutch writer Anna Rutgers Van Der Leoff in which the life of Swiss people has been shown and some names like Albert, Bartnel Grutnelli, John, Tom etc. are also present. Avalanche is a story of a group of children from an orphanage who were caught up in heavy snow fall in Switzerland. The theme of the text is crisis awareness and management. The story not only shows the nature of disaster but also another aspect as how people react to these
disasters. Disasters leave people in a difficult situation which requires crises management.

The text “Damon and Pythias” written by William J. Bennet is about international culture. The story is about a famous legend from Greek Mythology in which there are references to Pythias, a young scholar and Damon who were fast friends, Dionysius who was the ruler of Syracuse and place names like Syracuse are given. In the story, the ruler Dionysius was so much impressed by the strong and true love of the Pythias and Damon for each other that he issued order for their release.

The text “Confession of a TV Addict” is written by an Australian writer Jenny Tabakoff who has depicted the influence of TV on her and the people of her time and age. The theme of the story is the role of media especially of TV.

The reading texts in some units do not fall in any category that is they are culture neutral. They are “A fable” written by Mark Twain, “Hope is the Thing with Feathers” is a poem written by Emily Dickinson, “The Old Woman” is a poem written by Joseph Campbell, and “Daffodils” by William Wordsworth. As these texts do not come under the three cultures mentioned earlier, therefore, they have been put under neutral category and have not been discussed in detail.

Table 2: English Reading Book Grade-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. #</th>
<th>Name of Reading Texts</th>
<th>Target Culture</th>
<th>Native Culture</th>
<th>International Culture</th>
<th>Culture Neutral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sublime Character of *Hazrat Muhammad *SAW</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The Caliph and the Gardener</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>After Twenty Years</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Population Explosion in Pakistan</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Income Tax Man</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Hazrat Umar Farooq *RA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Tobacco and your Health</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Muslims of China</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>They have Cut down the Pines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Stopping by Woods on a Snowy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Evening

12  It’s Plain Hard Work that Does it  ×

13  Kaghan Valley  ×

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grand Total</th>
<th>No. of Reading Texts</th>
<th>03</th>
<th>07</th>
<th>01</th>
<th>02</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentage %</td>
<td></td>
<td>23.07</td>
<td>53.84</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>15.38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Hazrat: A word used in the beginning of name for respect.
*RA: May Allah be pleased with him.
*SAW: May Peace Be Upon Him.

There are 13 reading texts in the textbook of class 10 in which 53.84% reading texts are about native culture, whereas 23.07% reading texts are about target culture. Likewise, only 7.69% reading texts are about international culture. However, there are 15.38% reading texts which are culture neutral.

**Native Culture**

As far as native culture is concerned, more than half of the reading texts of the units are about native culture. The first reading text “The Sublime Character of Hazrat Muhammad SAW,” written by Maulana Waheeduddin Khan is about Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and there are some glimpses of Islamic history. There are Hadiths (sayings of Holy Prophet) regarding religious beliefs and ways of spending ideal life. There are references to his friend and the first caliph of Islam, Abu Bakr (May Allah be pleased with him), Zaid (May Allah be pleased with him) who remained in the service of Holy Prophet. Likewise, the name of Holy Prophet’s first wife, Khadija (May Allah be pleased with her) is also mentioned in the text. In the same way, there are some words from the last address of Holy Prophet which he gave on the 9th day of Zilhijja (the last month of Islamic calendar). The second text, “The Caliph and the Gardener” is written by James Baldwin. Though the setting is in Cordova, a place in America but the word Caliph goes back to Islamic history. Moreover, there is a name of the caliph Al Mansour, which is also a Muslim name. In addition, there is also a sort of stereotyping like the Caliph is kind hearted and that the gardener is poor but honest.

The reading text “Population Explosion in Pakistan” is an article taken from newspaper *Dawn*. It is about a problem which Pakistan is facing. Each and every aspect of the text is in context of Pakistan. It is told in the text that the population of Pakistan at the time of creation was 33
million, currently it is more than 180 million and it is estimated that by 2035, it will be more than the population of China. The writer of the article has enumerated the disastrous effects of overpopulation on Pakistani society. The reading text “Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan,” is written by Faisal Abdullah and is about the wife of Liaquat Ali Khan who played a great role in the creation of Pakistan and who later became the prime minister of Pakistan as well. The text has some historical events of the life of Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan and Pakistan. This text is actually an article published in a magazine. The aim of the article is to pay tribute to Begum Rana Liaquat Ali Khan who was named as a crusader for the rights of women and for projecting Islam in its true spirit. The article has also a saying of Quaid-e-Azam (The founder of Pakistan) in 1942 in which he instructed Begum Rana to be ready in order to train women because Islam does not force women to confine themselves to home.

The reading text, “Hazrat Umar Farooq RA” written by Khawaja Jamil Ahmad is related to the category of religion. Umar Farooq (May Allah be pleased with him) was the second Caliph of Islamic history and a close companion of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). The text has some glimpses of Islamic history and the events from the Caliph’s life are depicted to inculcate Islamic values in the learners. There are also some names like Kulsum (May Allah be pleased with her), the wife of Umar (May Allah be pleased with him), Abdur Rahman Bin Auf (May Allah be pleased with him), a prominent companion of Holy Prophet. Some place names are also present like Medina where Holy Prophet spent considerable amount of his life time.

Although the reading text “Tobacco and your Health” has a neutral theme, the context is of Pakistan. This is an extract from a report published in a Turkish journal. In European countries, smoking is done irrespective of whether the person is man or woman, this is not so in Pakistan. In Pakistan, mostly men smoke and therefore, pronoun and possessive pronouns “he, his” are used throughout the reading text. In addition, the words *naswaar* (grinded tobacco which is placed in mouth as an addiction) and *paan* (a betel leaf, usually folded into a shape with three sides and filled with seeds, nuts and coconut for eating) are used which are the words of Urdu language and mostly used in the subcontinent.

The reading text, “Kaghan Valley” is about a picnic resort, Kaghan which is situated in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, a province of Pakistan. There are a number of place names of Pakistan especially of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, like Abottabad, Shogran, Mansehra, Naran, Balakot, etc. Balakot is important in the sense that it was the center of earthquake in 2005. The earthquake destroyed the whole town of Balakot and thousands of people lost their lives. There is reference to the river Kunhar which flows through
Naran. Mountains of Kaghan are also mentioned. Lake Saiful Muluk is also mentioned in the text which is one of the prominent lakes of Pakistan. There is also a reference to Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. It is told that Kaghan valley can be reached in less than a day’s drive from the capital. The place name Gilgit is also mentioned in the text.

**Target Culture**

As far as target culture is concerned, the reading text “After Twenty Years” by O’ Henry is about American way of life. Like many of his short stories, the setting is of New York. The names and place names are American like Jimmy, Bob, New York, and Chicago etc. There are some stereotypes like of policeman “The policeman on the beat moved up the avenue impressively.” The themes of the story are truthfulness, honesty towards duty, sincere friendship and caring for values because in the story the police officer, Jimmy Wells did not let his friendship and love come in his way to fulfill his duty and responsibility.

