LANGUAGE CHOICE AS A GATE-KEEPING PRACTICE

AN EXPLORATION INTO THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL IMPACTS OF MULTILINGUALISM THROUGH CASE STUDIES FROM THE EDUCATIONAL AND JUDICIAL SECTORS OF PAKISTAN

Inaugural-Dissertation

zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde

der

Philosophischen Fakultät

der

Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität

zu Bonn

vorgelegt von

AFTAB NASIR

aus

Pattoki, Pakistan

Bonn, 2020

Gedruckt mit Genehmigung der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

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Tag der mündlichen Prüfung: 18. Dezember 2019

To all those authors, practitioners and inspirational figures,

who believe in the transformative power of words.

Abstract

Pakistan is a multilingual and multi-ethnic country: all the provinces have their own regional languages as lingua franca, i.e., Punjabi in Punjab, Pashto in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, etc.; Urdu is the national language, i.e., it is the language of majority of the state schools and of the media; whereas English, owing to its colonial past, is the official language of Pakistan, i.e., it is the language of the official transactions, the constitution, law and higher education in the country. Such division means that individuals may have to switch from one language to another when they move from home to school, to work settings, or to official business in public or private offices. The analysis of the data collected from different sites (educational and judicial sectors) reveals how and why the discourses of differential use of languages, created and shaped by the educational institutes, are affected by the overall linguistic attitudes existing in society towards different languages. This research concludes that, on the societal level, this differential language system excludes those who do not know a particular language, i.e., English, and disempowers them structurally from getting their due share of state-provided services, such as justice and education.

In 2013, all the stakeholders working for the development of Pakistan, both public and private, came together and agreed upon an agenda for development, called Vision 2025. This document is an aspirational tool to be used as a conceptual framework for steering the country into the direction of sustainable and inclusive development. The aim of this vision is to bring Pakistan among the top 25 world economies by year 2025. In order to see whether such ambitious attempts, as outlined in the document, complement or contradict the already existing social realities and discourses of development remains central theme to the current research. In this regard, language policies, perceptions, attitudes, and daily practices become the lens that is used

to investigate the relation between the theoretical aspirations and practical situations on the ground.

Language choice becomes a contested field in a multilingual society. Any act of speech in such societies is a political act, where different languages are chosen for different purposes. In a contemporary globalized world where one language, i.e., English enjoys the most acceptance; those who know better English acquire added leverage and symbolic power over others in everyday interactions of members of Pakistani society. This dissertation maintains that fascination with English in the context of Pakistan is actually a colonial legacy that has worked towards establishing and perpetuating symbolic superiority against other languages and speakers of those languages in contemporary Pakistani society.

My contribution departs from the traditional themes of political economy of nation-state models that focus on the broader themes of nation-building and the issues of governance, identity and marginality in a post-colonial nation(s). I attempt to address the questions of power and distribution of linguistic resources in Pakistani polity from a sociological angle. In the following pages, I specifically conceptualise and analyse the social practices, attitudes and discourses of marginality and identity construction along linguistic lines by using the concepts of habitus, field, capital, and symbolic power. This dissertation tries to untangle multilingualism from two broad themes: 1) it addresses the questions of the sociocultural dominance of English and Urdu languages over regional languages; 2) it shows how the distribution of linguistic resources is contested, negotiated and reproduced in the *praxis* of the stakeholders interacting in a multilingual setting.

In order to conduct an empirical investigation, two sectors are selected, i.e., the educational and judicial sectors of Pakistan. The rationale behind this choice is both theoretical and practical. The educational sector is selected as it becomes the seedbed where discourses and perceptions are produced and reproduced for the official and legitimate practices of language use; whereas, the judicial sector is selected as it links directly with the manifestation of these discourses and perceptions. It is in the judicial sector, where one sees the direct effects of knowing or not knowing a specific language manifested as every letter, word, and comma, matters in the judicial proceedings. An institute that is responsible for disseminating justice to the citizens of the state, the judicial system uses a language (English) that is alien to the majority of Pakistani population. For example, only in the Punjab province, around 45% of the total population speaks Punjabi, whereas only 4-7% can speak or understand English, yet the judicial system in its official discourse conducts all its business in English. The laws, court proceedings, and verdicts disseminated in various trials in the judicial courts are conducted in English. This research aims at finding out whether this very act of conducting judicial proceedings in English disenfranchises the masses from the system.

A mixed-method research design was used to investigate these questions at the public universities and judicial courts in Pakistan. The question remains if and how the choice of language in education can become a tool for estrangement and exclusion. Discourses of development and language-based inequality seem to exist next to each other, weaved seamlessly in the overall social fabric, habitus, of the contemporary Pakistani society. The empirical evidence from the educational institutes further elaborates why a certain language, e.g., English, is preferred at the expense of others. What kind of benefits and disadvantages are entailed in knowing or not knowing English and what kind of identities are associated with English and

other languages, such as Punjabi. The underlying generative principle, habitus, combines this language-based inequality with development in a way that current education policy actually perpetuates ideologies, perceptions and practices of social inequalities. These structurally inculcated distinctive principles inadvertently –convince” the dominated, the less-advantaged, into accepting the conditions of his/her own dominance as natural, thereby resulting in symbolic constraint. Moreover, this research shows how language is used as an aspirational capacity for social mobility and what hurdles, both social and psychological, students face in using this capacity in their prospective lives.

Historically speaking, after the independence of Pakistan, the British rulers left in 1947, but the unequal social spaces they created stayed behind as these arrangements suited those who were already working under the British rule. Under such conditions and neo-colonial patterns of life, there emerges a hybrid form of speech; one where words of Urdu, English, Punjabi or other regional languages are inter-mixed. An act of using a signifier of one language, say English, while speaking in another language, say Urdu or Punjabi, results in providing extra leverage, symbolic superiority, and authority to the speaker.

This hybrid speech serves two purposes; a) it keeps the power inequality intact as it renders one language, i.e., English, superior over all other local languages, and b) it helps to appease those who, not having the capacity to compete in the English dominant market, nevertheless remain at the periphery of the circle, trying to carve out their own spaces. Thus the linguistic interactions, eventually and inadvertently, result in shaping, reproducing, and reinforcing the sociological habitus that in the first place creates social inequalities generated by varied use of languages for various purposes. Therefore, it is argued that the official discourse of sustainable development, though promising in principle, stands miles away from the social realities of development of

Pakistan. The development experts, both national and international, have to consider the socially participative model of development in order to address the pressing challenges of nation-building as compared to state-building as far as the language related problems of the Pakistani society are concerned.

Keywords: Multilingualism, habitus, symbolic power, education, judiciary, social exclusion, discourse, language policy, identity.

Kurzfassung

Pakistan ist ein vielsprachiger Mehrvölkerstaat: alle Provinzen haben ihre eigenen regionalen Sprachen als Verkehrssprache, d.h. Punjabi in Punjab, Paschto in Kyber Pakhtunkhwa etc. Urdu ist die nationale Sprache, das heißt, es ist die Sprache, die in der Mehrheit der staatlichen Schulen und in den Medien vorherrscht. Englisch ist, aufgrund der kolonialen Vergangenheit, die offizielle Sprache des Landes, die Sprache offizieller Transaktionen, der Verfassung, des Rechts und der Hochschulbildung. Eine solche Aufteilung hat zur Folge, dass Personen von einer Sprache in die andere wechseln müssen wenn sie sich von zuhause zur Schule, im beruflichen und geschäftlichen Umfeld, oder in öffentlichen Ämtern bewegen. Die Analyse des Datenmaterials aus diesen verschiedenen Feldern (das Bildungs- und Justizwesen) offenbart wie und warum Diskurse über den unterschiedlichen Gebrauch von Sprache beeinflusst werden von grundsätzlichen gesellschaftlichen Einstellungen. Die Untersuchung folgert, dass auf der gesellschaftlichen Ebene der unterschiedliche Sprachgebrauch jene ausschließt, die eine bestimmte Sprache nicht sprechen, insbesondere Englisch, und sie strukturell von Teilhabe an staatlichen Diensten wie Justiz und Bildung ausschließt.

Im Jahr 2013 kamen alle an der Entwicklung Pakistans beteiligten Akteure, sowohl öffentliche als auch private, zusammen und einigten sich auf eine Entwicklungsagenda, die Vision 2025. Dieses Dokument ist ein ehrgeiziger Plan, dass als konzeptueller Rahmen für die Steuerung des Landes hin zu nachhaltiger und inklusiver Entwicklung genutzt werden soll. Das Ziel dieser Vision ist es, Pakistan bis zum Jahr 2025 zu einer der 25 weltweit führenden Volkswirtschaften zu machen. Das Ziel der vorliegenden Forschung ist es zu untersuchen, ob diese ambitionierten Versuche, wie im Dokument dargestellt, die bereits vorhandenen sozialen Realitäten und Diskurse ergänzen oder ihnen widersprechen. In dieser Hinsicht werden Sprachstrategien,

Auffassungen, Einstellungen und Alltagspraktiken relevant um die Beziehungen zwischen theoretischem Anspruch und Praxis zu ergründen und betrachten.

Die Wahl der Sprache wird zu einem umkämpften Bereich in einer vielsprachigen Gesellschaft. Jeder Sprechakt in solchen Gesellschaften ist ein politischer Akt, in dem verschiedene Sprachen für verschiedene Zwecke gewählt werden. In der gegenwärtigen globalisierten Welt in der eine Sprache, Englisch, die meiste Akzeptanz erfährt, erlangen jene, die besser Englisch sprechen mehr Einfluss und symbolische Macht über andere, vor allem in den alltäglichen Interaktionen der pakistanischen Gesellschaftsmitglieder. Diese Dissertation stellt dar, dass die Faszination der englischen Sprache im pakistanischen Kontext ein koloniales Vermächtnis ist, das symbolische Überlegenheit über andere Sprachen und ihrer Sprecher in der gegenwärtigen Gesellschaft Pakistans etabliert und perpetuiert.

Mein Beitrag knüpft an die traditionellen Thematiken der politischen Ökonomie an, die sich auf Themenkomplexe des Nationalbewusstseins und des Regierens, der Identität und der Marginalisierung in post-kolonialen Nationen beziehen. Ich betrachte Fragen von Macht und der Verteilung linguistischer Ressourcen im pakistanischen Gemeinwesen aus einem soziologischen Blickwinkel. Auf den folgenden Seiten konzeptualisiere und analysiere ich innerhalb eines linguistischen Rahmens soziale Praktiken, Einstellungen und Diskurse von und über Identitätskonstruktion und beziehe mich dabei auf die Konzepte Habitus, Feld, Kapital und symbolische Macht. Diese Arbeit erforscht Multilingualismus ausgehend von zwei Ansatzpunkten: 1) sie befasst sich mit Fragen soziokultureller Dominanz von Englisch und Urdu über regionale Sprachen; 2) sie zeigt wie umstritten die Verteilung linguistischer Ressourcen ist und wie sie von interagierenden Akteuren einer multilingualen Umgebung kontinuierlich ausgehandelt und reproduziert wird.

Für eine empirische Untersuchung werden zwei Bereiche ausgewählt, das Bildungswesen und die Justiz. Der Grund für diese Wahl ist sowohl praktisch als auch theoretisch begründet. Das Bildungswesen wird ausgewählt, da er das Saatbeet ist, in dem Diskurse und Einstellungen im Hinblick auf die offiziellen und legitimen Sprachpraktiken (re-)produziert werden. Das Justizwesen wird ausgewählt da es unmittelbar mit der Manifestierung dieser Diskurse und Wahrnehmungen zusammenhängt. In der Justiz sieht man die unmittelbaren Auswirken des (nicht) Sprechens einer bestimmten Sprache, da im juristischen Verfahren jeder Buchstabe, jedes Wort und jedes Komma von Bedeutung ist. Als Institution, die dafür verantwortlich ist für alle Staatsbürger Recht zu sprechen, verwendet die Justiz eine Sprache (Englisch), die der Mehrheit der pakistanischen Bevölkerung fremd ist. So sprechen beispielsweise in der Punjab Provinz etwa 45 Prozent der Gesamtbevölkerung Punjabi, nur vier bis sieben Prozent können Englisch sprechen oder verstehen. Dennoch führt die Justiz alle ihre offiziellen Geschäfte in Englisch. Die Gesetze, Gerichtsverfahren und Urteile werden auf Englisch ausgeführt. Diese Untersuchung beabsichtigt daher herauszufinden, ob die Tatsache, dass Justizverfahren auf Englisch geführt werden, die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung entrechtet.

Diese Fragen wurden mithilfe eines mixed-method Forschungsansatzes an den öffentlichen Universitäten und den Justizgerichten in Pakistan untersucht. Die Frage ist, ob und wie die Wahl der Sprache im Bildungswesen ein Instrument der Entfremdung und des Ausschlusses werden kann. Entwicklungsdiskurse und sprachbasierte Ungleichheiten scheinen nebeneinander zu bestehen, nahtlos eingewebt in die sozialen Strukturen, den Habitus, der pakistanischen Gesellschaft. Die empirischen Belege aus den Bildungseinrichtungen führen näher aus warum eine bestimmte Sprache, Englisch, auf Kosten anderer vorgezogen wird. Welchen Nutzen und welche Nachteile zieht es nach sich Englisch (nicht) sprechen zu können und welche Art

Identitäten werden mit Englisch und anderen Sprachen, wie etwa Punjabi verbunden? Das zugrundeliegende Prinzip des Habitus kombiniert sprachbasierte Ungleichheit mit Entwicklung in der aktuellen Bildungspolitik in der Form, dass Ideologien, Wahrnehmungen und Praktiken sozialer Ungleichheit so aufrechterhalten werden. Diese strukturell eingeprägten Prinzipien "überzeugen" die Dominierten, die Benachteiligten, irrtümlicherweise davon, die Bedingungen ihrer als natürlich zu akzeptieren und führen damit zu symbolischer Zwang. Außerdem zeigt diese Untersuchung in welcher Form Sprache als eine Eigenschaft sozialer Mobilität genutzt wird und mit welchen Hindernisse, sowohl sozialer als auch psychologischer Art, Schüler*innen und Studierende konfrontiert sind.

Nach der Unabhängigkeit Pakistans - die Briten verließen Pakistan im Jahr 1947 zwar, ließen aber die ungleichen sozialen Strukturen, die sie geschaffen hatten zurück - hatten besonders jene einen Vorteil davon, die bereits unter britischer Herrschaft gearbeitet hatten. Unter solchen Bedingungen und den neo-kolonialen Lebensbedingungen entstand eine hybride Art des Sprechens, in der Worte aus den Sprachen Urdu, English, Punjabi oder anderen regionalen Sprachen vermischt sind. Die Verwendung einer Referenz aus einer Sprache, etwa Englisch, während man eine andere Sprache spricht, etwa Urdu oder Punjabi, resultiert für den Sprecher in Einfluss, symbolische Überlegenheit, und Autorität.

Hybride Sprache dient zwei Zwecken: a) sie hält Machtungleichheiten intakt, da sie eine Sprache, also Englisch, überlegen gegenüber anderen lokalen Sprachen macht und b) hilft sie dabei jene zu besänftigen, die nicht die Fähigkeit haben im Englisch-dominierten Markt mitzuhalten, dennoch aber an der Peripherie des Kreises bleiben und versuchen ihre eigenen Räume zu schaffen. Aus diesem Grund führen linguistische Interaktionen schlussendlich und unausweichlich zur Bildung, Reproduktion und Bekräftigung des sozialen Habitus, der an erster

Stelle die sozialen Ungleichheiten durch den verschiedentlichen Gebrauch von Sprache zu unterschiedlichen Zwecken überhaupt erst schafft. Aus diesem Grund wird argumentiert, dass der offizielle Diskurs der nachhaltigen Entwicklung, obwohl grundsätzlich vielversprechend, viele Meilen entfernt von der sozialen Realität Pakistans steht. Die Entwicklungsexperten, sowohl nationale als auch internationale, müssen ein sozial-partizipatives Entwicklungsmodell berücksichtigen um sich mit den dringenden Herausforderungen der Nationenbildung, im Gegensatz zur Staatsbildung, insbesondere im Hinblick auf sprachbezogene Probleme, angemessen befassen zu können.