The reading text “The Income Tax Man” written by Mark Twain is about the life in America, the social classes and names like Willie and place names like the United States are there in the text. Moreover, the currency of America “dollar” is repeatedly mentioned. In this story, there are two main characters representing different social classes; the business man who unknowingly declared about his profit in front of a shrewd government servant, the income tax man. The story reveals the ways used by wealthy people to pretend that their income is not taxable.

The reading text “It’s Plain Hard Work that Does it” is about famous American scientist Thomas Alva Edison, the inventor of bulb, phonograph, etc. The text is written by his son Charles Edison. He has depicted the life of his father and the mentality of great Americans. The writer has also mentioned some historical events of early 20th century like October 21, 1929, the golden anniversary of the incandescent lamp, when Henry Ford re-created Father’s Menlo Park, New Jersey Laboratory to be a permanent shrine in Ford’s vast exhibit of American Greenfield Village. In the same way, it is mentioned that Edison in 1928 got many medals and honors in his office at West-Orange Michigan. Moreover, place names like Michigan, the Grand Trunk Railroad, the Detroit Free Library and references to American currency are in the text.

**International Culture**

The reading text “Muslims of China” by Jane Hill comes both under the category of native culture and international culture. The text has some events related to Islamic history like the Caliph Waleed Bin Abdul Malik. The arrival of Muslims in China is also discussed. It is told that in 8th
century, when Islam was rapidly spreading all over the world, the Muslim armies reached the borders of China. Their general called upon the Chinese Emperor to embrace Islam. Just at that moment, in the year 719 A.D., however, Caliph Waleed Bin Abdul Malik died, and the general was assassinated. The Muslim army after losing their leader, made peace with Chinese Emperor, and turned back; but they left behind some Muslim settlers, whom the emperor allowed to live in peace, and to build mosques. It is also told that in 14th century, the great Arab traveler and author, Ibne-e-Batuta, reached China and wrote in praise of its fine roads and good government. It is also mentioned in the text that there are about fifty million Muslims in China, and that Ma Chang and his father who are Muslims spread out their prayer-mats and offered prayer. In the same paragraph, it is mentioned that Muslims all over the world pray in the same way, observe the same rules and respect Holy Prophet (May Peace Be Upon Him). The holy book of Muslims The Holy Quran is also mentioned at the end of the text. In addition, there are portrayed some features of the Muslims of China and the history of China. It is said that in 1949, a communist government, called the Central People’s Republic of China, was set up at Peking. Moreover, it is said that foreign countries have recognized the communists as representing the people of China. In addition, Chinese names like Ma Chang, Yang and place names like Canton, Peking, Tibet are used throughout the reading text. Last but not least, the famous Great Wall of China is also mentioned in the text. It is told that in order to protect from invaders, the emperor of China ordered to build it. The wall is 30 feet high and 13 feet wide. The country of China is said to have been named after this great Emperor, Chin.

There are two reading texts which do not come under any category. “They have Cut down the Pines” is a poem written by Mary Lisle. “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening” is another poem written by Robert Frost. These texts do not fall within the three cultures mentioned earlier. Therefore, the researcher has put them under neutral category and they have not been discussed in detail.

**Conclusion**

The results of the study reveal that as far as textbook of class 9 is concerned, proportionate amount of material regarding native, target and international culture are included and learners may get familiarity with all types of cultures and therefore, has the potential to enable them to get the goal of intercultural communicative competence. There are 14 reading texts in textbook in which 28.57% of the texts are about native culture, 21.42% are about target culture and the same percentage of reading texts that is 21.42% are about international culture. However, it is clear from analysis that as far as numbers of reading texts pertaining to all types of
cultures are concerned, there is not so much difference but there is a huge difference in the cultural load of different categories. Reading texts categorized under native culture are wholly solely reserved for the projection of native culture but this is not so in the case of two other categories. Though the material related to target and international cultures has been given but a considerable amount of material in them is culture neutral.

As far as textbook of class 10 is concerned, there is lack of balance regarding cultural contents. By and large, most of the reading texts pertain to native culture; there are 13 reading texts in which 53.84% of texts are about native culture, 23.07% of the reading texts are about target culture which is not an adequate amount of material regarding target culture in the textbook. Moreover, international culture is totally neglected which is a very important aspect to be incorporated in the textbooks, there are only 7.69% texts regarding international culture. As is discussed in context of the textbook of class 9, the reading texts regarding native culture have considerable amount of culture load, the same is true about the textbook of class 10. Hence, it is clear from the results that the textbook of class 10 does not have potential to facilitate learners in order to achieve the goal of intercultural communicative competence. It is therefore suggested that these textbooks should be improved by incorporating a balanced amount of material regarding different cultures.
References


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Motivational Factors Affecting Amotivation among Faculty Members of Public Sector Universities in Islamabad

Quratul Ain Hina

Abstract

The study was designed to address motivational factors (intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation) derived from the work of Deci and Ryan (1985). The Self Determinant Theory (SDT) and Organismic Integration Theory (OIT) were the central focus of research inquiry. The major objectives of the study were to draw a comparison of motivational factors on the basis of gender and age and to assess the impact of motivational factors on “amotivation.” The population of research consisted of faculty members (of all the departments and levels available) of the public sector universities in Islamabad. Sample was drawn through convenient sampling technique. The number of respondents who contributed in the process of data collection was 67. A questionnaire was used as a research tool and the reliability of the scale was found to be .78. The collected data was tabulated and analyzed through the Statistical Package for Social Sciences version 21. The results revealed that there was no significant difference between male and female respondents related to intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation and amotivation. It was also revealed that there was statistically no significant difference between respondents of 20-30 years age and of above 30 years with reference to independent and dependant variables. It was also revealed that independent variables describe 20 percent variance in dependant variable. It was recommended that external motivators such as rewards, certifications, awards, acknowledgement letters, specific positions, special duties, bonuses, etc. may be provided after a fixed interval to keep faculty members active and motivated towards their profession.

Keywords: Self Determinant Theory, Organismic Integration Theory

Introduction

Education at higher level plays the most important role in any educational system. It is the final stage which produces skilled manpower in a country. As such the faculty serving in the universities holds a central position in the whole system and furthers the process of developing and
building a nation for tomorrow. Faculty members make the whole educational system run. Quality of work of the faculty members affects the quality of product. Their level of commitment and motivation is reflected in the education, learning and growth of their students. Motivation is a drive that initiates dedication, hard work and progress. In order to develop a strong nation we need strongly committed and highly motivated teachers at all levels of education. Although human beings are complex in nature and behavior, it is proved by various theories that humans are motivated due to certain factors. Different psychologists have presented their theories in this regard. According to Maslow, human beings are driven by their needs (1943). Alderfer's Existence, Relatedness, Growth (ERG) Theory presented in 1969 also supports the idea given by Maslow. McClellan (1961) presented his ideas in the form of Achievement Need Theory in the same direction. Another name in this regard is of Skinner whose Reinforcement Theory supports the point that the human beings are motivated by external rewards as well. It can be observed that the well reputed organizations all over the world pay special attention to motivate their employees by various means such as reward, certification, increase in salary, recreational trips, awards, facilities, etc. Thus humans can be attracted towards an activity by the use of internal as well as external reinforcements. The use of motivational techniques depends upon nature, level and need of the subjects. People belonging from different social strata and cultures are driven by different nature and types of motivational techniques. Motivation is also affected by the responsibilities people have in life and by their age. It is usually observed that young people are more enthusiastic and motivated to achieve their targets in life. These targets play a role of the motivator in their life.

Teachers being the builder of a nation are considered important variable of teaching learning process. Thus maintaining motivation of teachers is a major responsibility of the management of educational institutions. External and internal motivation of teachers directly affects the quality of instruction that they provide. The external motivators such as salary, policies, leadership, supervision and work environment lead to the employee’s job satisfaction and it is a universal fact that satisfied employees/ teachers can concentrate on their work responsibilities in an effective manner. On the other hand, internal motivational factors such as sense of achievement, recognition within the organization, participation in the organizational activities, nature of work and the chances of personal growth also positively affect motivation of employees. In return, the motivated employees/teachers can provide better performance, team work, respect to the co workers, better communication, delivery of instruction, innovative and creative out puts and reduced rate of turnover.
Research by psychologists on Self-Determinant Theory indicates that motivation results in higher quality learning, competence, ability to take initiative and develop and implement solutions to problems. When the human basic needs are satisfied they are more intrinsically motivated and actively engaged in their learning process (Deci & Ryan, 1985a, 2000; Reeve, Deci, & Ryan, 2004; Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2002; Vansteenkiste et al., 2010).

Thus it is very important to understand employees as human beings and their needs and desires. Only in this way, the management of different educational organizations can motivate their employees in a productive way to get maximum output from their abilities. The motivated work force can lead any organization into the right direction. Therefore, it is the foremost responsibility of the management to encourage and develop its workforce in order to get the desired results. Keeping in view the importance of this area, the present research was designed to assess motivational factors and to determine the differences among various motivational aspects/areas on the basis of gender and age of the faculty members hired by the universities.

**Theoretical Framework**

In 1970’s a new theory Self Determinant Theory (SDT) emerged. It was a macro level theory that defines how human behavior is initialized with motives. This theory was only a key focus in social psychology. However, Deci and Ryan (1985) developed Organismic Integration Theory (OIT), as a sub-theory of SDT, to explain different ways in which extrinsically motivated behavior is regulated. They proposed further four divisions of external motivation regulation. These four divisions were integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation. According to Deci and Ryan (2000), SDT focuses on the degree to which an individual’s behavior is self-motivated and self-determined.

According to this theory, a person takes start from a neutral point that is referred to as amotivation. The stage of amotivation is a path to extrinsic motivation leading to intrinsic motivational stage. When a person enters into a situation, s/he needs external motivator to get started with the environment. These external motivational factors are further divided into four divisions as mentioned above. These four divisions lead to a stage where the person is intrinsically motivated towards the activity. Deci and Ryan (2000) have presented their views about the theory as:

Self Determinant Theory (SDT) is a theory of motivation that uses traditional empirical methods to build its theory and to inform its classroom applications. The theory, which
has been 40 years in the making, assumes that all students, no matter their age, gender, socioeconomic status, nationality, or cultural background, possess inherent growth tendencies (e.g., intrinsic motivation, curiosity, psychological needs) that provide a motivational foundation for their high-quality classroom engagement and positive school functioning.

The theory acknowledges that people sometimes lack self-motivation, display disaffection, and act irresponsibly.

To resolve this seeming paradox of possessing inner motivational resources on the one hand and displaying disaffection on the other, SDT research identifies the classroom conditions that support and vitalize students’ inner motivational resources versus those that neglect, undermine, and thwart them. (Deci & Ryan, 1985a)

SDT focuses on the degree to which an individual’s behavior is self-motivated and self-determined. It identifies three innate needs that, if satisfied, allow optimal function and growth. These include the following: competence, relatedness, and autonomy. These three psychological needs motivate the self to initiate specific behavior and mental nutriments that are essential for psychological health and well-being. When these needs are satisfied, there are positive consequences, such as well-being and growth, leading people to be motivated, productive and happy. When they are thwarted, people’s motivation, productivity and happiness plummet.

There are three essential elements of the theory:

1. Humans are inherently proactive with their potential and in mastering their inner forces (such as drive and emotions).
2. Humans have an inherent tendency towards growth, development and integrated functioning.
3. Optimal development and actions are inherent in humans but they do not happen automatically.

Motivation has been a central topic of researches. It has been discussed from various angles but Self Determinant Theory is still not used in many educational researches. Thus, the researcher selected the motivational factors (intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation) presented by Deci and Ryan (1985) to assess the effect of motivational factors on amotivation of the employees hired by the universities of Islamabad. The idea put forth by Deci and Ryan is presented in the following figure.
The concept of motivation has been a burning topic of research in organizational behavior for a long time. Its importance remain the same in all periods of time (Drafke & Kossen, 2002; Dweck & Sorich, 1999; Herzberg, 1966; Nelson, 2003). Starting from the carrot and stick theories moving to the need based motivational theories up to the performance based motivational concepts; all have proved valuable depending upon the nature of subject and time. In 1970’s, a new concept in the area of motivation was developed. It was named as Self Determinant Theory. Many researches were done on the theory and the focus of these researches was intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The findings of these researches revealed that the intrinsic motivation plays a dominant role in the development of behavior of an individual. However, this theory was not commonly accepted by the field until in the mid 1980s SDT was formally introduced and accepted as a sound empirical theory (Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973). Research applying SDT to different areas in social psychology has increased considerably since 2000s. Key studies that led to emergence of SDT included research on intrinsic motivation.

Deci, & Ryan, (1991) later extended on the early work differentiating between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and proposed

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**Figure 1: Motivational Factors Presented By Deci and Ryan**

**Literature Review**

The concept of motivation has been a burning topic of research in organizational behavior for a long time. Its importance remain the same in all periods of time (Drafke & Kossen, 2002; Dweck & Sorich, 1999; Herzberg, 1966; Nelson, 2003). Starting from the carrot and stick theories moving to the need based motivational theories up to the performance based motivational concepts; all have proved valuable depending upon the nature of subject and time. In 1970’s, a new concept in the area of motivation was developed. It was named as Self Determinant Theory. Many researches were done on the theory and the focus of these researches was intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The findings of these researches revealed that the intrinsic motivation plays a dominant role in the development of behavior of an individual. However, this theory was not commonly accepted by the field until in the mid 1980s SDT was formally introduced and accepted as a sound empirical theory (Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973). Research applying SDT to different areas in social psychology has increased considerably since 2000s. Key studies that led to emergence of SDT included research on intrinsic motivation.

Deci, & Ryan, (1991) later extended on the early work differentiating between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation and proposed
three main intrinsic needs involved in self-determination. According to Deci and Ryan (2002):

The three psychological needs motivate the self to initiate behavior and specify nutriments that are essential for psychological health and well-being of an individual. These needs are said to be universal, innate and psychological and include the need for competence, autonomy, and psychological relatedness.