Stichworte: Vielsprachigkeit, Habitus, symbolisches Kapital, Bildung, Justiz, sozialer Ausschluss, Diskurs, Sprachpolitik, Identität.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATC	Anti-Terrorist Courts
BA	Bachelors of Arts
BS	Bachelors of Science
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPC	Civil Procedure Code
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
CSS	Central Superior Services
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FIR	First Information Report
FPSC	Federal Public Service Commission
GC	Government College
GCU	Government College University
GEM Report	Global Education Monitor Report
GoP	Government of Pakistan
IPC	Indian Penal Code
KPK	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
LGS	Lahore Grammar School
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoF	Ministry of Finance
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PPC	Pakistan Penal Code

PU	Punjab University
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SHO	Station House Officer
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UCP	University of Central Punjab
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UOS	University of Sargodha
USA	United States of America

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

No journey is complete without acknowledging the process that comprises the details of the paths taken, turns made, and hurdles faced. Although a journey like this one that of completing a PhD, is totally individual yet it involves taking the guidance of fellow travellers who trotted the terrains of thoughts before. In this spirit, it is a meagre attempt to acknowledge the impacts, suggestions, and critical reviews made while I was trying to complete the journey of my intellectual development. In this regard, the first and foremost thanks goes to the *Higher Education Commission* (HEC) Pakistan that funded my research along with *Deutscher Akademischer AustauschDienst* (DAAD) staff at Bonn that helped with the logistic and structural support needed to complete my work at Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschug (ZEF).

I see myself as the master of the ship that sailed through the winds of various disciplines of knowledge, i.e., sociology, linguistics, psychology, and development studies to name a few. Yet the person who remained with me as the co-captain of this ship, the person who helped me stay guided and grounded is none other than my supervisor, Prof. Dr. Conrad Schetter. Through all the difficult times when the winds were strong and tossed me in so many various directions, it was the wise and always practical guidance of Dr. Schetter that helped me pass through every thick and thin. We went through many disagreements as to where I shall sail, where to stop and where to speed up in this journey, his calm voice kept me from falling into the abysmal solitude I found myself every now and then. Therefore, I solely acknowledge the time, energy, willingness and compassion that Dr. Schetter offered throughout the process. Thank you very much *mein Doktorvatter* for being there at all times. Lastly, I want to thank all the doctoral committee members, i.e., the chair of the committee, Prof. Dr. Christoph Antweiler, Dr. Elke Grawert for their participation in my doctoral defence and a special thanks to Prof. Dr. Eva Youkhana for

being my second supervisor. Her feedback and criticl gaze really helped me see many new things. Thanks Eva for your time and constant support!

Second to him is another person who is equally important to the process, my dear tutor Dr. Epifania Amoo-Adare. Indeed, my compass was always there in the form of Dr. Schetter for finding directions, yet all this was made possible when I had Epifania as my anchor. Whenever I went through the tumultuous waters of over and under-theorization, randomness of thoughts, and ill-formed passages after passages of incoherent writings, she helped me stay grounded to the process of clear writing. She made me realize what it means to write a formal dissertation when I wandered endlessly and many times crossed the thin line between fiction and non-fiction writing. Through Epifania, I realized my own potential as a writer as she put her trust in me by helping me produce clarity in my work. I learned more from Epifania than her assigned role as my tutor as she always gave me ample time for discussing my ideas related or not to my dissertation work and for that I will always remain grateful to her. Here I also like to thank another important name, Dr. Katja Mielke. I had the opportunity to work with her on my MPhil thesis and subsequently on my dissertation as a tutor shortly as well. It was through Katja‘s critical gaze that I was able to see the worth of my research in the first place as her comments were always helpful.

Furthermore, I was lucky enough to have great colleagues at ZEF and in Bonn who offered their support and critical inputs throughout my stay in Bonn. First and foremost, I am thankful to the office of ZEF administration, in specific Dr. Güunther Manske and Maike Retat-Amin. While Dr. Manske provided all the necessary official guidelines of the process, Maike made many new things possible to handle. Maike is not only an official figure to me, as she became a friend over the years, a friend who helped everyone around in any way that she could.

It was nice to work with you Dr. Manske and Maike Retat-Amin in all these years. Secondly I want to name a few who made my life possible in a foreign land although it‘s impossible to capture all the influences I might have acquired. Many great well-wishers were there at ZEF but Maximiliano Vila Seoane, Arda Bilgen, Julia Schöneberg, Aline Pereira, Elías Cisneros, Divya Swaminathan, Oyuna Shagdarsuren, Fazlullah Akhter, Helena Cermeño, Ali Mohsin, and Muhammad Usman became a small community of like-minded people who shared my sorrows and joys throughout the way. Moreover, a big thanks to my juniors at ZEF, Poornima, Sneha, Mercy, Amit, Regine, Mohammad, Rabia, Sundus, Lenny, Willis, Galia and Idrisso as well for being such good colleagues all the time. I will always be indebted for their good company and support.

Outside ZEF too, I was blessed with the company of many good people who opened their hearts to me and helped me adjust better to my new environment. Dr. Qaiser Riaz, Abdullah Feroz, Muhammad Zahid were among the Pakistani friends I shared most of my memories with during my stay in Bonn. I thank you all for every moment we spent together. Yet there are two people who went out of their way to help me during my difficult times. Muhammad Awais was very kind to accommodate me in his house and over time we became best friends. There, however, remains another name that influenced me more than others and provided me with great insights in appreciating diversity. It was through constant intellectual interactions with Dr. Zain Khurshid that I saw many new perspectives while I was in Bonn. I thank you Zain for being there throughout my highs and lows. Second to them are Mufassra Naz and Arif Saeed, who are also the doctoral students at Universität Bonn. It was in their company that I found a home away from home. Thank you my dear friends for your support and care. Last but not least are Abid Hussain and Ayesha Hussain, the people I met toward the end of my stay in Bonn, yet learned so

much more about life, literature, and society. Abid bhai became more of a father figure to me and I cherished every moment I had the privilege to spend in his company.

I must add this journey did not start with my departure from Pakistan to Bonn only, as I had few mentors and friends here who helped me achieve this insurmountable task of completing my PhD. The first and foremost thanks goes to my former employers and benefactors, Rafiq Jaffer and his wife Razia Jaffer who always pushed me to go higher and higher in my aspirations. Rafiq Jaffer was not just an employer to me but in him I found a genuine intellectual who always pushes one to one‘s boundaries so that one could achieve one‘s full potential. Without their presence I might not have thought about the process in the first place. I thank you for all you did for me since the day we met eight years ago. Second to him is Dr. Asir Ajmal, my MPhil supervisor, who provided me with the opportunity to work with ZEF during my MPhil years. Dr. Ajmal‘s generosity did not stop there but extended throughout my stay in Bonn. Dr. Ajmal is not only a teacher but a friend, someone I always have confided in and consulted with for everything I had in mind. Had he not been there during my MPhil years, I wonder if I would have ever ended up in ZEF in the first place. Tracing the journey back to its origin, I cannot help but thank Prof. Dr. Hamid Saeed, the towering figure who showed me the true value of knowledge. I moved to Lahore after matriculation and it was through Dr. Saeed‘s guidance that I was able to discover my potential as a student. Thank you sir for being such a great teacher all along! Among friends back at home, Mubarik Hussain Awan deserves a special mention as he had been with me through thick and thin while I was planning my trip. It is absolutely because of his kind support that I was able to deal with a lot of bureaucratic procedures to avail my scholarship. Thank Mubarik for being the great friend you are! Moreover, Abdul Razzaq and Muhammad Anees were always supportive of me to pursue my dream of going to Germany for higher education.

While working on the judicial system of Pakistan, many lawyers helped me during the data collection period but Syed Tayyab Mahmud Jaffery and his associate Manzoor Bhatti require a special mention as they were more than helpful in providing me with the court details and helped me in networking with other lawyers, clients, and judges. Last but not least I owed it to all those great people, the participants, teachers, lawyers, judges, students, litigants, staff members and many others who gave me their time and provided me with the data that I worked around to tell a story, i.e., this dissertation.

Finally, I want to thank Nasir Abbas and Gulshan Parveen, my father and mother for their patience, love, and trust. Without their constant support amidst hard times, I would not have achieved this. I thank you dear *ammi* (mother) and *abbu* (father) for everything. Also my siblings, Ali Arslan, Quratulain, Sidra Batool and Fatima Nasir have been great support. Without you guys it would have never been possible to come all this way. I am blessed to have you all in my life and for all your support that made this dream come true in the end. I would say, like any other journey, I went to places unseen, explored the themes unknown, and delineated the arguments unexpanded with the hope of putting my little drop of contribution in the sea of knowledge and this would not have been possible without the ones I mentioned and others that I may have missed.

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

1. INTRODUCTION

It was late summer of 2002, when I stepped out of small public van at a shabby bus stop and headed for my new venue - a college in Lahore far away from my home, Pattoki. I had recently completed my 10th grade in Pattoki, which is locally called matriculation exams, and was ready for this next phase in higher education. My hopes were high about getting a medical degree somewhere down the road. I was filled with confidence, thinking that I had the adequate skills needed to excel and succeed in my field of study, but it took no time to find myself lost and deficient in many ways. For one, the medium of instruction had changed from Urdu (in high school) to English (in college). All too familiar concepts looked alien in this new academic environment as books, plus the aiding material, soon became obstacles. I was in a fix, completely lost at what to do when I looked around and found students shouting answer after answer to the questions posed by various teachers during lectures. What was happening was completely incomprehensible. The chasm between these two education cultures seemed insurmountable. My bewilderment gave rise to many fundamental questions about the very existence of this system. It was a place where those city boys and girls who had their previous training in English oozed confidence and energy; they used the axes of their better accents and command of the English language to take us down, the ―village dwellers", ―outsiders" who always felt uncomfortable.

It was not only the unfamiliarity of the language that was puzzling, but the diversity and highly unequal treatment in terms of learning practices and teachers‘ perceptions towards students were also among factors affecting students‘ engagements with each other. Additionally, who benefits from this system? Moreover, the overall linguistic landscape changed for me. At home, we spoke Punjabi, whereas in college, we spoke Urdu with teachers while all the learning took place in English. This situation gave rise to many troubling questions; questions that have

remained with me for long. I often wondered what kind of learning happens in such places where we are already unequal in our training and knowledge gap. These questions stayed and I kept mulling over them as I moved further from college to university. When I finally completed Master's studies at Government College University, Lahore, I geared up for selecting my doctorate project. The liberty to choose my own research topic and research questions prompted me to reconsider these deeply held questions. Over the years, I became a "successful" student but there were many around me, from my hometown or college years, who could not make it this far. There were those, when I looked around, who hung lower down on the rope to even my own position; for I found immense variability among students who came from different provinces. I wondered how I could grapple with this problem in order to come up with a scientifically sound study that could look into the dynamics of these linguistic problems that are not restricted to education sector only but are a phenomenon of society overall. This research is an attempt to find answers to language-related problems prevalent in Pakistani society. My experience of shifting between different linguistic systems of education was not an exception but a rule that many other students had to go through. Although I, as an agent, stand at the centre of this experience, in this research I try to embark on a research journey where these language-related problems transcend beyond me.

This research starts by exploring the effects of multilingualism in the everyday practices of members of Pakistani society. When I planned my doctorate studies, it translated into formulating general research themes and subsequent research questions that were then investigated empirically and the results culminated in the form of this dissertation. In particular, the existence of patterns of marginalization, identity construction, and hegemony along linguistic lines in the context of Pakistan is under investigation. Thematically, this research aims to analyse

the sociological processes, psychological effects and political implications that may arise from the distribution of linguistic resources among the diverse ethnic groups that make up one nation called Pakistan. In the following pages of this dissertation, I try to explain language-related problems of Pakistan and relate it to two specific social institutions, i.e., the education and judicial sectors of Pakistan.

According to *Ethnologue*, a linguistic encyclopaedia, there are a total of 73 living languages in Pakistan, out of which Urdu and English are reported as ‗principal languages' (Simon & Fenning, 2017). The population of Pakistan in 2015 was estimated to be 189 million (UNDESA, 2015). Almost half of the total population, 76 million (44%) speak Punjabi, 26 million (15%) speak Pashto, 24 million (14%) speak Sindhi, 18 million (10%) speak Saraiki, 0.6 million (4%) speak Balochi, and the rest of the languages are spoken in small communities located in various parts of Pakistan. In addition, 13 million (8%) are native speakers of Urdu, and around 0.4 million (3-4%) are fluent in English throughout Pakistan (GoP, 2017).

In total, the literacy rate[1] for Pakistan is 60%, with 70% of men, and 49% of women being literate (MoF, 2016). According to UN report (GEM, 2016), Pakistan's education lags 50 years behind world standards with the largest number of children out of schools second only to Liberia, as 5.6 million children are out of primary schools (GEM Report, 2016). Furthermore, it establishes that another staggering 5.5 million children are out of secondary schools (48 % of lower secondary school age children), followed by 10.4 million adolescents out of upper secondary school. According to a UNDP Report, Pakistan is ranked at 150th out of 187 countries on HDI ranking (Human Development Report, 2018).

[1] The criterion to measure literacy rate used by the government of Pakistan is that anyone who can read or write his/her name in any language is considered literate (GoP, 2016).

Against this backdrop, one has to consider the official position of the government of Pakistan; particularly on what is seen as development. The Ministry of Planning, Development, and Reform came up with a comprehensive plan in 2013 when all the stakeholders, i.e., parliamentarians, representatives of political parties, federal ministries, provincial governments, business leaders, international institutions, universities, think tanks, and NGOs, and independent experts, deliberated rigorously to decide what path should be taken for the development of Pakistan. The output of this exercise is consolidated in the form of an aspirational document called Vision 2025 (GoP, 2013). This document envisages placing Pakistan among the 25 top most economies of the world by year 2025 and among the 10 top most economies of the world by 2047, the centennial year for Pakistan. Vision 2025 basically delineates the conceptual framework for national development that includes sound economic planning, good governance and consistency in policy implementation (the details of this plan are presented in chapter 4 for further conceptualization). How does the government of Pakistan want to achieve this goal? One can say that the concerned ministry considers the paradigm of sustainable development. It is, however, the aim of this dissertation to show how close or far the local practices and social realities are from the dream of inclusive development with regards to the language policies and practices.

Given the statistical data shared above, one can see the dearth of human capital and skilled labour in Pakistan due to the dwindling literacy rate. This makes the task of achieving the above mentioned national goals next to impossible. Although, the analysis of any specific development policy is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I nevertheless present the current scenario as far as language policies are concerned. In terms of official policy on language, it seems that the state is still searching for a clear direction. As of now, English is the official

language of Pakistan, of the Constitution, of judicial practices, official business, and it is also the medium of instruction for higher education. Also, although Urdu is the native tongue of only 7 % of the total population, it is designated as the national language of Pakistan, and is used as a lingua franca. It is, therefore, the language of communication, of media outlets, of medium of instruction in public schools, and is widely understood across the country (Rahman, 2002; Mansoor, 2009; Mustafa, 2015).

Almost 70 years since independence, the conundrum of establishing an official language of Pakistan remains far from settled. The Supreme Court of Pakistan ruled in September 2015, that Urdu be adopted as the official language of Pakistan as mandated in the Constitution of Pakistan in 1973 (Haider, 2015). In this verdict, the Supreme Court of Pakistan directed the government to replace English with Urdu as the official language for conducting all official business within three months; however, till today, this directive has yet to be achieved. In light of this verdict, the High Court of Lahore directed the Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC) in February 2017 to conduct the next year's CSS exams in Urdu (Dawn, 2017). The Chief Justice of the High Court of Lahore, however, stalled the implementation of this verdict in response to an appeal presented by the FPSC. The Deputy Attorney who represented the FPSC argued that it was not possible to conduct CSS exams in Urdu in 2018. He explained that there is no syllabus upon which to base the papers and that there are not enough examiners capable of performing the task in Urdu for all 51 CSS subjects, that are as yet available only in English (Sheikh, 2017). One can see, therefore, how contradictory and conflicted language policy in Pakistan has been to date. The ultimate fall-back of this gap between aspiration and practice, and the associated discontents, are at the centre of this research and are investigated further in the following sections.

In order to conduct a systematic research on this topic, the following main research question was undertaken in this study: how and why the choice of a certain language becomes a gate-keeping practice in a certain situation in a multilingual society? This question is then divided in the following sub-questions: How the power relations among different interlocutors are negotiated through language choice in a multilingual society? How and to what extent does this linguistic recognition relate to the overall social structures and hierarchies of the Pakistani society? In a nutshell, this study investigates what it means to be a citizen of a state that is divided in its policy on the question of the official status of various languages.

In order to formulate a rather structured response to these questions, this dissertation consists of 7 chapters. It begins with this chapter, which introduces the phenomenon of multilingualism as it exists, as well as the idea that the ability to know one language better than another can become a status symbol, can empower or disempower, and can also be used as a tool for exploitation and social inequality.

Chapter 2 takes an interdisciplinary approach for understanding the linguistic practices of a multilingual society. It presents the theoretical underpinnings of language-related problems where various theories from the disciplines of linguistics, sociology and psychology are presented as ways of understanding the phenomenon of multilingualism. The chapter shows how language becomes a marker of separation and a symbol for identity construction in a linguistic community. Thus the chapter tries to link the social inequality approach with linguistic codeswitching, thereby establishing a link between social mobility and the role of language in channelling this movement. This chapter starts with presenting a link between multilingualism and development in general and how various researchers perceive it in a postcolonial context. Furthermore, section 2.2 conceptualizes power (Nash, 2009; Janoski, Alford, Hicks & Schwartz,

2005; Lukes, 2004; Nash & Scott, 2008); section 2.2.1 shows how language is linked with power and how the processes of discourse formations affects and are affected by language use. It goes on to explain that language represents culture in a more broader sense (Hall, 2001) and how that culture, and language in particular, can be used as an aspirational capacity (Appadurai, 2013) for upwards social mobility (see section 2.2.3 and 2.2.4). Later on, section 2.3 takes the discussion in the sociological realm. The next section explains Bourdieu‘s theory of practice concepts by unpacking the concepts like habitus, field, capital, and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1991, 1998) in relation to language (Deumert, Leap, Mesthrie, & Swann, 2009; Benzercry, Krause, & Reed, 2017). It offers Bourdieu‘s (1991) sociological critique on classical linguistic models as well. Furthermore, section 2.3.2 briefly delineates the linguistic concepts that are investigated subsequently through empirical evidence in chapter 5 and 6. Lastly, section 2.4 conceptualizes the psychological effects of multilingualism.

The third chapter elaborates the operationalization of the concepts introduced in the previous chapter, the research design of the current research and methodology that was used to conduct the research. It explains which research methods are used, how the data collection process has taken place, what hurdles were faced in the field and how the research scheme was implemented in different research sites. Section 3.1 elaborates what habitus, capital, field and symbolic power means in the context of this particular dissertation. Section 3.2 presents the research design that was used. Why education and judiciary are selected as research sites in the first place, the details of this selection are provided in section 3.2. The next section, section 3.3 explains the sample selection process. In this section, I provide details of the research methods used at two research sites, i.e., the judicial and educational sector of Pakistan. Given that these two institutes are different in terms of access to the participants involved in these institutes, two

different methodologies are used. The data collected from these research sites is mainly of qualitative nature; therefore, field notes, observations, and interview with key stakeholders are the methods implied in both fields by using purposive and snow-ball sampling. Whereas, access to participants in the educational sector was easier in terms of their availability, hence focus group discussion, interviews, classroom observations were also used. In addition, a quantitative survey was administered in the educational sector; the details of the process are explained in section 3.3.1. Section 3.4 shares the ethical concerns. As for the analysis of the data, I used critical discourse analysis approach and benefited for analysing my data, the details of the process of data analysis is provided in section 3.4.

Chapter 4 attempts to present the context for the language policy in Pakistan. Furthermore, section 4.1 traces the emergence of various language policies in South Asian countries. Against this background, the chapter narrows its focus down to the specific language policies in India and Pakistan in section 4.2. Furthermore, this next section, section 4.2.1, talks about the politics of language as it unfolded historically in Pakistan; the education policy development is discussed in section 4.2.1, whereas, the evolution of the judicial policy is presented in section 4.2.2. Furthermore, the political implications of the language policy are discussed in section 4.3. Lastly, section 4.4 attempts to portray the state of the art scenario for other languages of Pakistan. It reviews the literature from a rather socio-historic lens and contextualizes language debates within the social realities of Pakistani society.

After explaining the research design and context of the study in chapters 3 and 4, Chapter 5 presents empirical evidence of using different languages for different purposes from first research site, i.e., the educational sector of Pakistan. This chapter investigates how the central concepts of this research such as habitus, capital, and field guide a certain linguistic practice

within a specific setting. It further shows what perceptions and attitudes the stakeholders of the higher educational institutes have of different languages. Section 5.1 and subsections within it, present various case studies, quotes from focus group discussions and personal interviews that shed more light on the current state of affairs on various dimensions of everyday use of language in the educational sector. Section 5.1.1 elaborates the reproduction of social distinctions through habitus principle as it manifests itself in daily interaction of students with various stakeholders of the education system, such as fellow students, teachers, etc. Building on the previous section, section 5.1.2 show the specific role played by teachers as intermediaries between the students and the education system. It shows how teachers shape, encourage or discourage the use of a certain language within academic setting. Section 5.2 shows how the habitus approach explained in the previous section is linked with other constructs of the dissertation, such as symbolic capital, social mobility and linguistic hierarchy within academic settings. Section 5.3 shows what notions of identities are linked with various languages, such as English, Urdu, and Punjabi. Section 5.4 links the discussion back to history by exploring how students perceive the link between their language practices and colonial history of the state of Pakistan. Section 5.4 summarizes the discussion carried out in this chapter.

Chapter 6 builds on the previous one and explains the differential use of English, Urdu and Punjabi in the judicial sector of Pakistan by using the same theoretical approach, i.e., the habitus, capital and filed. The idea that English, Urdu or Punjabi languages are not only means of communication but also tools of exploitation, empowerment and disempowerment is analysed and discussed with the help of empirical evidence collected at the local courts and the High Court of Lahore. Section 6.1 explains how habitus of a judicial field informs the choice of certain languages within the judicial setting, and section 6.1.1 shows the manifestation of this habitus in

various judicial proceedings. Furthermore, section 6.1.2 presents the role of the intermediaries of the judicial system, i.e., lawyers, in maintaining certain linguistic choices that are guided by the habitus presented in the previous sections. Section 6.2 elaborates how and when people “choose” to switch among various languages based on the hierarchical positions and symbolic capital of various languages. The next section, section 6.3 takes the discussion a step further and explores the question of language and identity in the judicial system. Eventually, section 6.4 provides insights into the promise and delivery of justice system of Pakistan that remains colonial in its architect with relation to the language use. This chapter ends by summarizing the link, in section 6.5, between language and law within the social context of Pakistani society.

As the previous two chapters focus on the diversity that exists within each sector in terms of multilingual practices, its uses and abuse, Chapter 7 instead focuses on the commonalities that are observed across the board. This chapter is aimed at showing the representativeness of the results drawn from both the sectors, and how the common findings of these two sectors represent or diverge from the overall linguistic behaviours of the Pakistani society. This chapter aims at joining the pieces of the findings together in one whole. For example, section 7.1 reviews the habitus and practice approach elaborated in earlier chapter and explain how social context of a particular community, group, field and sub-field guide, direct or inform the choice of a certain language. The next section, section 7.2, shows the patterns of social inclusion and exclusion that are observed within various fields both in the judicial and educational sector of Pakistan. Furthermore, section 7.3 specifically aims to relate multilingualism with its attendant psychological effects on the social agents. The chapter argues that the differential use of English, Urdu and Punjabi in educational institutes and judicial sector shapes and is shaped by the generally prevailing linguistic attitudes and practices in society overall. Lastly, section 7.4

presents insights into the link between language policy and development of a multilingual society like Pakistan. The chapter concludes by suggesting that in order to increase empowerment and equality in society, local languages must be incorporated into the already existing English language system in the educational and judicial sector of Pakistan. It also presents limitations of the current study and suggests further lines of research on problems of multilingualism in countries like Pakistan.

2. CONCEPTUAL UNDERPINNINGS OF LANGUAGE CHOICE IN A MULTILINGUAL ENVIRONMENT

2.1. Multilingualism and Development

Within the framework of development studies, it is customary to consider the development of a country based on its performance against various economic indicators put forward by researchers and practitioners (Mohanty, 2017; Ozolins, 1996; Myers-Scotton, 1993). One might ask why, with regard to the development of a country, it is relevant to discuss language choice in a multilingual society. Though the answer is not linear and causal, I argue that in order to debate social justice effectively, we must examine the complex sociological processes that underlie the development discourses of a country (Tikly, 2016). These processes are responsible for either perpetuating or eliminating the social inequalities that inadvertently exist in any society. One might argue that in order to develop, any society works towards reducing social inequalities that are the result of discrimination based on ethnic, linguistic or cultural identities. This is a goal that is shared (and underpins the efforts made) by the United Nations (UN), while previously working on Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and now on the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

For this research it was decided not to focus the official statements offered by the Government of Pakistan regarding language policy. Instead, this research investigates the link between language and development by examining actual language use, perceptions and attitudes towards English, Urdu and regional languages. It offers a cultural perspective that aims to understand and analyse the significance of language in relation to questions of identity and power relations. For example, Ozolins (1993) maintains that if ethnic relations are tense in a multilingual society, language inadvertently becomes a bone of contention, a space of conflict.

He further asserts that, historically speaking, marked multilingualism has been perceived as a potential obstacle in many low income developing countries (LIDC's) with regard to development. More specifically, he states that ―… the commonly accepted view is indeed that linguistic diversity makes any economic and political development more difficult to achieve: a highly testable proposition, but one that has been assumed rather than perhaps carefully investigated" (Ozolins, 1993, p. 184). In Pakistan it posed a distinct threat as it displayed the potential for conflict over resources and rendered equality difficult to achieve. Many contesting units disagreed over a unifying language policy and related language priorities. Considering these tensions, many postcolonial states decided to opt for a colonial language as a unifier, since it seemed neutral and served as a language that all the federating units could agree upon. For example, Mohanty (2017) explains that English was made the official language in India, as it did not exacerbate ethnic tensions and it also promised global connectivity; however, the question remains whether any language, for that matter, can be neutral.

The problem with language policy lies in the political structures of the post-colonial nation states. Myers-Scotton (1993) argues that the basic problem with language planning, in post-colonial societies, has been instrumentalized by the elite. He asserts that the elite of the newly formed states were successful in planning language policy in a way that they maintained useful contact themselves with former colonial powers and, thus, denied effective social mobility and political access to the masses. This raises the question as to whether this kind of elitist post-colonial activity can account for development. Recent research answers in the negative, as this elitist activity in itself denies the very foundation of social justice.

In order to argue about language policy in low-income developing countries (LIDCs), Tikly (2016) takes into account a social justice approach. He posits two approaches to

understanding language policy. He refers to the first one an instrumental approach and argues that it regards language as contributing towards national development by building human capital, eventually translating into measurable gross national product. This approach has subsequently led to an emphasis on English in many countries, as it promised greater access to international markets, a rather pragmatic goal. This goal is achieved by promoting a global language at the expense of regional languages or mother tongues. I would further argue that the instrumental approach, though pragmatic, is highly problematic and misleading, because a language is far more than a simple means of communication (Breton, 1996). In addition, a language is ―… the expression of a particular speech community, carrying its own experience, vision of the world, system of values, aesthetics and ethics: the treasure accumulated through ages, transmitted and enriched from one generation to the next" (Breton 1996, p. 163-164).

The second approach to understanding language policy put forward by Tikly (2016) is rights-based. The emphasis of any rights-based approach is on inclusive bilingualism, in which the acquisition of both a mother tongue and a global language is supported. More specifically, Tikly argues that ―… rights-based approaches have in common a view of language-in-education policy as contributing to the achievements of linguistic rights and as a means of achieving further rights for disadvantaged and marginalized populations including in the context of the sustainable development goals (SDGs), to sustainable livelihoods" (Tikly, 2016, p. 412).

Moreover, Tikly follows Amartya Sen‘s (2005) capability approach, while arguing for a rights-based approach to language. The capability approach is seen as an alternative towards measuring the social development of a country instead of relying on the economic wealth only. In Sen‘s view, the key enabler for creating capabilities is none other than education. Also, language is considered as an important capability, because a person‘s proficiency in a given

language enables or disables his opportunities in a multilingual context. Tikly states that ―… whilst rights can seek to guarantee legal access to basic goods and services including a good quality education in an appropriate medium of instruction, capability refers to the opportunities that individuals and communities have to convert that access into valued functionings (*sic*)" (Tikly, 2016, p. 414).

Since I want to explore the relation between language and power, Dua (1996) maintains that while language plays a vital role in identity construction, cultural heritage, and shaping social reality, it also plays a crucial role in the redistribution of power and resources in a society. These aspects of language and power distribution are thus investigated, as follows later (section 2.2) by using Foucault�*s (1980) framework of knowledge and power. For investigating the link between language and cultural recognition, I particularly include Appadurai‘s (2013) view of culture as a capacity to aspire, section 2.2.3, and 2.2.4. Later on, I explore how language practices are shaped by the habitus, capital and field approach by Bourdieu (1986, 1990, 1991) in section 2.3. Finally, I explore the link, in section 2.4, between the sociological dimension of reproduction of language practices and the psychological dimension of the symbolic order as put forward by Lacan (Steinmetz, 2006; Bailey, 2009).

2.2. From language to discourse

The linguistic landscape is as diverse and inherently contradictory as it gets. Numerous schools of thoughts produced competing ideas about the nature of the social dimension of language; the structuralist approach (Saussure, 1966; Kurzweil, 1996), the universal grammar approach (Chomsky, 2003), the post-structuralist school of thought that includes thinkers like Foucault, Lacan, Žižek (Deutscher, 2010; Benzecry, Krause, & Reed, 2017), and the constructionist approach (Hall, 1997), to name a few. This all too natural act of producing

utterances in everyday life seems to be a fairly simple and self-sustaining exercise at first glance. But nothing can be farther from truth. A deeper understanding of the debates about the nature, function, and reproduction of speech acts tells us that every single utterance is filled with much more complex, intertwined, and arbitrary relationships (Hasan, 1998). Since a thorough analysis of linguistic debates is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I take into account only the applied linguistics approach; hence before moving further into the social reproduction of social production of various linguistic practices, I hereby present briefly the relation between language and society by using the concepts of power, discourse and knowledge production.

2.2.1. Power conceptualized

Power is a concept that has been discussed in greater lengths in the literature of political sociology (Jansoki, Alford, Hicks & Schwartz, 2005; Nash & Scott, 2008). It is a concept so ubiquitous that it isn‘t only discussed within political sciences or sociology, but has been addressed implicitly or explicitly in various philosophies ranging from Chanakya‘s *Arthashastra*, to Plato‘s *Republic*, to Machiavelli‘s *The Prince.* A thorough analysis of power is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For the sake of brevity, I mention some of the founding conceptions of power in the section below.