The role of external motivation was elaborated by Deci and Ryan (1985). According to them, “extrinsic motivation comes from external sources.” While extending and developing the same work in the same direction Deci and Ryan (1985) developed Organismic Integration Theory (OIT), as a sub-theory of SDT, to clarify the diverse ways in which extrinsically forced behavior is regulated. In this regard they suggested four further ways of external motivation that are integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation. OIT was developed keeping in view the different forms of extrinsic motivation and the environmental context in which it is developed. OIT describes four different types of extrinsic motivations. These types are operationalized for the purpose of current research as follows:

**Integrated Regulation:** It is the most autonomous kind of extrinsic motivation occurring when regulations are fully assimilated with self. So they are included in a person's self evaluation and beliefs on personal needs. Because of this, integrated motivations share qualities with intrinsic motivation but are still classified as extrinsic because the goals that are trying to be achieved are for reasons extrinsic to the self, rather than the inherent enjoyment or interest in the task (Deci & Ryan, 1995).

**Identified Regulation:** It “is a more autonomy driven form of extrinsic motivation. It involves consciously valuing a goal or regulation so that said action is accepted as personally important” (Deci & Ryan, 1995).

**Introjected Regulation:** According to Deci and Ryan (1995), introjected regulation “describes taking on regulations to behavior but not fully accepting said regulations as your own.” Deci and Ryan (1995) claim “such behavior normally represents regulation by contingent self-esteem, citing ego involvement as a classic form of introjections. This is the kind of behavior where people feel motivated to demonstrate ability to maintain self-worth.” While this is internally driven, Deci and Ryan (1995) state that “introjected behavior is on an externally perceived locus of control because they aren’t perceived as part of self” (Deci & Ryan, 1995). It refers to doing something in order to maintain self-esteem, pride, avoid guilt, or
anxiety, for example, going to school in order to make one’s parents proud. Introjected behaviors are not fully accepted as part of oneself.

**External Regulation:** It is the least autonomous and is performed because of external demand or possible reward. “Such actions can be seen to have an externally perceived locus of control” (De Charms, 1968). It refers to when we take some action in order to satisfy an external demand or to receive some reward, for example, getting more education so that one can get paid more money.

Since the entire focus of research is on motivation, it is extremely necessary to bring to light what motivation and amotivation mean.

**Motivation:** Motivation refers to a state that develops an action and/or a force that initiates a behavior. It is a very common subject of research especially in the field of organizational behavior. However, “amotivation” is a new term introduced in almost the same context by Deci and Ryan (1985) as a constituent of their theory.

**Amotivation:** Amotivation is referred to as the inability to participate in some activity. “It refers to lack of motivation resulting from realizing that there is no point” (Dörnyei, 2001). Amotivation was introduced by Deci and Ryan (1985) as a component of their Self Determinant Theory and they define it as “the relative absence of motivation that is not caused by a lack of initial interest but rather by the individual’s experiencing feelings of incompetence and helplessness when faced with the activity.” Further Pelletier et al. (1999) said that “personal beliefs, helplessness, strategy, capacity, and effort, lead to greater amotivation, while self-determination has an inverse relationship with amotivation.”

**Research Objectives**

1. To assess the difference among motivational factors on the basis of gender.
2. To assess the difference among motivational factors on the basis of age variation.
3. To assess the difference among motivational factors on the basis of departments.
4. To assess the effect of motivational factors on amotivation.

**Research Hypotheses**

1. There is no difference among motivational factors on the basis of gender.
2. There is no difference among motivational factors on the basis of age variation.

3. There is no difference among motivational factors on the basis of departments.

4. There is no effect of motivational factors on amotivation.

**Research Variables**

**Independent Variables:**
1) Integrated Regulation
2) Identified Regulation
3) Introjected Regulation
4) External Regulation
5) Intrinsic Motivation

**Dependant Variable:**
1) amotivation

**Methodology**

The study was based on a survey method. The study adopted quantitative method of inquiry. The population of research consisted of all the faculty members of the public sector universities in Islamabad. The records available at Higher Education Commission (HEC) database revealed that there are 13 public sector universities in Islamabad and 9,421 faculty members working in these public sector universities of Islamabad. To draw a sample, the researcher selected convenient sampling technique. 75 faculty members were selected from different universities (See Appendix I) in order to collect data. A questionnaire termed as “Self-Determination Index” was used in order to collect responses from the respondents. The questionnaire was adopted from the work of Tremblay, Blanchard, Taylor, Pelletier and Villeneuve (2009) titled as “Work Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation Scale: Its Value for Organizational Psychology Research.” The actual questionnaire consisted of the same research variables that are addressed in the present study. Thus the same questionnaire was selected to be used as the research instrument. The questionnaire consisted of 18 items in total divided into five sub sections: intrinsic motivation (Item # 4, 8, 15); integrated regulation (Item # 5,10,18); identified regulation (Item # 1, 7, 14); introjected regulation (Item # 6, 11, 13); external regulation (Item # 2, 9, 16) and amotivation (Item # 3, 12, 17). Previous researches have shown that the self-determination index displays high levels of reliability and validity (Fortier, Vallerand, & Guay,
1995; Green-Demers, Pelletier, & Me´nard, 1997; Pelletier, Dion, Slovinec-D’Angelo, & Reid, 2004). The internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha coefficient) of the scale was .84.

Initially, 75 questionnaires were distributed among the faculty members of different departments. 67 questionnaires were returned with complete information. The SPSS version 21 was used for the purpose of analysis. During the process of analysis, Cronbach’s Alpha reliability, correlation, t-test, ANOVA, regression and frequencies were used. In this way the results were drawn and the recommendation were made.

Results

Although the questionnaire was adopted from the work of Tremblay, Blanchard, Taylor, Pelletier and Villeneuve (2009) and it was a recognized questionnaire, the researcher calculated the reliability of the instrument on the basis of the data collected from the universities of Islamabad. Keeping in view the cultural differences of each country, city and area there was a need to reassess the reliability of the instrument in the cultural background on the current research area.

Table 1: Reliability Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N of Items</th>
<th>Cronbach's Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The reliability of the scale was found .78. It explains that the instrument was well constructed and can be used in future with a fair amount of confidence.

The questionnaire was divided into five further sections that were intrinsic motivation (Item # 4, 8, 15); integrated regulation (Item # 5, 10, 18); identified regulation (Item # 1, 7, 14); introjected regulation (Item # 6, 11, 13); external regulation (Item # 2, 9, 16) and amotivation (Item # 3, 12, 17). On the basis of the collected data, the researcher attempted to measure the degree of inter relationship between the sub sections of the questionnaire. This was the reason that the inter section correlation was calculated.
Table 2: Inter Section Correlation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Intrinsic Motivation</th>
<th>Integrated Regulation</th>
<th>Identified Regulation</th>
<th>Introjected Regulation</th>
<th>External Regulation</th>
<th>Amotivation</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrinsic Motivation</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Integrated Regulation</strong></td>
<td>.499**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identified Regulation</strong></td>
<td>.472**</td>
<td>.391**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introjected Regulation</strong></td>
<td>.364**</td>
<td>.543**</td>
<td>.498**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External Regulation</strong></td>
<td>.250</td>
<td>.350**</td>
<td>.390**</td>
<td>.255</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amotivation</strong></td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.115</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.319**</td>
<td>.308**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>.604**</td>
<td>.658**</td>
<td>.664**</td>
<td>.740**</td>
<td>.676**</td>
<td>.583**</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).**

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The correlation between all the sub scales was statistically significant. The highest correlation was found between intrinsic motivation and integrated regulation (.499**) which shows that intrinsic motivation and integrated regulation were more strongly interconnected than any other section.

Data collected regarding demographics of gender, age, and departments is tabulated below.

Table 3: Demographics (Gender)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The demographic data revealed that 47.8% of the respondents were male and 52.2% of the respondents were female. This shows that almost an equal ratio of male and female respondents was selected so that the responses may not be gender biased. On the other hand, (64.2%) of the respondents were of 20 to 30 years of age which shows that majority of the respondents were of more than 30 years of age. This was quite appropriate sample for the current research. Besides, 32.8% of the respondents were from Social sciences, 32.8% of the respondents were from Languages and 34.3% of the respondents were from management Sciences. This was also an equal ratio to remove the chance of any kind of biasness on the basis of departments and subjects.

**Gender Wise Comparison**

Table 6 shows that there was no significant difference between male and female respondents related to intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation and amotivation. However, there was a significant difference between male and female respondents related to identified regulation. This shows that male and female respondents both were facing the same conditions and level of motivation so there was no gender based difference found to be considered in provision of motivational factors. This concluded that male and female respondents both can be treated by the same strategy in future.
### Table 6: Gender Wise Comparison (t-test)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrinsic Motivation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12.59</td>
<td>1.500</td>
<td>1.265</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12.14</td>
<td>1.417</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Integrated Regulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.81</td>
<td>1.874</td>
<td>-.666</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12.14</td>
<td>2.158</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identified Regulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>12.47</td>
<td>1.164</td>
<td>2.553</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>2.089</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introjected Regulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.44</td>
<td>1.777</td>
<td>1.271</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.80</td>
<td>2.273</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External Regulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.97</td>
<td>2.403</td>
<td>1.161</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>11.29</td>
<td>2.408</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amotivation</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10.59</td>
<td>2.626</td>
<td>-.423</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10.86</td>
<td>2.475</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*P<0.05  
**P<0.01

### Age Wise Comparison

Table 7 reveals that there was statistically no significant difference between respondents of 20-30 years of age and of above 30 years with reference to intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation and amotivation. It was also concluded from the results obtained from the data that no difference in the motivational variables was found on the basis of age difference. The respondents under 30 years of age and the respondents above 30 years of age both had same motivational needs and level.
Table 7: Age Wise Comparison (t-test)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Std. Deviation</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrinsic Motivation</strong></td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.49</td>
<td>1.470</td>
<td>.974</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12.12</td>
<td>1.454</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Integrated Regulation</strong></td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.23</td>
<td>2.136</td>
<td>1.352</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.54</td>
<td>1.744</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identified Regulation</strong></td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.93</td>
<td>1.907</td>
<td>.121</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.88</td>
<td>1.569</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Introjected Regulation</strong></td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.26</td>
<td>2.083</td>
<td>.802</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>2.036</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External Regulation</strong></td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.77</td>
<td>2.553</td>
<td>.704</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11.33</td>
<td>2.160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amotivation</strong></td>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>10.93</td>
<td>2.364</td>
<td>.859</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31+</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>10.38</td>
<td>2.826</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*P<0.05

**P<0.01

Department Wise Comparison

Table 8 shows that three departments were considered for data collection. These departments included Social Sciences, Languages, and Management Sciences. The results show that there was no statistically significant difference between various departments related to intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, introjected regulation, external regulation and amotivation. Only variable related to identified regulation was found having statistically significant difference level in the selected departments. In this regard, the mean score of the Management Sciences Department was (12.39) higher in comparison to the other departments.
Effectiveness of Motivational Factors to Develop "Amotivation"

In order to determine the effectiveness of motivational factors, independent and dependent variables were considered. The following table is presented to determine the effectiveness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Departments</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0.848</td>
<td>0.433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.91</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Sciences</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.61</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3.401</td>
<td>0.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>11.33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated Regulation</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.30</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1.466</td>
<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>11.23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Sciences</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.96</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3.729</td>
<td>0.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified Regulation</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1.466</td>
<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.41</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management Sciences</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.78</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>3.729</td>
<td>0.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.61</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Regulation</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1.466</td>
<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.41</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amotivation</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>0.848</td>
<td>0.433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>11.14</td>
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<td>0.152</td>
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<tr>
<td>Management Sciences</td>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>0.039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>11.33</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>23</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.27</td>
<td>11.23</td>
<td>22</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Management Sciences</td>
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<td>3.729</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
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<td>12.39</td>
<td>11.14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.098</td>
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<td>Identified Regulation</td>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
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<td>11.91</td>
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<tr>
<td>Management Sciences</td>
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<td>3.729</td>
<td>0.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
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<td>11.14</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External Regulation</td>
<td>Social Sciences</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>1.466</td>
<td>0.239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Languages</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12.41</td>
<td>11.91</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>0.890</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Department Wise Comparison (ANOVA)
Table 9: Effectiveness of Motivational Factors to Develop “Amotivation”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
<th>R Square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>2.287</td>
<td>.026</td>
<td>.208</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic Motivation</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.403</td>
<td>.688</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integrated Regulation</td>
<td>-.168</td>
<td>-1.116</td>
<td>.269</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identified Regulation</td>
<td>-.233</td>
<td>-1.588</td>
<td>.118</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introjected Regulation</td>
<td>.420</td>
<td>2.873</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic Regulation</td>
<td>.336</td>
<td>2.639</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Independent Variable: Intrinsic Motivation  
Integrated Regulation  
Identified Regulation  
Introjected Regulation  
Extrinsic Regulation

2. Dependent Variable: Amotivation

Table 9 indicates that the $R^2$ value is 0.20. It explains that the independent variables describe 20 percent variance in amotivation. The rest is due to some other factors.

The same table shows that the coefficient ($\beta = .057$) of intrinsic motivation was not statistically significant at 0.05 level. It indicates that intrinsic motivation was not statistically significantly related to amotivation.

The coefficient ($\beta = -.168$) of integrated regulation was negative and not statistically significant at 0.05 level. It indicates that integrated regulation is inversely related to amotivation, however, it was not significantly related to amotivation.

The coefficient ($\beta = -.233$) of identified regulation was negative and not statistically significant at 0.05 level. It indicates that identified regulation is inversely related to amotivation, however, it was not statistically significantly related with amotivation.

The coefficient ($\beta = .420$) of introjected regulation was statistically significant at 0.01 level. It indicates that introjected regulation was statistically significantly related to amotivation.
The coefficient ($\beta = .336$) of extrinsic regulation was statistically significant at 0.01 level. It indicates that extrinsic regulation was statistically significantly related to amotivation.