According to weber, power is the ―… chance of man or a number of men to realize their own will in a social action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (Weber, 1968, p. 926). This is referred as zero sum conception of power, which means that the gains of one actor are on the expense another actor. Thus, Weber‘s view of power points towards the inevitable conflict as a necessary part of social life. Weber equates power with domination. He defines domination as ―… the probability that a command with a given specific

content will be obeyed by a given group of persons. The existence of domination turns only on the actual presence of one person successfully issuing orders to others" (Weber, 1978, p. 53). Although this is a fairly comprehensive definition, it still falls short of answering the question that who is to say who is dominated and on what basis? This definition is also in conflict with the functionalist view of power by Parson, who defines power as ―the communal capacity to secure or enforce compliance for collective purposes" (Piven and Cloward, 2005, p. 35). According to Parsons, power is a, ―… generalized capacity to secure the performance of binding obligations, when the obligations are legitimized with reference to their bearing on collective goals and where, in the case of recalcitrance, there is a presumption of enforcement by negative sanctions" (Parsons, 1967, p. 297). What both these definitions share though is the intentionality hypothesis, thereby leaving the aspects of unconscious motives behind. The following literature captures this very aspect more closely.

A key contribution on understanding power was made by Steven Lukes (2004) in his influential work, *Power: A Radical View.* Lukes starts by asking the most important phenomenon by posing a pertinent question, i.e., how to think about power theoretically and how to study it empirically. He announces in the beginning that, ―power is most effective when it is least observable" (Lukes, 2004, p. 1). Still the first task for him is to see how power as already been conceptualized, critiqued and further developed by contemporary thinkers. He compares and contrasts the ideas of prominent thinkers who worked within the tradition of political sociology in order to investigate the relations of power and society. Lukes categorizes this literature into three distinctive strands, what he calls three-dimensions of power. He maintains that the one-dimensional view was presented by Dahl (1961) in *Who Governs?* Dahl's view to look at power is to follow a pluralistic approach and look for observable behaviours in a situation of conflict.

He maintains that power can only be analysed by a ―… careful examination of a series of concrete decisions" (Lukes, 2004, p. 17).

Moving further, Lukes presents his second view, which he calls two-dimensional view. Here he builds on the work of two prominent thinkers, Bachrach and Baratz (1970). Both these thinkers maintain that power has two faces and that organization is the mobilization of bias. The strength of Bachrach and Baratz's thesis lies in understanding how power helps/hinders the construction of this bias. Basically, Bachrach and Baratz maintain that there are two ways that power is exerted: one where *A* tries to secure *B's* compliance, and the latter might agree to follow *A's* demands thinking that it might be in his/her best interest; and two where the threat of sanctions is used by *A* to secure *B's* compliance. While Dahl's view of power concentrated on decision-making processes by looking into the concrete observable behaviours, Bachrach and Baratz (1970) factor in the non-decision making processes into the analysis of power. A decision, according to them, is defined as, ―a choice among alternative modes of action" (p. 39), whereas a non-decision is, ―a decision that results in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-makes" (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970, p. 44). Therefore, Bachrach and Baratz's two-dimensional view can be summarized as the one that takes into account not only the decisions made in a certain setting but the processes in which certain decisions are prevented from being taken (Lukes, 2004, p. 25). On a closer examination, it becomes clearer that both the one and two-dimensional view of power actually builds on Weber's definition of power as domination, as in both views the key component of the definition of power is one's probability of exerting his/her will despite the resistance from others.

After explaining both dimensions of power conceptualized by various social thinkers, Lukes presents a rather unique view of his own, which he calls three-dimensional view of power.

Lukes maintains that while power as domination thesis has been fairly studied, appreciated and critiqued, we need to look further into the instances where the dominated acquiesce in the act of their domination. His third dimension view of power is an effort to investigate this dimension of power. Through his third dimension view, Lukes attempts to synthesize an analysis of power that is value-laden, theoretical and empirical at the same time (Lukes, 2004, p. 59). In building his third-dimension view, Lukes takes on many of the existing strands of understanding power, like Scott‘s (1990) thick and thin sense of acquiescence, Foucault‘s view on collection between power and knowledge, and Bourdieu‘s concept of habitus and capital (Lukes, 2004; Dowding, 2006). In a nutshell, Lukes also sees power as domination but not a uni-dimensionally. He rather extends his view and talks about the underlying values that produces and reproduces the relations of power in a certain network. There, he inevitably draws from Foucault but do not subscribe to the Foucaultian trap, ―… where all social relationships are seen in the same relativistic light and where all – dominated and dominant alike – are subject to the same power of structural relations" (Dowding, 2006, p. 136).

So far, I have tried to unpack power by explaining various thinkers, yet somehow power escapes any concrete conceptualization. It is because power is amorphous, pluralistic, multi-centric, and productive, or at least this is how Foucault sees it to say the least (Nash, 2009, p. 21). Although Foucault denied of providing any ‗concrete‘ theory of power, he does provide us with insights that he calls ―analytics of power". According to Foucault, power cannot be studied in isolation but only in the muddy waters of practices that are going on in daily life activities. Jasper puts it as, ―In Foucault‘s ‗capillary model‘, power also produced actions and knowledge, created new kinds of people and new practices (Jasper, 2005, p. 126). Mesthrie maintains that according to Foucault, power cannot be attributed to any specific entity or institution; it is

everywhere, ―… it is not a commodity that can be acquired but exists in all kinds of relations including the political, economic and educational arenas” (Duemert, Leap, Mesthrie & Swann, 2009, p. 314). Thus, Foucault decentres power from a uni-polar model to multi-centric capacity that depends on the way knowledge about power is produced. The following section shows how knowledge production mechanisms establish power.

2.2.2. Foucault decoded: How power relations work in knowledge construction

The focus of this chapter is to conceptualize the social meaning of language, and how it links with discourse formation, and unequal social relations among members of a society. On one end lies a purely linguistic debate (McWhorter, 2014; Deutscher, 2010; Chomsky, 2003; Saussure, 1966), the analysis of which is not the aim of this dissertation. On the other end lies sociological debate, where I present sociological critiques of language and argue that language can be a tool of exploitation (Rahman, 2002; Heller, 2008; Bourdieu, 1991; Hasan, 1998; Tamim, 2014b).

Foucault‘s main body of work is associated with and influenced by ―the linguistic turn” that is also constructionist in its approach (Gutting, 2014; Siddiqui, 2014; White, 1973; Rahman, 2002). However, he moves away from language to a broader realm of discourse, which includes other elements of practice and institutional regulation along with language. Discourse, as a linguistic concept, can be defined as passages of connected writing and speech; however, Foucault gave it a different meaning. For Foucault, discourse is both language *and* practice. In a more subtle way, discourse bridges the gap between what one says (language) and what one does (practice). Discourse influences how ideas are produced, propagated, regulated and conducted by members of a society (Hall, 2001).

According to Fairclough (2001), discourse involves ―… social conditions which can be specified as social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretations” (p. 20). This is achieved because members of a society share what Foucault calls ―*discursive formation*” that refers to shared style and common administrative or political pattern (Foucault, 1980; White, 1973). These discursive formations can only take place in a particular way of thinking or a particular state of knowledge at any given period of time, a phenomenon that Foucault names as *episteme* (Cousins and Hussain, 1984). It further implies that discourse does not only regulate what can be said or done at a particular point of history, but it also shapes what cannot be said or done at a given time. Foucault (1980) argues that discourse constructs a topic, to be discussed meaningfully and talked about reasonably. It influences how and what we think or practice and also, by definition, it further rules out, or restricts other ways of saying, doing, or conducting ourselves. Therefore, discourse performs the task of both knowledge constructions and social inclusion/exclusion, where certain ideas are not supported; certain ways of being are not encouraged as they do not match with the dominant discourse of a certain time (Hall, 2001).

Foucault further argues that whatever meaningful exists only prevails within the boundaries of discourse. He argues that meaning and knowledge is not constructed or produced by language, but by discourse. However, this does not mean that the criticism Foucault receives for stating that nothing exists outside the discourse is fair and true. In fact, Foucault maintains that things might exist out of a discourse but meaningfulness can only be conferred upon them once they are embedded into a discourse (Hall, 1997). As Laclau and Mouffe (1990) explain, ―we use [the term discourse] to emphasize the fact that every social configuration is meaningful” (p. 100). Therefore, knowledge, in Foucault‘s view, can only be produced by specific discourses that are history-bound in their construction. Gutting (2014) maintains that systems of thought and

knowledge (epistemes or discursive practices, respectively) ―are governed by rules, beyond those of grammar and logic, that operate beneath the consciousness of individual subjects and define a system of conceptual possibilities that determines the boundaries of thought in a given domain and period" (2014, p. 6).

Furthermore, Foucault links the conception of knowledge with power. He maintains that power has a hold on the creation of discourses by controlling required resources that end up in constructing respective social realities (White, 1973; Siddiqui, 2014). He explains that knowledge is rather ―… inextricably enmeshed in relations of power because it was always applied to the regulation of social conduct in practice [i.e. to particular ‗bodies'" (Hall, 1992, p. 47). Put simply, what is social and political is always entrapped in the interplay of power and knowledge. As Foucault puts it, ―… there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute, at the same time, power relations" (Foucault, 1977, p. 27).

Once Saussure (1966) declared that it is language not the subject that speaks. Foucault agrees with this interpretation of Saussure, but extends it post-structurally to discourse. For Foucault, it is the discourse not the subject or language that produces knowledge (Foucault, 1980; White, 1973; Thiele, 1986; Kurzweil, 1996). Subjects may produce texts but these outputs are only producible within the limits of the episteme, the discursive formation, and the regime of truth, of a particular society at a given time. This analysis brings the question of the legitimacy of truth, to the fore. For Foucault, truth is always history-bound and power driven in its construction. What is true for a society in one particular time may become false for the same society at another period of time, just because power relations among actors associated with constructing that specific body of knowledge might change over time (Foucault, 1977).

Therefore, Foucault asserts that the study of language shall not confine itself with the construction of meaning, but also look into the power relations that produce a particular meaning. He further elaborates:

> Here I believe one's point of reference should not be to the great model of language (*langue*) and signs, but to that of war and battle. The history which bears and determines us has the form of a war rather than that of a language; relations of power not relations of meaning… (Foucault, 1980, p. 114-115).

In my view, what language does is representation and signification. The task it ascribes itself to is of constructing durable, reliable, shared patterns and practices of interpretation; using signs and symbols where the central idea is to construct meaning. All of this happens in specific contexts of power dynamics that are always reflected and exhibited, thereby represented, through discursive formations (Foucault 1980). What renders a certain discourse dominant at any given point in history is its link with power. The knowledge production driven by discourses is not immune to power relations among the members of a community at any given time. It indicates that language, as a phenomenon of meaning-making cannot be studied in isolation. It can only be studied as a social process that is embedded in the overall culture of a society; hence, in the following section, I explore the link between language, meaning and culture. We shall be cognisant that we learn different ways of interpretation and association, different ways of forming codes through our culture. Codes allow us to communicate our ideas by using our systems of representation (writing, speech, images), and they also assist in deciphering and interpreting the ideas of others using the same language. The formative principle behind these code construction processes was termed habitus by Pierre Bourdieu. Habitus is a generative principle through which we unconsciously internalize ways of being, the know-how of our

cultures (Bourdieu 1984). The following section discusses what a certain language represents in a particular culture and how culture works as a capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2013) in a certain community.

2.2.3. Language as cultural representation

The concept of representation connects meaning and power to culture per se. Stuart Hall argues that ―representation is the process by which members of a culture use language (broadly defined as any system which deploys signs, any signifying system) to produce meaning" (Hall, 1997, p. 61). He uses the word ‗culture' to refer to ―… whatever is distinctive about the ‗way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group", and he further maintains that culture is ―concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings – the ‗giving and taking of meaning' – between the members of a society or group" (Hall, 1997, p.2). The task of meaning-making and meaning-communicating is central to representation; therefore, representation becomes an essential part of the process of meaning production and subsequent exchange among the members of a society.

In doing so, using language to represent the world, we encounter three different approaches of representation. These are *reflective, intentional* and *constructionist* approaches of representation. The first approach simply means that language reflects what lies out there in the world. It forms a mirror image of objects of the outer world on our mind that processes these data to make sense of the images presented and represented through language. The second approach goes further in arguing that language does not simply reflect things of the outer world but that will of the speaker also constitutes meaning of the outer objects; whereas, the third approach, *constructionist* approach, maintains that meaning is constructed in and through

language. During last century, the constructionist approach, took to the centre of relationship between language and culture. This approach can be further divided into two main models, i.e., the *semiotic* model, and the *discursive* model, which were presented and propagated by Ferdinand de Saussure and Michel Foucault, respectively (Hall, 2001).

As the famous saying goes, —dogs bark, but the concept of dog cannot bark or bite”. Here, the concept of dog represents the dog itself but nevertheless makes a classification of its own, an image that is stored in mind that relates with the outer object called dog. Thus, language represents our thoughts and links them with outer objects. However, this process is far from being simplistic because this system of representation does not involve only the objects present in outer world that we can experience with the help of our five senses. Moreover, it also includes the objects we may not be able to experience in the real life but the ones that would nevertheless exist in our imagination, such as a flying white horse that has long feathers. This image does not exist in the real world but we can construct it out of our imagination. To put it differently, Hall (1997) maintains:

> Representation is the production of meaning of the concepts in our minds through language. It is the link between concepts and language which enables us to *refer* to either the ‗real‘ world of objects, people, or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people or events (1997, p. 17).

The nature of relationship between the representative sign and the outer object represented by that sign is only arbitrary. Therefore, Hall asserts, —meaning is *not* in the object or person or thing, nor is it *in* the word. It is we who fix meaning so firmly that, after a while, it comes to seem natural and inevitable” (Hall, 1997, p. 21). What unites our conceptual world with

language system is a *code*. One way to look at culture is through the lens of shared conceptual maps, a shared language system, and shared *codes* that guide, shape, and subsequently delimit our communication but this is not the only way.

2.2.4. Culture as aspirational capacity

Another aspect of culture, is to see it as a ―capacity to aspire" as Appadurai (2013) calls it. He argues that culture is not only a way to relate to past, it is rather a capacity to aspire for the future, especially among the poor who use this capacity as a way to navigate out of their conditions. Appadurai links culture as orientation to future. Traditional view of culture, in his view, is that of ―one or other kind of pastness" that is manifested through keywords like habit, custom, heritage, tradition etc. However, he further extends definition of culture by adding future-dimension to it. To him, a cultural actor is ―. . a person of and from the past, and the economic actor a person of the future" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 180). He agrees with the structuralist interpretation of culture stating that ―cultural coherence is not a matter of individual items but of their relationships, and the related insight that these relations are systematic and generative" (p. 181).

He, however, further elaborates that such systems cannot be taken as containers with fixed boundaries, but only as system with ―leaky" boundaries where ―osmosis and traffic is the norm, not the exception". Therefore, in his views, culture can only be comprehensively defined if it entails three key dimensions: first is ―relationality (between norms, values, beliefs, etc.)". Second key dimension is that of ―dissensus within some framework of consensus (especially in regard to the marginal, the poor, gender relations, and power relations more generally)", and third dimension is of ―weak boundaries (perennially visible in processes of migration, trade and warfare now writ large in globalizing cultural traffic)" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 181-182). Thus

defining culture as a three-aspect concept, he goes on to describe what aspirations are to him. He elaborates that ―aspirations certainly have something to do with wants, preferences, choices, and calculations" (p. 187). But they are never simply individual. Aspirations, according to Appadurai, are rather individual ideas that are nevertheless defined culturally, about the future and a good life. He explains that:

> …aspirations to the good life are part of some sort of system of ideas…that locates them in a larger map of local ideas and beliefs about: life and death, the nature of worldly possessions, the significance of material assets over social relations….. At the same time, aspirations to the good life tend to quickly dissolve into more densely local ideas about marriage, work, leisure, convenience, respectability, friendship, health, and virtue. More narrowly still, these intermediate norms often stay beneath the surface and emerge only as specific wants and choices (Appadurai, 2013, p. 187).

The capacity to aspire relates to one‘s capabilities and resources to acquire the status of a good life. The problem with this capacity is that it is not evenly distributed across all segments of society. It is actually a ―meta-capacity" and the relatively rich and powerful people of a given society have more capacity to aspire, because ―that they have more opportunities to link material goods with more general and generic possibilities and options" (Appadurai, 2013, p. 188). This unequal distribution is more striking because the poor who want to use this capacity end up not having access to resources that could help them realize this capacity. Therefore, in Appadurai‘s work (2013), capacity to aspire is a navigational capacity and ―the more it is exercised, the more its potential for changing the terms of recognition under which the poor must operate" (p. 191). Therefore, he looks at culture not only as a ―sedimented tradition" but also as a ―dialogue between various kinds of aspirations" (p. 195), a navigational strategy at the disposal of social

agents who use it to better negotiate their status, and also to raise their voice in a complex social world.

So far we have seen two aspects of culture; one understands it as a representation of what a certain society is or has been (read pastness of a society), and the other looks at it as a capacity to aspire (read future-orientedness). In both cases, the distribution of cultural goods such as music, films, literature etc., and their symbolic place in the hierarchy of things, is not evenly distributed across various segments, classes, and/or sub-groups of a society. However, it should be made clear that these signifying practices do not exist in a void, but are rather part of sociological processes; language being just one of the social institutions involved in these processes. How do these practices, shared codes, and systems of representation come into being, and how are they perpetuated among the members of a society? The following section provides answers to these questions.

2.3. Habitus: Social reproduction of distinctions

The central stone of Pierre Bourdieu‘s writings (1977, 1984, 1986, 1991) is undoubtedly the construct of habitus that originates from his theory of practice. Bourdieu‘s contribution comes under the term they call ―practice turn” within sociology. This list includes a wider range of thinkers: Wittgenstein, Dreyfus, and Charles Taylor in philosophy; Bourdieu and Giddens in sociology; and Foucault and Loytard within the post-structuralist camp (Certina, Schatzki, & Von Savigny, 2005, p. 10). Before understanding habitus, the central theme of this dissertation, we have to situate it within the theory of practice.

In *The Practice Turn in Contemporary Theory,* practice is defined as ―…. embodied, materially mediated arrays of human activity centrally organized around shared practical

understanding" (Certina, Schatzki, & Von Savigny, 2005, p. 11). Elsewhere, Schatzki asserts that the central theme in establishing the practical understanding rests upon the successful inculcation of shared embodied know-how (Schatzi, 1997). Schatzki defines practice, ―… as spatially-temporally extended manifolds of actions and as the carrying out of actions" (Schatzki, 1997, p. 285). Schatzki equates Bourdieu‗s account of practical logic and Giddens‗ accounts of practice consciousness. In general, the practice theory under these two thinkers tend to present itself in two different stands, i.e., a) one concerned with the organizations of practice, and b) another with the determination of actions. As Schatzki elaborates, practices in Bourdieu‗s account are interwoven dispositions, unwritten rules of the games that are responsible not just for how actions take place, but also for thought, understanding, motivation and perception as well (Schatzki, 2000; Caldwell, 2012). These dispositions are thus combined in one generic notion called habitus. Bourdieu defines disposition as ―… a way of being, a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular a tendency, propensity, or inclination" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 214). Therefore, in Bourdieu‗s theory, habitus (read embodied dispositions) is directly responsible for generating practices, as it provides the agents with the ―practical logic" of things. Bourdieu (1977) provides the inner working of habitus within practice production in the following words:

> In any context, habitus selects actions by producing (a) a definition of the situation of action (which assigns meanings to objects, persons, and events; delineates a probable upcoming future; and prescribes things to do/say and not to do/say) and (b) a definition of the functions of action in that situation (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 142).

The central stone of Pierre Bourdieu‗s writings (1977a, 1984, 1986, 1991) is undoubtedly the construct of habitus. Bourdieu‗s concept of habitus is a useful tool for understanding how social norms and practices are internalised and experienced as ‗natural', even necessary, by

members of a given community (Wacquant, 1993; Tamim, 2014b; Bourdieu, 1984). Habitus serves as the structuring principle according to which social institutions of a given society shape and structure the behaviours and interactions of members of a certain society (Marton, 2008). Bourdieu (1984) explains the nature of what he calls habitus in the following words:

> Habitus is necessity internalized and converted into a disposition that generates meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions; it is a general, transposable disposition which carries out a systematic, universal application—beyond the limits of what has been directly learnt—of the necessity inherent in the learning conditions (Bourdieu, 1984, sp. 170).

This internalized necessity, however, should not lead to infer any kind of determinism. Bourdieu (1990) is very clear that on the one hand, habitus is the ―structuring structure”, the generative principle of a society that is shaping the practices of its members. On the other hand, it is also the ―structured structure”, which means that members of a society structure the given habitus through their experience and history (Bourdieu, 1984). Bourdieu insists that ―. . the objects of knowledge” are constructed, instead of being passively recorded, and that ―the principle of this construction is a system of structured, structuring dispositions, the habitus, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 52). Simply put, habitus means that behaviours of individuals are shaped by the social environment they interact in. At the same time, these individuals are also shaping and (re)producing, through their experience and history, the very institutions and structures they interact with (Mielke, Schetter & Wilde, 2011); hence, habitus conceptualizes the relationship between objective structures and subjective agents. Furthermore, habitus establishes an intelligible and necessary relation between practices and a situation ―. . the meaning of which is

produced by the habitus through categories of perception and appreciation that are themselves produced by an observable social condition" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 101).

Habitus can be seen as individualized history, internalized externality, and embodied practices. Habitus becomes the shared principle for a certain segment of society that works beneath the level of awareness. Bourdieu argues that:

> There is every reason to think that the factors which are most influential in the formation of the habitus are transmitted without passing through language and consciousness, but through suggestions inscribed in the most apparently insignificant aspects of the things, situations and practices of everyday life (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 51).

For many, habitus represents a sense of relatedness that translates into mutual codes that are encoded and decoded by members of the same community. According to Wacquant (1998), habitus designates ―…. the system of durable and transposable *dispositions* through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world. These unconscious schemata are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities" (1998, p. 220-221).

Thus, habitus produces harmonized practices that are foreseeable and intelligible, but nevertheless taken for granted by a certain segment of a society, limited by conditions of its existence and social conditioning. Bourdieu (1990) contends that habitus in this sense makes questions of intention superfluous, not only in matters of production but also in matters of practices. In Bourdieu's (1990) words ―practices of the members of the same group or, in a differentiated society, the same class, are always more and better harmonized than the agents know or wish, …following only his own laws, each nonetheless agrees with the other" (p. 59).

For Bourdieu, habitus has two dimensions, i.e., class habitus and individual habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). He makes a distinction in these two, based on the way agents align themselves in relation to others. For him, class (or group) habitus:

> …is the individual habitus in so far as it expresses or reflects the class (or group), and could be regarded as a subjective but non-individual system of internalized structures, common schemes of perception, conception and action, which are the precondition of all objectification and apperception; and the objective co-ordination of practices (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 60).

Normally this is the definition and interpretation of habitus that we see in mainstream literature on habitus. However, Bourdieu takes it a step further and distinguishes this habitus from yet another construct that he calls individual habitus. He suggests:

> The singular habitus of members of the same class are united in a relationship of homology, that is, of diversity within homogeneity… each individual system of dispositions is a structural variant of the others, expressing the singularity of its position within the class and its trajectory (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 60).

What Bourdieu refers to here is his principle of distinction that works closer to the core of human relations. In Bourdieu's view, diversity among members belonging to the same class (or group) habitus, presupposes shared and harmonized predispositions; however, there still exists distinction that is regarded as personal style, which is ―… never more than a deviation in relation to the style of a period or class…. but also by the difference that makes the manner" (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 60). Bourdieu elsewhere (1998) argues that habitus is the principle of classification, of vision and division, that distinguishes between what is good and bad, between

what is right and wrong, and more importantly, between what is distinguished (sanctioned as legitimate) and vulgar. Furthermore, Bourdieu argues, that these principles of vision and division, of varied differences in practices, are fundamentally organized around the symbolic differences that constitutes a veritable language (Bourdieu, 1998).

Bourdieu equates the structure of a society, of its practices classified as good vs. bad, and especially manners, with those of the linguistic and/or symbolic differences that are, ―…. the set of phonemes of a language or the set of distinctive features and of differential ‗ecarts' that constitute a mythical system, that is, as distinctive signs" (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 9). Here one sees synergy between Bourdieu's distinction principle through habitus and Saussure's insistence of language being a differentiating system that originates in *parole* but functions in its inner workings in *langue* (Saussure, 1966). Deviation principle thus defined has ultimate value for arguing about practices of members belonging to the same class, or members who keep switching between invisible class boundaries. More important are those linguistic switching practices where an individual tries to stamp his/her mark by not identifying himself/herself with one particular linguistic group, but rather try to navigate among different linguistic groups, as the practical logic dictates; hence deviation becomes the norm (Tamim, 2104a). This deviation results in new linguistic varieties that in themselves are deviant forms of a certain set of language rules. In order to see this deviation principle and practical logic at display, we have to see further into what Bourdieu calls ―fields" and how agents manoeuvre among various fields based on the form of ―capital" they possess.

2.3.1. Field, capital and symbolic power

Field theory does not qualify as a theory per se (Abend, 2008) because it shies away from providing a coherent weltanschauung whereby a set of claims or causal relations are established

between concepts. Krause (2017) maintains that, field is:

> … a sensitivity toward a specific pattern of mediation that can be observed in some cases, a pattern whereby actors and practices that are not necessarily situated face-to-face or in the same space, that are not necessarily personally known to each other, share orientations either in agreement or in disagreement about the same stakes" (Krause, 2017, p. 228).

This means that different elements of a phenomenon situated within a certain field manifest a specific pattern, which cannot be explained by any macro-cultural trend or matters of political economy. Field is the concept of hierarchal social space where individuals are positioned in relation to the value of the capitals they possess. According to Bourdieu, each field has its own rules of the game and is autonomous in its working, but all the fields are nevertheless bound by strings of political and economic powers that are dominant in a certain society. In Wacquant's words, ―... a field is, in the first instance, a structured space of positions, a force field that imposes its specific determinations upon all those who enter it" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 221). Bourdieu further argues that:

> The structure of the field, i.e., the unequal distribution of capital, is the source of the specific effects of capital, i.e., the appropriation of profits and the power to impose the laws of functioning of the field most favourable to capital and its reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 246).

Bourdieu suggests that capital is ―... accumulated labour (in its materialized form or its ‗incorporated,' embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or

living labour" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 241). Capital presents itself in three fundamental guises. The first set of capital is of *economic capital* that is directly convertible into money and can be institutionalized as property rights. The second set is that of *cultural capital* which, he proposes, are only convertible into economic capital only under certain conditions, but the ones that are nevertheless institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications, and the third set is of *social capital* that is ―.. made up of social obligations (connections)" and like cultural capital, is only convertible into economic capital on certain conditions, but ―.. may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 243). These various capitals actually represent the social and economic resources that ―.. hold an exchange value in participation for individuals" (Tamim, 2014a, p. 116). For Bourdieu, capital is ―..any resource effective in a given social arena that enables one to appropriate the specific profits arising out of participation and contest in it" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 221). The social desirability of these capitals depends upon the symbolic value allocated to them in a given field.

For the current research, two forms of capital, i.e., cultural and social, are particularly important to be theorized further. Cultural capital basically exists in the embodied state, ―.. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body", or in objectified form as cultural goods, e.g., pictures, goods, dictionaries etc.), or in the institutionalized form as educational credentials. Bourdieu argues ―.. cultural capital can be acquired, to a varying extent, depending on the period, the society, and the social class, in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore, quite unconsciously" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245). Since social conditions of transmission and acquisition are more disguised, therefore, Bourdieu contends, ―.. it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital", i.e., less recognized as capital and more recognized as ―legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 245). This

value allocation is socially constructed and arbitrary in nature, but for the members of a given society, however the ―doxa” that is embedded with issues of power and inequality, generates a system of belief that masks the arbitrariness of the differential relations among capitals as given, natural and common sense (Wacquant, 1993). It is this misrecognition that generates symbolic violence (Tamim, 2014b). The same line of argument is presented by Paulo Freire in his seminal work, *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* Freire (1996) looks at it from the lens of oppression. He defines oppression as ―any situation in which ‗A‘ objectively exploits ‗B‘ o hinders his and her pursuit of self-affirmation as a responsible person is one of oppression”. He further elaborates that such affirmation ―in itself constitutes violence, even when sweetened by false generosity, because it interferes with the individual‘s ontological and historical vocation to be more fully human” (Freire, 1996, p. 37).

On the other hand, Bourdieu argues, that social capital ―is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.248). He further explains that social capital provides credential to an agent that entitles him to belong to a certain group. It is rather the amount of networks an individual may possess in a certain group that would verily determine the volume of his social capital; the more the networks, the higher the amount of social capital possessed by the individual. This conception leads to what Bourdieu calls formation of ―personality cult”, which he explains in the following words:

> … phenomenon such as the ‗personality cult‘ or the identification of parties, trade unions, or movements with their leader are latent in the very logic of representation. Everything combines to cause the signifier to take the place of the signified, the spokesman that of the group he is supposed to express, not least because his distinction, his

> ‗outstandingness‘, his visibility constitute the essential part, if not the essence, of this power, which, being entirely set within the logic of knowledge and acknowledgment, is fundamentally a symbolic power; but also because the representative, the sign, the emblem, may be, and create, the whole reality of groups which receive effective social existence only in and through representation (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252).

Social capital, thus, is a form of capital that softens the institutionalization by allocating titles, that entitles individuals certain privileges who in response then identity themselves in ―collectively-owned capital” (Tamim, 2014b, p. 5). Hence, social capital then also works as gatekeeper for allowing or barring entry of new members within a group. However, this shall not imply a static model, but rather, Bourdieu argues, social capital is in a constant flux where memberships are enacted, maintained and reinforced in exchanges (Bourdieu, 1986). Tamim explains that ―… bridging capital, emerging from networks across different groups and linking social capital, i.e., networks that connect individuals to institutional power might be more instrumental in upward mobility and achieving social equality”, as compared to ―bonding capital, i.e., close bonds of mutual acquaintance among those sharing the same identity” (Tamim, 2014b, p. 6). However, on a larger scale, the reproduction of social capital always takes place in a continuous manner where social exchanges are performed in order to affirm the recognition of a certain group. Although, they may sound mutually exclusive, Bourdieu maintains that convertibility of these forms of capital takes place on regular basis and underlying basis of functioning of these capitals is a two-fold process. Bourdieu explains this idea in the following words:

> The real logic of the functioning of capital, the conversions from one type to another, and the law of conversions which governs them cannot be understood unless two opposing

> but equally partial views are superseded: on the one hand, economism, which, on the grounds that every type of capital is reducible in the last analysis to economic capital, ignores what makes the specific efficacy of the other types of capital, and on the other hand, semiologism (nowadays represented by structuralism, symbolic interactionism, or ethnomethodology), which reduces social exchanges to phenomena of communication and ignores the brutal fact of universal reducibility of economics (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 252-253).

Here once again, Bourdieu refers back to influences, other than economics, that highlight the role of symbolic capital that stands central to Bourdieu‘s works in totality (Wacquant, 1993). In Wacquant‘s words, ―the central thrust and purpose of Pierre Bourdieu‘s work is – and has been since its origin – to ‗bring back‘ the symbolic dimension of domination so as to found a generative anthropology of power in its most diverse manifestation" (Wacquant, 1993, p. 1). Symbolic capital, thus, in Bourdieu‘s theories, becomes the centre around which social processes rotate in various forms, be it cultural or social capital. Bourdieu elaborates that symbolic capital ―that is to say, capital – in whatever form – insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 255).