**Discussion**

The present study was designed basically to assess the impact of motivational factors on amotivation. Amotivation refers to a state in which individuals cannot perceive a relationship between their behavior and that behavior’s subsequent outcome. Theoretically, there are three broad classes that involve and help define motivation: intrinsic motivation, extrinsic motivation and amotivation. Intrinsic motivation is defined as: "the inherent tendency to seek out novelty and challenges, to extend and exercise one's capacities, to explore, and to learn" (Deci & Ryan, 2000).

While on the other hand extrinsic motivation involves “undertaking an activity that results in a separable outcome, an activity that may not be inherently enjoyable or interesting” (Deci & Ryan, 2000). The concept of amotivation, however, completely differs from intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, “being a complete absence of both intrinsic and extrinsic types of motivation” (Pelletier, 2002). While overall the term motivation can be defined as the catalyst that initiates, helps and maintains behaviors that are goal focused.

The study also aimed to draw a comparison between male and female respondents and to draw a comparison on the basis of their age difference. The researcher focused on intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation as motivational factors. Hypothesis 1 of the research “There is no difference among motivational factors on the basis of gender” was proved. The data approved the hypothesis as far as intrinsic motivation, integrated regulation, introjected regulation and external regulation are concerned. However, there was a difference between male and female respondents with respect to identified regulation.

Hypothesis 2 that “There is no difference among motivational factors on the basis of age variation” was also found true. The results showed that statement of the hypothesis was proved and no difference was found in independent as well as dependant variables.

Hypothesis 3 that “There is no difference among motivational factors on the basis of departments” was proved by the data. There was no statically significant difference found in the motivational factors.

Hypothesis 4 that “There is no effect of motivational factors on amotivation” was rejected. The results explain that there is 20 percent variance on dependant variable due to the independent variable.
Introjected regulation and extrinsic regulation were found significant factors in affecting amotivation at 0.01 level of significance.

**Recommendations**

1. It is recommended that at the time of appointment and selection of employees as teaching faculty, some kind of aptitude test may be taken to assess the level of motivation. Motivation towards this profession plays a vital role in the performance of employees. Thus the devoted and motivated teachers may be selected for and promoted in this profession.

2. External motivators such as rewards, certifications, awards, acknowledgement letters, specific positions, special duties, bonuses, etc. may be provided after a fixed interval of time to keep them active and motivated towards their profession.

3. Moral development and ethical value system may be considered priority of the teacher education programs to stimulate introjected regulation. The teaching profession is the most sensitive profession. Teachers are the builders of a nation. There is a special need to develop strong moral value system among them to motivate them towards their responsibilities.

4. Teacher training programs may include projects related to the social services to develop enjoyment in such activities. In this way, they will gradually learn and get motivated towards amotivational activities.

**Significance of the Study**

The field of education is the most important field in any society and education is the instrument to develop any nation. The time and money that we invest in education today will bring the prosperity and development for the future generations. Teachers being the central figure in the system of education become the focus of latest researches. Thus keeping in view the importance of the field, the present research is designed to assess the motivational factors that are prevailing in the system of education in Pakistan. The findings of the research will be helpful in developing teachers as the major work force in the educational organizations. It would help the educational managers as well to develop a sense of dedication and sincerity among the employees in order to get better output. It may also be helpful for policy developers to include such policies that may be useful in developing and enhancing the level of motivation among teachers.
References


## Appendix I

### List of Total Population

#### List of Public Sector Universities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>University/DAI Name</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Air University, Islamabad</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bahria University, Islamabad</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>COMSATS Institute of Information Technology, Islamabad</td>
<td>1680</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>2202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Federal Urdu University of Arts, Sciences &amp; Technology, Islamabad</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Institute of Space Technology, Islamabad</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>135</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>International Islamic University, Islamabad</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>656</td>
<td>1196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>National Defense University, Islamabad</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>381</td>
<td>746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>National University of Sciences &amp; Technology, Rawalpindi</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>1225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, Islamabad</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>123</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pakistan Institute of Engineering &amp; Applied Sciences, Islamabad</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>222</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6,475</td>
<td>2,946</td>
<td>9,421</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*Source: Higher Education Commission Data Base, Statistical Division (2009-2014)*
Appendix II

Self-Determination Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Designation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualification</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using the scale below, please indicate to what extent each of the following items corresponds to the reasons why you are presently involved in your work. There is no right or wrong answer.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No</th>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Because this is the type of work I chose to do to attain a certain lifestyle.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>For the income it provides me.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I ask myself this question, I don’t seem to be able to manage the important tasks related to this work.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Because I derive much pleasure from learning new things.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Because it has become a fundamental part of who I am.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Score</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Because I want to succeed at this job, if not I would be very ashamed of myself.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Because I chose this type of work to attain my career goals.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>For the satisfaction I experience from taking on interesting challenges</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Because it allows me to earn money.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Because it is part of the way in which I have chosen to live my life.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Because I want to be very good at this work, otherwise I would be very disappointed.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>I don’t know why, we are provided with unrealistic working conditions.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Because I want to be a “winner” in life.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Because it is the type of work I have chosen to attain certain important objectives.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>For the satisfaction I experience when I am successful at doing difficult tasks.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Because this type of work provides me with security</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>I don’t know, too much is expected of us.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Because this job is a part of my life.</td>
<td>5 4 3 2 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cloud-Cuckoo Land

Riaz Hassan

The literary world might have had enough of T.S. Eliot, but one of his ideas, namely, that nothing is or can be a substitute for anything else (1933), does not seem to have attracted much attention. If true, we must indeed be living in a make-believe world, since so much of it is filtered across to us through the symbols we use all the time as substitutes for things.

The opening premise is that our symbols, be they for language as in words, or for commensuration as in numbers, can fall short of the things they are supposed to represent. The second premise is that they can straddle, vault across and go veering crazily beyond the things they are supposed to represent. Because of imbalances in both functions, and in the way we use them, they can misdirect us.

Let us first consider numerical symbols, the basic tools of one human field of measurement, quantification and cogitation called mathematics. Things happen in the real world that cannot happen in the world of numbers. For example, we can have a “minus one” in the world of numbers, but not a “minus apple” in the real world. And for moving objects, if Mr. X fires a well-aimed bullet at Mr. Y, it will penetrate some part of his body and cause severe damage. Yet mathematically this is impossible. In fact it is impossible for the bullet to leave the pistol. It is impossible for it even to even begin to move down the barrel. We remember that old demonstration that the hare can never overtake the tortoise, or that a fast object cannot overtake a slow one. That particular problem is generated in considering two moving entities. However, even between two fixed points we cannot get round the difficulty. To traverse any distance, a moving object would first have to cross the halfway point. Then it would have to cross the halfway point of the remaining distance. And so on—there is always some distance left to cross even after a thousand or ten thousand (or any number you can think of) halfway points have been crossed. Mathematical points have no dimension, so they do not accurately represent points in the real world. And of course, if mathematical points have no dimension, no matter how many of them we put together we cannot produce distance of any kind. The result is a piece of impeccable mathematical logic, namely, that motion is an illusion. But this is not confirmed by experience: distances do exist, things do move around in the real world.¹ Which should we accept, the logic of our minds when we play around with our own symbols, or the evidence supplied
through our senses from the world around us? And why are the two not congruous?