In relation to symbolic capital, there comes another term to the fore called symbolic violence. It masks what is arbitrary with being natural and common sense. Wacquant defines symbolic violence as ―the imposition of systems of meaning that legitimize and thus solidify structures of inequality – simultaneously point to the social conditions under which these hierarchies can be challenged, transformed, nay (*sic*) overturned" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 217). The

strength of this violence lies in convincing the victims that the disadvantages they face actually stem from their inability to cope with the system. No matter how unjust it is in its mechanics, to the agents it looks natural, all too natural (Lakomski, 1984). In this sense, symbolic violence works as a veil beneath which the unequal power relations are hidden; whereas on the surface it seems completely just and upon merit, hence agents remain under the illusion that they are part of a system that guarantees meritocracy. Elsewhere Bourdieu maintains that ―… every power to exert symbolic violence, i.e., every power which manages to impose meaning… as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its force, adds its own specifically symbolic force to those power relations" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990, p. 4). This dimension of violence, of recognition and misrecognition will be analysed and explored further through empirical evidence in chapters 5 and 6 in the specific fields of education and judiciary. Before that, I want to elaborate more on how I can conceptualize the debates covered so far in relation to the specific multilingual issues. I hereby illustrate which linguistic category I particularly theorized and further investigated for the current research.

2.3.2. Gate-keeping and language choice

What are the rules that govern the act of speaking, both in its abstract sphere of concept formation, and in its practical sphere of speech production? How do people choose to switch from one language to another in a multilingual setting? Where are the boundary lines, the gates that separate one linguistic community from another, and more importantly, how different codes from various languages are used to gain access in linguistic transactions? At first, these questions may sound trivial or even clichéd given that they are universal and general, but they are rather deeply embedded in the overall sociological makeup and everyday linguistic practices of a

multilingual society. The idea whether these multilingual practices make the interlocutors aware of social differences that exist among them remains central to this research.

After addressing the sociological production and reproduction of social structures and discursive formations in the sections above, I hereby want to introduce the phenomenon that was explored extensively in this research, i.e., the phenomenon of codeswitching as a gate-keeping practice, both in linguistic and sociological senses. Atkinson defines code as a ―regulative principle which underlines various message systems, especially curriculum and pedagogy" (Atkinson, 1985, p. 136). Codes, in sociolinguistic sense, refer to Bernstein‘s theory of *elaborated* vs. *restricted* codes, both of which refer to communication systems where the former relates to ―formal language" and the latter to ―public language" (Ammon, 2001). It means that elaborated codes refer to the variety to speech which is readily understandable even by non-members of the group, whereas restricted codes are only understandable by members of a specific group or network to which the interlocutor belongs to (Bernstein, 1964). In other words, these codes act as gates that keep a certain community intact and differentiated from the others. Chambers (2003) puts it in this way:

> … language variation follows a biological instinct concerned with establishing and maintaining a social identity: we must mark ourselves was belonging to the territory, and one of the most convincing markers is by speaking like the people who live there (Chambers, 2003, p. 250).

If codes are shared principles of communication, one cannot divorce out the hierarchy-laden sociological context in which this system of communication takes place. Hence, code theory, according to Bernstein, propagates, imitates, or perpetuates the social inequality, a

strategy that I refer as gate-keeping practice. Bernstein explains:

> There is a social class-regulated unequal distribution of privileging principles of communication, their generative interactional practices, and material base with respect to primary agencies of socialization (e.g. the family) and that social class, indirectly, affects the classification and framing of the elaborated code transmitted by the school so as to facilitate and perpetuate its unequal acquisition. Thus the code theory… draws attention to the relations between macro power relations and micro practices of transmission, acquisition and evaluation and the positioning and oppositioning (*sic*) to which these practices gives rise (Bernstein, 1990, p. 118-119).

In multilingual societies, where more than one language is used in communication, speakers use alternate elements from another language or dialect, say language A, and incorporate them in their own language say language B, because they may not find appropriate words for expression in language B, which results in two phenomena called codeswitching and code-mixing (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). Although in many cases these two terms are used interchangeably and are rather ambiguous to distinguish, researchers (Blom & Gumperz, 2000; Mesthrie, 2001) nevertheless describe them as two categories based on the extent to which the elements of one language are used in another language. Mesthrie (2001) asserts that in codeswitching, the breaks between the codes being switched are ―more or less discernible, e.g., formally, across clauses or sentences”; whereas, in code-mixing the breaks between two codes are ―somewhat blurred, constant switching back and forth within clauses” (p. 443).

Seldom lack of adequate words or phrases, however, is not the only explanation for codeswitching or codemixing practiced by members of multilingual society (Angermeyer, 2010).

It is rather the practical sense of the social situation in which a conversation takes place that guides the flow of such switching. Normally, respective social positioning of the immediate interlocutor, given topic of a particular conversation and also the situation in which the conversation takes place shape, mitigate and direct the flow of codeswitching (Wei, 2000). Based on these indicators, Blom and Gumperz (2000) divide codeswitching in two further categories, i.e., *situational* and *conversational* codeswitching. In situational codeswitching, certain conversational activity prompts the use of a certain language over the others, hence the name conversational codeswitching; whereas, situational codeswitching refers to the form of codeswitching that is not conversation dependent but rather situation dependent in which any conversation takes place (Blom & Gumperz, 2000). For example, in a multilingual situation where a strict hierarchy is in place, people in formal places such as offices use the prescribed language for any conversation, situational codeswitching; whereas the same interlocutors when they come out of a rather structurally oriented official environment, may use another language, probably their mother tongue to argue about the same topic for which they used official language in their work place. Therefore, it becomes clearer that the strict separation of codeswitching that is context-dependent is essentially established by rendering certain topics not fit for discussion in a certain setting; a phenomenon that I refer as gate-keeping practice.

Furthermore, this shall not imply that these two varieties of speech are mutually exclusive and one cannot afford to consider only the binary nature of these categories to explain the highly intertwined, interdependent nature of complex language practices. It is the interchangeable nature of the language interactions, defying the conceptions of being either black or white, that speakers use multiple grey zone varieties of speech (e.g., codeswitching and codemixing), based on the social context in which they participate through their acts of utterances.

Given the ubiquity of codeswitching (read linguistic codeswitching) in daily life practices in multilingual societies, one wonders why such practices exist, and what functions they serve in the society. There have been many perspectives in response to such an inquiry. In their research, Scotton and Ury (1977) looked into the social functions of codeswitching and hypothesized that codeswitching happens because speakers want to redefine the interaction by moving to a different social arena. Scotton and Ury conclude that codeswitching is a response to the interaction as it progresses. It serves two purposes: 1) that it dissociates the interaction from the arena in which it was taking place; 2) that it is an attempt to negotiate a new definition of the interaction the speakers engage themselves in. To further this argument, Heller (1995) contends that codeswitching can be taken as,

> … a means of calling into play specific forms of linguistic and cultural knowledge, forms which conventionally possess certain kinds of value. That value is linked to the extent to which those forms facilitate access to situations where other kinds of symbolic and material resources are distributed, resources which themselves have value based on the prevailing codes of organization of social life in the community [and who controls them] (Heller, 1995, p. 164).

From a rather different perspective of social psychological research, Lowson & Sachdev (2000) studied the attitudes and behaviours of 169 Tunisian university students towards codeswitching. The results revealed that the students' attitude towards codeswitching is predominantly negative; however, this negative attitude did not necessarily translate into negative behaviour towards codeswitching in actual situations. Here empirical evidence concludes that codeswitching was rather employed largely with ―in-group" members (e.g., friends, family and other Tunisians), but less with teachers or members of non-Arab groups.

Hence, in this case, nature of the social settings, formal or informal, defined whether codeswitching would be practiced or not. The choice to shift among different languages is very much defined and maintained according to the social context in which the interaction takes place. The strategy itself can be a marker of social inclusion and exclusion within a specific cultural context. As Heller (1995) argues that ―code-switching can be seen as a means of re-defining conventions of language choice as part of process of re-defining relations of power" (p. 172). In the following section, it is further theorized how the discourses of language use are inculcated and perpetuated within a multilingual society; hence, the discussion follows on the role of education in the social reproduction of distinctions.

2.3.3. Language habitus of multilingual societies and role of education

Through his analysis, Bourdieu (1977) shows how habitus provides us with a practical mastery of different social situations. According to Bourdieu, we interact in different social fields based on unsaid rules of the game, and we orient ourselves according to these rules by employing different forms of capital we possess. This whole interaction between capital and social fields is conditioned by the form of habitus we inhabit (Byrd Clark, 2008), and language plays a central role in this conditioning. Bourdieu very rightly outlines how language habitus relates to the society with the example of class structures. He maintains:

> The language habitus, the generative, unifying principle at the basis of all linguistic practices, e.g. the particularly tense relation to objective tension which underlines petty-bourgeois hyper-correctness, is a dimension of class habitus, i.e., an expression of (synchronically and diachronically defined) position in the social structure (which explains why linguistic dispositions have an immediately visible affinity with dispositions towards child-bearing or taste). The sense of the value of one‘s own

linguistic products (felt for example in the form of an unhappy relation to a disparaged accent) is one of the fundamental dimensions of the sense of class position (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 660).

Any given linguistic interaction is not devoid of power relations among the speakers involved in a conversation, but rather, the whole ―social structure is present in each interaction" (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 67), that takes place between two speakers or two groups. This analysis of social structure, according to Bourdieu, is absent from a linguist‘s view of language and it is this that he wants to address in his critique of the discipline of linguistics. He argues that:

> This is what is ignored by the interactionist perspective, which treats interaction as a closed world, forgetting that what happens between two persons – between an employer and an employee or, in a colonial situation, between a French speaker and an Arabic speaker or, in the post-colonial situation, between two members of the formerly colonized nation, one Arabic-speaking, one French-speaking — derives its particular form from the objective relation between the corresponding languages or usages, that is, between the groups who speak those languages (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 67).

Bourdieu (1991) puts a rather critical stance on the role of language in society and elaborates it with the use of another construct that was mentioned earlier, i.e., capital. He differentiates among different kinds of capital, i.e., economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital as discussed above. Of all the various forms, symbolic capital manifests itself in language. Bourdieu argues that a certain language is ―legitimized" by those in power, thereby, ascribing greater value of symbolic capital to one language as compared to others. The term official language, or legitimate language, or authorized language, or national language can be

defined as “a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions capable of imposing universal recognition of dominant languages” (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 46).

Bourdieu (1977a) elaborates that “the dominant usage is the usage of the dominant class, the one which presupposes appropriation of the means of acquisition which that class monopolizes” (p. 59); thus, the individuals of a society aspire to learn and use the specific legitimate language, in order to ensure upwards social and economic mobility in the linguistic market. This movement is censored, checked and maintained by the educational system; thus, the production of legitimate language in the linguistic market is achieved by structurally inculcating it upon individuals through education, where students are expected to learn it in one way or the other. As I will subsequently demonstrate in chapter 5 with my study site, i.e. educational sector of Pakistan, the official/legitimate language, i.e., English, is promoted, aspired, and reproduced by making it the medium of instruction and examination in higher education institutes. Bourdieu (1977a) explains this inequality eloquently in the following lines:

> ….in formally colonized countries, the future of the language is governed by what happens to the instruments of the reproductions of linguistic capital (e.g. French or Arabic), that is to say, *inter alia,* the school system. The educational system is a crucial object of struggle because it has monopoly over the production of the mass of producers and consumers, and hence over the reproduction of the market, on which the value of linguistic competence depends, in other words its capacity to function as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 652).

Bourdieu further explains that when a certain language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of the other modes of expression, and with them the values of

the various competences, are defined. This domination further translates into empowerment of those who associate themselves with the legitimate language, and vice versa.

Such linguistic preferences also, however, result in social inclusion and exclusion, as well as empowerment and disempowerment, as members of a multilingual society have to negotiate between different identities that are defined and shaped by their habitus and linguistic markets. Bourdieu (1977a) explains the relation between self-concept, language habitus and legitimate market in the following words:

> One‘s initial relation to the language market and the discovery of the value accorded to one‘s linguistic productions, along with the discovery of the value accorded to one‘s body, are doubtless one of the mediations which shape the practical representation of one‘s social person, the self-image which governs the behaviours of sociability (―timidity”, ―poise”, ―self-assurance”, etc.) and, more generally, one‘s whole manner of conducting oneself in the social world (Bourdieu, 1977a, p. 660).

The educational system is believed to be responsible for construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language, which is crucial to the reproduction and the differential valuation of the different dialects or different languages in a multilingual society. However, here I want to emphasize that education alone cannot account for reproduction of social structures, and their inherent inequalities. Nevertheless, Bourdieu‘s analysis of educational institutions is poignant and promising. In the text cited below, he describes the nature of relationship between a school system and a labour market for official and other languages:

> ….doubtless the dialectical relation between the school system and the labour market – between the unification of the educational (and linguistic) market, and the unification of

> the labour market… played the most decisive role in devaluing dialects and establishing the new hierarchy of linguistic practices. To induce the holders of dominated linguistic competences to collaborate in the destruction of their instrument of expression... it was necessary for the school system to be perceived as the principal (indeed, the only) means of access to administrative positions, which were all the more attractive where industrialization was least developed (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 49).

The above discussions, however, should not imply that habitus is an all-empowering construct with no flaws. Bourdieu‘s critique on language as being empty semantics, and word being only a dead entity in the hands of social forces, was heavily challenged by many linguists (Hasan, 1998; Collins, 2000; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2000). For example, Lakomski (1984) points out that while Bourdieu captures the essence of shared meaning in the construct of ―habitus"; he fails to provide details of ―how actors come to construct it in the first place" (p. 157). According to Lakomski (1984), Bourdieu defines habitus only in functional terms, and assumes that behaviours and beliefs of working-class children, that are reproduced as a result of meaning-generating processes, are the meanings originating from the dominant class, therefore, it tends to offer no space for competing basis of legitimacy for alternative, albeit informal meaning-producing processes of working-class (Lakomski, 1984). However, Bourdieu would contest that the latter form, the alternative form, creates yet another layer of habitus, that of the working-class people. He would argue that the working-class may tend to share certain meanings among themselves, the close-group *codes*, which might also be seen as ―restricted codes", as Bernstein would put it (Harker & May, 1993).

Another influential critique of Bourdieu‘s take on the role of language in education was developed by Hasan (1998). She argues that although Bourdieu uses the concepts of linguistic

markets and fields to explain the production and reproduction of the official language. Hasan (1998) argues that Bourdieu ―. . . does not develop these concepts sufficiently with the view of language; for example, how does one linguistic market differ from other, or what if anything has language to do with the specificity of one field as opposed to another" (p. 42).

Hasan further maintains that Bourdieu tends to suggest the positioning and the causal link, as if first the nation, then the standard language, first the market then the linguistic capital suited to that market, first domination then dominating discourse. Hasan argues that this rather static model of social processes is entirely at variance to Bourdieu‘s dynamic perspective in the social sciences. She explains that in language, the details of which are predetermined by the dispositions of the speaker‘s linguistic habitus and his coding orientation, the speaker is first and foremost engaged in acts of meaning-making (Hasan, 1998, p. 52).

In response to Hasan‘s critique, Collins (2000) suggests that although Hasan is right in pointing out problems with the concept of linguistic habitus suggested by Bourdieu, she misses out on one very important construct given by Bourdieu, i.e., capital. Collins argues that Hasan is completely silent on the relationship that exists between habitus and capital in relation to the linguistic market Bourdieu is talking about. Collins proposes that ―habitus is embodied social structure, internalized relations to society, its institutions, arenas, and ruling ideas; capital is potentially objectifiable social and cultural resources, of which knowledge of written text is an excellent example" (Collins, 2000, p. 394).

Although Collins covers succinctly what was missing in Hasan‘s critique, I want to take it a step further and link the constructs of habitus and capital with the construct of field. It is through the interactions within a field that agents possessing different kinds of capitals define

and structure their social positions, access to resources, and social mobility (read empowerment) in their respective social circles. To put it differently, Wacquant explains that ―…as habitus informs practice from within, a field structures action and representation from without: it offers the individual a gamut of possible stances and moves that she can adopt, each with its associated profits, costs, and subsequent potentialities" (Wacquant, 1998, p. 222). As is evident, the social processes in all its manifestation mentioned above are shaping the psychological processes as well; therefore, in the section below, I will try to explain the psychological mechanisms of the social processes associated with language.

2.4. Psychological underpinnings of language

In many ways, Bourdieu‘s analysis of social structures and their relation with individual selves advances the argument of a practical reason that works underneath the surface of consciousness. It remains unconscious to the social agent why he/she performs a certain practice in a given situation. Bourdieu‘s conception of social reality resonates closely with the works of psychologists like Freud or Lacan, yet we find Bourdieu making no explicit reference to any of them. According to Steinmetz (2006), Bourdieu, on the one hand, dismisses psychoanalysis as a credible tool of analysis and regards it as naïve and essentialist, but on the other hand, he also tries to domesticate it by ―accepting its vocabulary while subtly redefining it in a more sociological direction, or else deploying its language in an almost decorative way while avoiding its substantive implications" (Steinmetz, 2006, p. 446). Many key concepts of Bourdieu‘s writings such as field, capital, and habitus are akin to psychological notions presented by Freud or Lacan. Elsewhere Steinmetz (2014) argues that psychoanalysis with all its well-understood and equally misunderstood terminology fits well to analyse the transformation of ―originally *symbiotic* subjects into agents equipped with the desire to compete in social fields – agents who

can sublimate, in Freud‘s phrase, or submit to the demands of the big Other in the field of the Symbolic, in Lacan‘s terminology" (p. 209). In order to understand the relationship between Bourdieu‘s sociology and Lacan‘s psychology, one has to refer to the main concept of symbolic capital, which seems to be similar to Lacan‘s concept of symbolic order. In Bourdieu‘s theory, symbolic capital can perpetuate itself effectively only when it ―succeeds in generating a system of mutual interdependence", one that establishes patterns of recognition among members of a given field (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 211). However, this relation of interdependence that produces, perpetuates, or reproduces relations of recognition can only establish itself if the agents own the social processes willingly even if it is one of inferior status. This search for recognition is described succinctly in the following passage of Bourdieu‘s:

> Absorbed in the love of others, the child can only discover others as such on condition that he discovers himself as a ‗subject‘ for whom there are ‗objects‘ whose particularity is that they can take him as their ‗object‘. In fact, he is continuously led to take the point of view of others on himself, to adopt their point of view so as to discover and evaluate in advance how he will be seen and defined by them. His being is being-perceived, condemned to be defined as it ‗really‘ is by the perceptions of others… symbolic capital enables forms of domination which imply dependence on those who can be dominated by it, since it only exists through the esteem, recognition, belief, credit, confidence of others (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 166).

Through this quote, Bourdieu establishes that the principle of domination that binds the dominated with the dominant is recognized both by the former and the latter. It implies that ―the dominant are granted recognition not just by their elite peers but also by the dominated participants in the field" (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 211). This notion of symbolic capital is closer to

Lacan‘s conception of symbolic order, as both Bourdieu and Lacan assume patterns of recognition and misrecognition as central pillars of symbolic identification (Steinmetz, 2006). For reasons, for which this is not the place to go in depth, Lacan remains a lesser known thinker within mainstream psychological literature. In Lacan, we see an astute thinker whose writings varied drastically and also remained unknown because they were too hard to decipher or too abstract to be understood. Nevertheless, Lacan‘s influence is widely recognized within cultural studies and sociology than initially assumed (Žižek, 2006). In Lacan‘s view, an agent‘s relationship with the symbolic order is inherently a relation of “dependence on the Other, locus of signifiers”. In his writings, “symbolic identification is understood as identification with the place from which we are observed, the location from which we look at ourselves so that we appear to ourselves likeable, worthy of love” (Steinmetz, 2006, p. 453). It is clear how closely this notion of perception formation proposed by Lacan links with Bourdieu‘s conception of internalization, and manifestation of patterns of recognition.

Bourdieu‘s theory of social reproduction, however, proposes the logic of “taste for necessity” as the explanation of the patterns of domination, but one that can inadvertently run the risk of functionalism. His meta-analysis essentially lacks the microcosmic underpinnings that can be accounted for by following the psychoanalytic line of argument (Steinmetz, 2006). Apparently, there exists a difference between Bourdieu‘s concept of recognition and Lacan‘s elaborate account of recognition. According to Lacan, a child is induced into the symbolic order of the society, where he tries to recognize with the father or law of the father in a more dialectical way. Bringing in Freud‘s concept of oedipal structure of personality, Lacan explains that while father (read the law of the father) wants the child to be like him; he, at the same time, wants him to be *different*. This is how Freud explained the relationship between ego and

superego, where oedipal structure makes this recognition fundamentally impossible, because it dictates that one ought to be like one‘s father, but also one may not be like this him.

Furthermore, psychoanalysis offers an explanation for this paradoxical nature of domination. Steinmetz (2014) argues that Lacan‘s theory of symbolic order states that ―the desire for submission emerges in the very genesis of the subject" (Steinmetz, 2014, p. 213). For example, psychoanalysis defines a masochist as one who ―locates enjoyment in the very agency of the law which prohibits the access to enjoyment" (Restivo, 1997, p. 35). This connects very closely with Bourdieu‘s concept of habitus and identification when he argues that ―habitus of necessity operates as a defence mechanism against necessity" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 232-233); thus, Lacan‘s concept of symbolic order serves as the subjective underpinnings of Bourdieu‘s concept of symbolic capital. Hence, Steinmetz (2014) concludes that Bourdieu‘s concepts of habitus, symbolic capital, and field can benefit from interactions with Lacan‘s theories of the imaginary integration of bodily imagery and symbolic recognition and misrecognition.

In order to see why these discussions are important, we must return to the initial question this research envisaged to inquire upon. The psychodynamic concepts of recognition and misrecognition with symbolic order can be applied to multilingual settings whereupon subjects tend to sound like native speakers of a certain language, say English. This desire to be recognized as the worthy speakers originates from willing, yet unconscious, submission to the symbolic order that favours the domination of a particular language, class or sub-group, over others. This results also in misrecognition by the dominated classes of a society what is considered not authentic, e.g., local dialects; that is, languages that are not favoured in a particular symbolic environment. It is this line of enquiry, to see what kind of subjectivities or self-perceptions people have that will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

On the theoretical level, the fundamental notion used in this research is of habitus. Bourdieu's assertion that social practices (read linguistic practices) of the members of a society are structured through the habitus principle that remains unconscious to the members. It is, however, my assertion that Bourdieu's use of word unconscious differs significantly from the history associated with word unconscious in psychological theories. The very idea of unconscious in Bourdieu's term is significantly different from psychological literature. In Bourdieu's view, unconscious processes are embedded with the notion of habitus. He uses word unconscious more in the sense of habit formation, almost like second nature, where the objects do not go through formal conscious processes of cognition. But in psychological literature, unconscious refers to something deeper and grounded than mere habit formation. Here, unconscious refers to the inner working of the psychological processes where notions propagated by the society in terms of rules and regulations are pitched against the demands of the innate drives (Steinmetz, 2006). For example, the innate drive to be loved and to be liked may be unconscious. A person wants to be loved and liked but the standards set by the outer world for having this drive satisfied are far more demanding and complex.

In relation to the current research, it is the mastery of a specific language (English) that makes one likeable to others. The drive calls for need of satisfaction, whereas the conditions do not favour the circumstances when one does not have the needed fluency of a dominant language (English); hence one is left with feeling of dissatisfaction, and anger. One way to respond to such conditions becomes open aggression and opposition, but the practical sense of the things does not favour such choices; hence the second thing becomes the subordination. The presence of the sociological structures, for example in the forms of discourses, happens to convince the agent that it is rather his/her fault if he/she is not able to meet the demands of the linguistic system, a

form of violence that was named as symbolic violence in Bourdieu‘s term or Symbolic Order in Lacan‘s terms. This whole interplay between drive, capacities to aspire for meeting that drive and outer demands then result in more conflicting situations that had been reported earlier in the empirical chapters. Therefore, I see that habitus alone is not a sufficient tool to explain the complex socio-psychological processes taking place in a multilingual society (Nash, 1990). I think more psychological investigations into the working of these sociological processes can help enrich the ongoing debates about the role of language in the construction of self, of varied identities, of the people of a multilingual society (Thomson, 2005).

The next chapter, chapter 3, expounds the operationalization of the constructs presented so far, research design, research methods and data analysis approaches that are used to make sense of the empirical evidence. Subsequently, in chapter 4, I want to present the socio-historic development of multilingualism in the context of Pakistan.

3. OPERATIONALIZTION OF CONCEPTS, RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Before explaining my methodology, I hereby present how I conceptualize the key concepts presented in the previous chapter. I start with the central notion used in this dissertation, i.e., habitus. Habitus for the current study means the combination of the attitudes, perceptions and dispositions that are embodied in the (linguistic) practices of the members of a multilingual society. The key question was to see how linguistic practices are guided by and adapted to the specific social contexts (read fields) one finds oneself in a multilingual setting; an exercise that I propose is a gate-keeping practice. I hereby unpack the concepts theorize in the earlier chapter in the specific context of the current research in the following pages.

3.1. Operationalization of habitus, field, capital and power

Habitus for this research means not only the production of multilingual practices but also the underlying perceptions that generate these practices. As Schatzki maintains that, ―the common structure of fields and habitus is most clearly revealed in Bourdieu‘s analysis of the latter. The first thing to note is that habitus is responsible not just for action, but for thought, understanding, motivation, and perception as well" (Schatzki, 1997, p. 287). It is here that the current study presents a relevant analysis of habitus that underlies certain linguistic practices. Therefore, it is not only the actual linguistic transactions that are observed among the interlocutors, but also the way these transactions are conducted and exchanged as a function of a certain habitus that guides these choices. Put differently, this is also the definition of ―practical

logic", hence this study operationalizes the task of getting the ―feel of the game" by providing instances that address directly the actions performed within a given context.

Since habitus informs the practice from inside, the existing dispositions about language use, the unwritten rules of the game and underlying perceptions of various fields and sub-fields informs about the worldview, die *Weltanschauung*, of the actors involved in linguistic interactions; hence the educational and judicial sector became the point of data collection, the reason for the selection of these two institutes follow in section 3.2. The aim of my research is not to quantify habitus in these sectors. No attempt is made to show the construction of any habitus. The aim nevertheless is to contextualize certain linguistic practices in the socio-cultural nexus and show how the habitus of a certain community, social setting, or a field, informs these practices.

The logic of a field rests upon a set of shared assumptions about the way things are done, about gate-keeping practices. These shared assumptions become tacit and accepted as a second nature, due to their inculcation to the formation of habitus; the structuring principle that shapes practices from within (Bourdieu, 1977). Field theory differs from the rest of the analytical lenses in sociology. It invites us not only to look for actors, their views and practices, but to look deeper into the nature of relationships they are embedded in. But here the question arises if a field is an observable reality like their actors that are situated in a specific field? Martin (2003) partially answers this question in affirmation. In his view, fields are observable only through their effects. Krause (2017) adds to this view another important dimension. According to her, in addition to the effects, the concrete observable settings are vital in providing field analyses. She suggests that, ―... a field, to the extent that it matters in a specific setting, connects different observable social settings via actors' orientation to one another" (Krause, 2017, p. 233).

How does field theory relate to the current study? Once looked closely, one finds that Bourdieu was not only concerned with analyzing the concrete observable settings but also turned his attention toward decoding language in order to unearth the symbolic oppositions that become the basis of differentiation for speakers within a specific structure. As is evident, the current research tries to establish the links between languages, their symbolic positions within linguistic hierarchy, and the overall socio-cultural positions their speakers take in the specific fields of education and judiciary. The macroscopic logic of linguistic field within a multilingual society is analyzed by looking at the specific linguistic practices of speakers of different languages in their subsequent fields and sub-fields. Hence, the gate-keeping practices are observed in real time, in the moment of happening at specific nodes of interaction. But this activity is guided by the specificity of the field in which the linguistic dispositions, attitudes and practices manifest themselves. This research builds on field theory by trying to see how different interlocutors end up choosing one language over others, and that these choices (read practices) are eventually the end result of ever-happening process of transactions that happens within a specific field, with embodied dispositions and negotiations of certain capital.

Field is the arena of hierarchical social space where individuals are positioned in relation to the value of the capitals they possess. According to Bourdieu, each field has its own rules of the game and is autonomous in its working. However, all the fields are nevertheless bound by the strings of political and economic powers that are dominant in a given society. Therefore, in light of this construct, the higher educational institutes and the judicial courts of Pakistan are regarded as specific fields with their own rules of the game. A university as a field cannot be taken as a monolith as it becomes clear in the following pages, but rather it is a compendium of various structures, departments, and actors. I see educational institution as an arena where social

relations manifest themselves, be in terms of power hierarchies, social statuses or attitudes towards different communities and different languages. Various points of observation and data collection were identified within a university. Many different sub-fields, such as classrooms, departments, cafés, and university gardens, etc., made this field. Although education as an institute accounts for a field, yet I do not claim to have studied the ―field” of education. Rather I only claim to have reported social interactions in very specific contexts, such as classroom interactions between teachers and students, between students, and so on. Therefore, I drew my sample from these sub-fields and built the arguments for what happens in the field of education and judicial sector. I visited all these locations in order to make the study representative, and to seek insights into the collective experience of the university, i.e., the habitus. This entails prescribed notions of the legitimate or illegitimate use of English, Urdu, and regional languages in both academic and non-academic interactions. Hence, the knowledge of various languages is used as a ‗capital' of a certain kind, which is implied based on the relevant field of interactions.

Capital presents itself in three fundamental guises. The first set of capital is of economic capital that is directly convertible into money. The second set is that of cultural capital which, he proposes, are those that are institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications. The third set is of *social capital* that is, ―made up of social obligations (connections)” and, ―may be institutionalized in the forms of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu 1986, p. 243). Language in itself is a symbolic capital as it renders a certain kind of privilege, a symbolic privilege, upon the speakers. Yet I do not claim that this dimension of capital exists in itself. It is rather the intricate nature and inter-transcactionality of the various forms of capital that gives the speakers the symbolic power they may have. For example, symbolic power of speaking Punjabi comes with social capital of greater networks at the local level, whereas, symbolic power of speaking English

rather provides one with the cultural capital of being trained into a language that is officially appreciated, sought after, and propagated by the socio-legal institutes. The discourse reproduction is performed in the educational institutes as these institutes play their role in shaping the perceptions of its recipients to choose from a set of languages, whereas the practical manifestation of learning and practicing this capital is seen as it is at work in the judicial sector. Hence it was rather the dialectical nature, both complementary and contradictory, among these two cases that made my study more relevant in order to talk about the power relations among members of a multilingual society.

How do I operationalize power? More importantly, which power literature I find relevant for my study? On the one hand, there is juridico-discursive model that assumes that power is possessed by the state, especially the way it uses law impose order on society (Nash, 2009; Janoski, Alford, Hicks & Schwartz, 2005). It resonates with Weber‘s bureaucratic administration model that rests on domination; the probability of fulfilling one‘s wills against the resistance of others. On the other hand is the Foucault‘s definition that sees power as productive. As Nash suggests, ―Foucault is concerned to analyse power in the details of social practices, at the points at which it produces effects, as a fluid, reversible, and invisible ‗microphysics‘ of power" (Nash, 2009, p. 21). I propose to analyse social practices and the inner working of power at the micro-level, but do not want to fall prey to the reductionist trap, therefore, I do not subscribe to a single perspective. I will instead show how these varied views of power, i.e., power as domination or power as embodied dispositions, are interlinked and produce practices in a seamless manner, under which the inevitable conflict lurks like a shadow.

3.2. Research design

After providing a conceptual framework in chapter 2, I hereby want to share the research design that was used to conduct this research. I also describe how the research scheme was implemented in the different research sites. This section explains the research design that is adapted in the light of the research questions shared before, i.e., why and how language choices in a multilingual society work as gate-keeping practices? Where are the caveats both for exchange and innovation? The following pages show how I approached the research sites methodically in order to answer these questions, the results of which are provided in the subsequent chapters, i.e., chapter 5 and 6.