We should not need to be reminded that an arbitrary squiggle on a piece of paper or a puff of air through our speech organs is not the same as the thing it represents—nine things are of course, larger in quantity than six things. However, the number 9 is not larger than the number 6, it simply represents a larger amount; and if we use words rather than numbers, “ten” is not smaller than “seven,” although it has one syllable less in speaking, and looks a good bit smaller in writing. Indeed, we should not need to be reminded of these basic facts, but some people tend to act as if symbols are fully representative of things. Some people, in fact, tend to act as if they are the same.

The disconnections are evident. Occasionally, though, on the productive side we have conjunctions. For example, that twentieth-century triumph of how a piece of mathematical logic could lead to real events, namely, Einstein’s E=MC squared, that the energy contained in matter is equal to its mass multiplied by the speed of light squared. Regardless of what we do on paper (or in our heads if we have that kind of brain), where we can multiply things, or square them, or raise them to any power we want, we might ask, if the speed of light is the ultimate, how can we possibly multiply it by anything, how can we possibly square it in the real world? Nevertheless, scientists assure us that continuing experimentation tends to confirm the general soundness of Einstein’s insights, and that this equation is a reasonably true representation of the enormous amount of energy contained in matter. This is an example of a successful, though rather surprising movement from mathematical logic to fact.

And again, on the other side, we have the impeccable mathematical belief that if you divide a number by half, you will get double the number. Try it in the real world. Divide a dollar by half a dollar and see if you get two dollars. Better still, divide it by a millionth or a trillionth of a dollar: the smaller the fraction, the bigger it becomes. Nice—all people will soon be infinitely rich! But alas, this does not work in the real world. Here we have an example of an unsuccessful production from logic to fact. [Homeopaths claim that this is how they titrate their medicines—a lot of people are puzzled to learn that in homeopathy the more you weaken a drug the stronger it becomes].

Let us look at our verbal symbol making. At the receptive level, by which one means where the brain creates symbols for things it encounters in the real world, there are reasonably satisfactory conjunctions provided strong associations and, more importantly, limited associations are developed. In imagination let us reconstruct a small incident in human pre-
history that might well be representative of some language events. A small, wandering tribe encounters a strange, horse-like animal with long ears. The Mr. Know-all leader has to prove his leadership, so he states superciliously (as though he knew all along) that it is a “donkey,” creating a verbal symbol in a brief explosion of noise through his speech organs concocted on the spur of the moment: his followers obediently nod their heads: and so it becomes the accepted substitute for that animal among those people and their descendants. Had the leader been truthfully cautious he would have said, “O faithful followers—I hereby offer a sound-symbol which you may associate with that animal, but never, repeat never, say that that animal is a donkey.” Language gives us that dangerous little word “is” and its variants. However, thus far, at the receptive level, the human impulse to name things seems valid, and remains valid if the primary association, and only that association, is maintained. To this extent we can say, though cautiously, that our symbols are fairly reliable.

However, things also happen inside our brains: we juggle with our own symbols in different settings. Our symbols also create facts, some verifiable, as in Einstein’s formula mentioned earlier, some partly verifiable, and some unverifiable. At the productive level we find several disjunctions. We can play around with symbols to our hearts’ content. What we do with them might or might not reflect truths in the real world. Many things can happen to a word as it moves from generation to generation, even within one generation. We manipulate the symbol in ways that we cannot do with the real thing. We give it meanings, attributes and functions that go well beyond the original association. For instance, we can use the word “donkey,” not for the long-eared animal, but for a foolish person, taking it into the field of metaphor. We can give it abstract qualities. We can move it into areas a real donkey can never go. We can make abstract claims about it that cannot be verified. We can toss it around with other symbols, fracturing and distorting their ordinary functions in our verbal structures, as poets often do. Our poor donkey is confined to its own living imperatives. However, detached from it, our symbol is flexible and wide-ranging. The upshot of this is that what we think is necessary and logical might or might not be so, Sherlock or no Sherlock.

We live in a self-created symbolic world that in part represents the world at large (the verifiable or partly verifiable part), and in part has nothing or very little to do with it (the unverifiable part). However, both parts have a great deal to do with us. And, because they emerge from the same source and are used in the same way, both parts are likely to be treated by us in the same way. Herein lurks one of language’s dangers. Because the symbol-referent association can, through frequent use,
become very strong, the mere existence of a symbol tends to bequeath existential substance on something that might not exist at all, and the manipulations that we do with the symbol are likely to be attributed to that non-existent something. This is implied in some of our most down-to-earth utterances. As mentioned earlier, we think nothing of describing someone as a “donkey” rather than specifying his assumed intelligence in a literal manner. The metaphor employed here conveys a subtle collection of attitudes and associations that would not come across in a literal exposition. In a sense all language is metaphorical and associative in that arbitrary though widely accepted phonological or graphic symbols are used as substitutes for things in themselves. As Lakoff (1987, p. 79) states, “. . . social stereotypes are cases of metonymy—where a subcategory has a socially recognized status as standing for the category as a whole . . .”

This might seem more to do with social stereotypes of professions such as the label “banker,” but in a sense all linguistic labels have elements of social stereotyping. When we use “tree” for a natural phenomenon, the word (a widely-known linguistic symbol) becomes a substitute, a stand in, for the given phenomenon. It represents what we conceive to be the essence of that phenomenon. It gives shape to a concept by using a structure of consonants and vowels. At the same time it may add dimensions (through the working of some kind of “affective” fallacy) of its own, or ignore aspects that are of little interest to us. What we consider to be a tree’s “beauty” or “usefulness” is clearly subjective and affective rather than descriptive of inherent characteristics. Human responses, agendas, wishes, ambitions, errors, fancies, interpretations and associations are grafted on to the concept. These elements subsist in common discourse. It is not often that we are aware of this aspect of everyday speech. We see it in the fanciful mythologies of some ancient (and not only ancient) tribes and cultures—names, given in the same way as we do to things for which some confirmation is received through the senses, to things the existence of which no corroboration is received through the senses, followed by a reinforcement of the realness of those unreal things through detailed descriptions and anecdotes about them. A word supplies shape or substance to something that might not have such attributes. A word is an inherently misleading thing.

The foregoing can be illustrated through examples. I can say, “Eleanor was Ike’s wife,” and be fairly sure that, with confirmation received through hearsay and written material coupled with corroboration from historical and other sources, I am stating something true, even though these people no longer exist. This statement falls into the verifiable or partly verifiable part of our symbolism, and can, with some reservations, be affirmed. However, using the same language construction I make a
similar assertion when I say “Hera was Zeus’s wife,” but this statement falls into the unverifiable part of our symbolism. The fact that a long time ago a few million people in ancient Greece believed it to be true, did not make it true. Most of the six (or whatever) billion people living on Earth today would deny that it was true. However, numbers and beliefs cannot be cited to support or demolish such a statement. It cannot be affirmed. It cannot be denied.

The word metonymy means the process of giving “another name” to something (meta= change, beyond or another; nym= name and y=process), a kind of substitution of one thing for another (Crystal, 2004, pp. 290-291). This might entail using a characteristic or a well-known relationship for something. “Palace” might be used for “king,” (as in “the palace rejected the proposal”) or “house” might be used for the combined opinions, decisions or recommendations of a group of decision-makers (as in “the house recommended a small increase in taxation . . .”).

We see this happening everywhere, all the time, but especially in fields of human interaction that require a degree of persuasion. Language for “persuasion” can be found at every level, even the most mundane ones—the child trying to persuade his parents to buy some toy, the father trying to persuade his son to do better at school, the mother trying to persuade her daughter to help with household chores, the teacher with his/her students, the student with his/her teachers, everywhere and all the time. However, the most prominent domains of human activity concerned with persuasion are, broadly (1) the power structure in a given society, (2) commerce and the whole field of buying and selling, (3) religion and the dissemination of moral and spiritual principles for society, and (4) literary writings.

Using language for purposes of persuasion was once taught as a skill to people defending themselves in courts of law in ancient Greece, and later, in medieval times in many parts of Europe, for purposes of converting people and disseminating religion. Its most obvious usage is in the political power game—if rulers can persuade people to accept their rule; their job becomes easier, less fraught with danger. Leaders, even out-and-out dictators and absolute monarchs, have known this for a long time. The fist-waving demagogue, even if what he says is nonsense, is usually more effective than the cool-headed rationalist in persuading people to support him in the power structure.

The language of persuasion is fundamental to the whole area of trade and commerce. Traders want our money. Persuasion is as important here as it is in the power structure. Examples can be found in almost any advertisement. Mostly, we find the use of the imperative (“drink” so-and-
so, “buy” such-and-such) without softeners such as “please . . .” or “you would do well to . . .” This helps to create a kind of compulsion among prospective buyers by preempting their right of choice. \textit{Repetition} is also a figure, one that helps to condition the buying public through continuous or frequent exposure. \textit{Association} is also employed by linking a certain product with a certain name, so that a person buying a vacuum cleaner (an appliance) might think of it as an “xxx” (the name of a widely successful manufacturer). \textit{Metaphors} and \textit{similes} abound.

Religious texts also tend to be very rich in substitution figures. The inherent difficulty of explaining absolutes and eternals to ordinary people limited by temporal constraints and perceptions would generate a need to use mundane, concrete parallels. Thus (Mark 4, pp. 30-32):

\begin{quote}
31 It [the Kingdom of God] is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown in the earth, is less than all the seeds in the earth:
32 But when it is sown, it groweth up and becometh greater than all herbs, and shooteth out great branches . . .
\end{quote}

Metaphorical substitution also shows up strongly in literary works. An endless number of examples can be found--Prince Hamlet (in \textit{Hamlet, Prince of Denmark}, by William Shakespeare, Act I, scene 2) gives us this strange construction: “Frailty, thy name is woman” in place of the straightforward, “women are frail.” This is an example of how we can play around with the elements of language. A characteristic is inverted with the subject. It is personified and accorded a concrete predicate (the subject).

Metonymic substitution is in operation all the time. It is useful for explaining things to others, especially when the audience is not familiar with the speaker’s subject. Describing, amplifying, illustrating or explaining things in terms of other things is done all the time. The basic structure of a sentence is associative and substitutive in that the predicate says something about the subject, thus linking one idea with another. In saying something as basic as, “he is a carpenter” we move the subject away from the idea-in-itself (a certain man) to another idea (carpenter) asserted to be true of it, or assumed to be true of it, or commonly known to be true of it, or linked in some way with it in the predicate. As Fiske (1992, p.36) states: “All messages have to have an explicit or implicit metalinguistic function.”

Ours is a strange world extensively constructed out of substitution and of further substitution for substitution. This helps us to be flexible and creative. It also helps us to be stupid. If Eliot is right, we do indeed live in what Aristophanes (Birds) called \textit{nephelococcygia}, cloud-cuckoo land.
Attempts to bridge the real and the mathematical through infinitesimals for problems like this one suppose the existence of things of which no confirmation has been received to date, at least not in this writer’s experience. A refutation of the assertion that the speed of light is the fastest in the universe might also be seen here--the rotation of the earth creates the effect of the universe revolving round the earth, and as you move outwards the speeds of objects must increase proportionately: very distant objects would have to be moving at speeds greater than the speed of light to complete one revolution of the earth. If the concept of distance is acknowledged, the speed of light logically cannot be the ultimate in the universe. We do not need the rotation of the earth for this--even if a snail twists slowly around itself, it generates relative speeds faster than the speed of light at distant points in the universe.

Homeopaths will leap up clamouring that there is another important step involved in the preparation of their drugs. They call this succussion--between titrations the container is firmly struck several times against a padded board. Does this stimulate fractional division of the original solution and thus make it more potent? One has one’s doubts, but homeopathy, which began in the eighteenth century, continues to have many followers round the world, including some prominent ones. Sceptics argue that homeopaths peddle small sugar pills treated with meaningless liquids, and that cures, if any, take place because of the body’s self-curing abilities, and that the rest is just show-biz, atmospherics or the placebo effect.

Hard-core philosophers would tell us that there might not be a real world out there, since all we have to go on is an inadequate array of physical senses interpreted by an unreliable neural system, that we might think there is a chair ‘out there,’ but that we could also be hallucinating even if our senses seem to support the notion. To a degree, however, we have to rely on those unreliable senses and brains. Even the most convinced of such philosophers would hesitate before jumping in front of a moving truck.

This is true up to a point, of course. A word might become something far removed from the original within a few generations, both within the tribe and among descendants, especially those who travel away from the parent tribe. The original meanings associated with it might also undergo a lot of change.

Once something has gone into the past it cannot really be affirmed. Some learned people have raised questions about the works of Shakespeare, for example, and even about the fact of his existence. This kind of doubt can be raised for all things past. How can we be sure that Confucius, or Newton, or Hannibal, or Alexander, or anyone (or anything) said to have existed in the past, really did so? All of what we call history, which begins as soon as the evanescent ‘now’ passes, might just be fiction.

The writer is using metonymy in its broadest sense, which includes metaphor and synecdoche, although valid distinctions can be made. For those who are interested, Fiske (1992) and Bredin (1984) might serve to clarify these categories, which help in abbreviating, strengthening and providing new dimensions to the literal, the mundane and the ordinary. This might be seen as something good or as something bad. Either way, it is happening all the time.
References


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Research Papers

Tayyaba Tamim
Languages in Education, Social Capital and Inequality

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Cultural Effect of Gender on Apology Strategies of Pakistani Undergraduate Students

Liaquat Ali Channa
A Critical Debate in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) Theory

Jamil Asghar
Postcolonial South Asian Literature and the Quest for Identity

Azhar Habib
An Analysis of Cultural Load in English Textbooks in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

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Quality Enhancement Cell,
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