For finding answer to these questions mentioned above, I selected two case studies for this dissertation, i.e., the higher education institutes and the justice system of Pakistan. The pressing issue was to find the common thread among them when these two sectors differ significantly from each other, both structurally and functionally. The over-arching method of data collection in both these sectors was purposive sampling where I identified various actors, and later on I generated data by using snow-ball sampling in both these cases. I took an ethnographic approach and visited both the university settings and judicial courts on daily basis for field observations. Furthermore, relevant intermediaries were identified for each sector through snow-ball sampling, i.e., teachers in the educational sector and lawyers in the judicial sector. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the recipients of both the sectors by using purposive sampling, i.e., students from the educational sectors and litigants from the judicial sector.

Why was the education sector selected as a research site? The educational system is believed to be responsible for the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official

language, which is crucial to the reproduction and the differential valuation of the different dialects or different languages in a multilingual society (Bourdieu, 1991). However, here I wish to emphasize that education alone cannot account for reproduction of social structures, and their inherent inequalities, hence Bourdieu's analysis of educational institutions is poignant and promising. It nevertheless means that various social indicators such as gender, age, socio-economic status, educational background, ethnicity, location etc., play very important role in shaping the attitudes and perception to choose a particular language in a given setting. In short, the habitus of a field (university settings) shapes the practices of the members and stakeholders of the relevant institutes. For example, students learn the ways of speaking and thinking by participating in university tasks on daily basis. This does not mean that learning about the ways of living and being, or experiencing culture, is synonymous with going to the university. It rather means that the culture of a university environment was observed at length to see how it complements or contradicts the everyday patterns of perceptions and behaviours outside the university, such as in the judicial system.

The university becomes that transition point where students interact with each other, learn the rules of the game, and structure themselves according to the hierarchal positions (read habitus) they find themselves in. It is this social context that lies at the heart of the current research. The varsity then becomes an arena where linguistic practices of choosing one language or the other is embedded in the socio-cultural milieu of the new venues, i.e., classrooms, lectures, examination systems. A university is the junction where the various streams of schooling system of Pakistan, most importantly state run Urdu-medium schools and private English medium schools are combined. This unequal training of linguistic resources (Urdu vs. English mediums) at the school level translates into unequal opportunities for students in the university and

afterwards in the job market. Hence, I operationalize habitus as a set of dispositions that inform linguistic practices, and is layered in three degrees: 1) the socio-cultural habitus students come from, 2) the university habitus which directs them to use a certain language (English) as the official language whereas their daily interaction remains in other languages such as Urdu, Saraiki, Pashto, Balochi, Shina etc., and 3) the anticipated habitus the student aspire to and are being trained for, i.e., the job market. It is for these reasons that I propose the higher educational institutes work as a transition point. In order to examine how habitus influence, we must delve further into what Bourdieu calls field, capital and symbolic power, and how agents manoeuvre among various fields based on the form of ‗capital' they possess to gain his power. I attempt to show the causal relations of habitus, field and practice in these two settings. The aim is to present a description through analytical lens of the existing linguistic practices.

As a university environment is limited in its scope, given that it is only a small portion of the population that too the elite population that can afford to become part of it, the second tier of this research was focused on looking in the society in general, e.g., the judicial system of Pakistan. In order to keep the consistency of the research methodology intact, the research methods applied in the judicial sector were matched with the educational sector as much as was possible. For example, as a classroom qualified within a university as a sub-field where day to day interactions were observed, a judicial court room was identified as a primary point of data collection where the stakeholders, i.e., the litigants, the lawyers, and the judges interacted among themselves in their daily activities.

As is argued in the previous chapters in detail, language as a social institution has its own power dynamics, and the interlocutors of a multilingual society navigate according to the demands of the social settings they find themselves in. However, nowhere else can one see the

direct impact of language use as in the judicial system because it is here that every word, letter, and sentence matters, especially in court proceedings. It is through language that the judicial system exerts its authority, as lawyers and litigants contest over every aspect of the drafting of their applications and subsequent verdicts they receive. Furthermore, given that the official discourse of language use within the judicial system is predominantly different from various languages that are used as lingua franca in different provinces of Pakistan; a further challenge is posed to deal with the official policy and divergent practices of language use in the judicial sector. It is here that one sees the reproduction of the official discourse of using English as the legitimate language in the judicial setting. However, not everyone is familiar with this official language and the lawyers have to present their arguments in a way that is admissible in the court and also comprehensible to the litigants they represent.

Even though both the educational and judicial sectors are service sectors yet they cater to different needs of a society. Students who are the recipients of the educational sector, ultimately become the intermediaries (read gate-keepers) of the other systems, e.g., as lawyers in the judicial system. Hence, students at one point being the recipients actually turn out to be the arbitrators as they are in charge of rendering services to the people in the judicial sector. Judicial sector has a direct link with the educational sector as the work force for the judicial sector comes out of the educational sector, hence it is necessary to see how the language attitudes and practices learnt at the educational institutes do or do not translate into actual practices outside the educational sector, such as in the judicial sector.

The idea behind choosing the educational and judicial sector was not to seek comparative case studies but to show two divergent fields where the main research question applies. Just to reiterate for the sake of connectivity, the main research question of this dissertation is to

investigate how and why the choice of a certain language becomes a gate-keeping practice in a certain situation. It is investigated how general power patterns in the society are negotiated through language in a multilingual society. It is the centrality of these questions that makes both these case studies relevant and related to each other.

The main objective of the research was to see the everyday working of practices, therefore, I relied on using a rather ethnographic method and observed various judicial cases as they appeared during my stay at a specific court room, whereby I participated in a number of court proceedings as an observer, as an attendee which is legally permitted by the law. In certain cases, I was not allowed to be involved even as an attendee either therefore I took help of lawyers who I would accompany to the court rooms where I could observe the cases. Secondly, while it was perfectly possible for me to record the interviews I conducted with the teachers, students, and other participants in the university settings after their due consents; I did not enjoy the same liberty while I was collecting data from the court rooms. First, it was next to impossible to approach the judges for seeking such permission due to the bureaucratic reasons. The habitus of the judicial system, the general practices of secrecy, played its role in making the lawyers and judges suspicious of my research. The first judge that I approached for an interview was apprehensive and remarked that he was afraid that these recordings could be used against him in some form; hence the visible reluctance was present.

Since these two fields have both converging and diverging patterns of practices, the research design used in both these cases was similar as well as different from each other. It is the logic of practice of a certain field that guided me to adapt my research methodology accordingly. For example, while having quantitative surveys (the details follow shortly) filled by students was perfectly possible during my field work at the university campuses, it was highly difficult within

the judicial courts[2]. Given the emergency of the matters that are presented in the judicial courts, the litigants appear for a very short duration of time that ranges from five minutes to half an hour. The nature of the offense, the total time lapse since the first hearing of the case, and the progress of the case are among many other factors that decide the duration that a specific case might get in front of the judge. Under such uncertain circumstances, the quantitative data collection was rather impossible and also irrelevant.

In order to see whether the practices, dispositions and attitudes that one learns at a university rather translate in a work place setting, I turned to the judicial sector. Given that the judicial sector has its own structure, modes operandi, and conceptual framework in which it works, it was not feasible to use the same research methodology here. I was able to draw conclusions on the thematic level from the judicial sector albeit differences in methodology used in both settings. By habitus of a court room, I mean here the immediate manifestation of the sociological code, such as the urban vs. rural setting, a criminal court or a banking court, an illiterate litigant vs. an educated litigant etc. what combines these two cases is the discourse of imposing the official language, i.e., English, by rendering it the only legitimate medium of interaction.

The formality and informality of the environment helped me understand my own positionality, and the response of the participants towards me. In the case of the judicial sector, I started my data collection from Pattoki, my home town, and found people more responsive for two reasons: a) some of them knew me personally through various social connections I had, b) the rather informality of the environment in Pattoki in general helped me connect better with the

[2] It was possible to draw sample from the university setting because the students tend to be available on campus for 4-5 hours a day; whereas the litigants come to judicial courts for a very short period of time. It was easier to track down students due to their availability but not possible to do the same with the litigants. Therefore, it was the different nature of both the fields that compelled me not to use survey method in the judicial sector.

respondents, hence little reluctance was observed. On the other hand, in the High Court of Lahore, both these factors were absent therefore it was hard to enter the ―field", the judicial court rooms, unless I was accompanied by some lawyers who were attending various cases in the High Court of Lahore. These factors show how closely knitted and well-kept the judicial environment is, therefore, I could not move as freely and independently in the judicial sector as I could in the education sector.

3.3. Sample and procedure

This research was designed to use both quantitative and qualitative research methods. I conducted ten-month long fieldwork in the Punjab province of Pakistan. This time was split between the judicial sector and the educational sector of Pakistan. I spent roughly five months in each sector. In the following section, I provide the actual breakdown of time spent in each setting and the activities that I performed in these places.

3.3.1. Data Collection at the Universities

As I previously shared, the focus of this research was to understand the link between language and gate-keeping practices among students. Thus, in order to understand the socio-psychological impacts of multilingualism of university students, two public universities of Punjab were selected; one in Lahore, called Punjab University (PU), and one from another city of Punjab, i.e., University of Sargodha (UOS). The decision to include these two universities in the sample was based on many reasons. First and foremost was the location of these two universities. PU is located in the heart of the Punjab province. It is the largest public university of Punjab. It attracts student from all parts of Punjab province and from other provinces and regions of Pakistan as well. The reason for the popularity of PU is its subsidized tuition fees. Since tuition fees of private universities are higher as compared to public universities, students

from all over Pakistan who cannot afford the expenses of private universities in their regions come to PU; hence the merit and competition in PU is higher than any other university of Punjab. On the other hand, UOS is a smaller university located in another city, i.e., Sargodha. This city is situated in the north-western part of Punjab, around 200 km away from Lahore. It attracts most students from neighbouring villages and cities. I spent three months at PU and two months at UOS.

In both universities, I made field observations in classrooms, outside classes, on the university grounds, and in different areas for social gathering such as cafes, and also conducted focus group discussion (FGDs). Through my classroom observation, I identified students belonging to different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, who were later contacted for in-depth interviews. In addition to field observations, I also conducted focus group discussions; two at PU and one at UOS. The idea behind this purposive and convenient sampling was to see whether the command or lack of command over a certain language, say English, had anything to do with the students' habitus when engaged in group activities with other fellow students. These interviews and focus group discussions contained questions regarding students' command over different languages and the effects of these languages on their possible career prospects. The reason behind this strategy was to take an insider's perspective on how students perceive themselves capable or incapable of meeting the requirements of the job market they will subsequently engage in. Furthermore, this data was triangulated by conducting interviews with teachers from different departments.

The major hurdle in working at these universities was in seeking official permission at three levels for collecting data. At PU, it took me one month to get the official permission. It was a lengthy bureaucratic process, where I firstly had to get permission from the Vice Chancellor

office, then from the head of respective department, and then from the concerned teachers of the classes that I observed in the end. After one month of consistent effort, I managed to get permission from the Vice Chancellor of PU. The next step was to take permission from the head of various departments. Many of the heads of departments did not entertain my application. With those who gave me permission, I was supposed to secure the permissions of the specific teachers. Many of their teachers were reluctant to let me sit in their classes for making classroom observations. Eventually, I got permission from heads of the Philosophy Department, Psychology Department, English Department, and Sociology Department at PU. I had to go through the same procedure at UOS. This three-layered clearance at UOS gave me access to the following departments: Sociology, Psychology, Education, Economics, and English. Therefore, the selection of the departments was not done by design but by convenience. Within each faculty, I was approved by certain heads of the departments to visit their department. Within each department, only few teachers allowed me to visit me their classrooms. Application forms for seeking permissions from both the universities are attached in appendix B and C.

In addition to this qualitative data, I also conducted a quantitative survey for collecting views of students regarding use of various languages in daily life. The survey questionnaire was designed in Urdu (English translation is attached in appendix D); in total, 250 students from various departments of both the universities agreed to fill out the questionnaire. To begin with, some demographic information of the sample is provided in Table 1 that shows the overall distribution of students in both universities in terms of gender.

Table 1: Gender Distribution of students from PU and UOS

		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
	Punjab University	39	86	125
	University of Sargodha	31	94	125
Total		70	180	250[3]

The significantly higher number of female students in the sample is a result of the fact that students from departments of English, sociology and psychology participated in the survey. Ordinarily, the number of male students in subjects such as engineering, mathematics, and natural sciences are far higher than the number of female students, as these subjects are perceived as more _suitable' for men. In contrast, the number of women in the humanities and the social sciences, e.g., in English, sociology, and psychology (in this survey), is higher. These unsaid gender norms guide the choice of professions for students. The majority of the students hail from various villages and cities across Punjab, but some also come from other parts of Pakistan. The data revealed that half of the participants received their secondary education in Urdu medium schools whereas the other half in the sample attended English medium schools, see Table 2.

Table 2: Secondary Education background of students in PU and UOS

		Medium		Total
		Urdu medium	English medium	
	Punjab University	66	46	112
	University of Sargodha	62	40	102
Total		128	86	214[4]

[3] The total number of participants in the survey was 256. The total number of responses varies for every question and is based on the number of participants out of 256 who chose to answer a particular question.

In terms of regional background, the number of students from the major cities of Punjab is higher as compared to the number of students from rural areas of the province. Out of 256 participants, 181 (70%) declared ―a city” as their place of origin; whereas, 69 participants (27%) mentioned a ―village” as their location. This distribution speaks of the unequal accessibility of the larger, more prestigious universities to the population in general, as most Pakistani live in rural areas. Moreover, the distribution of students originating in cities and villages varies in both universities. PU is located centrally in Lahore, Punjab's capital, and students from all other major cities of the country travel there to study. However, UOS is situated in a town much smaller than Lahore; hence it attracts more students from the neighbouring rural areas. Consequently, there is a noticeably higher number of students from rural areas enrolled at UOS, as compared to PU.

Regarding the gender dimension of the students who took the survey, the number of female students residing in cities was far higher - 140 out of 180 - than those living in villages, only 39 out of 180. The foremost reason for this difference lies in patriarchal, religiously-motivated and cultural notions on female education, as well as general accessibility of educational institutes in cities and villages. Normally women from rural areas are barred by elders from going to larger institutes for educational purposes (Lodhi, 2013). This, however, is a phenomenon that is evolving as a result of urbanisation, evidenced by the higher a greater number of female students, hailing from cities (Mansoor, 2009), the details on the underlying causes of social mobility are further elaborated in section 5.3.

[4] Out of 256, 214 students chose to disclose their medium of instruction; the rest did not report the medium of instruction in the schools that they attended.

3.3.2. Data Collection at the judicial courts

The data collection process started in May, 2013 when I visited the judicial magistrate courts and civil courts located at the *tehsils*[5] of Pattoki, Chūniya[6], Depalpur, and Lahore. The courts of judicial magistrate and civil judges of class I, II and III are the primary avenues of engagement for an ordinary citizen living in any part of the country, located at the tehsil level. The reason that data collection started from Pattoki has to do with my own positionality. Since Pattoki is my native town, I completed my early education in this city. Using snow-ball sampling, I started working with a local lawyer who is one of the two prominent lawyers in this tehsil. With time, through social networking, I expanded my research to Chūniya and Depalpur[7], two neighbouring tehsils.

I must also add that it was my first experience with the judicial system of Pakistan; hence it took me three months to collect data – consisting of court room observations and interviews with various stakeholders of the judicial system – at the lower courts as compared to the two months period that was originally planned for this site. In order to capture the diversity of judicial experiences of various courts, going up the ladder, I went to the High Courts of Lahore and spent two months there in different courts, including the criminal, civil, and banking courts

[5] Administratively speaking, tehsil is a sub-unit of a district. A district comprises various tehsils, and a tehsil consists of various cities, towns and villages. For judicial purposes, tehsil becomes the basic unit of administration where the disputes are addressed and resolved (Siddique, 2014).

[6] Chūniya is around 14 kilometres away from Pattoki, the city where I spent most of my time collecting data. It is also a tehsil of the same district, i.e., Kasur, as is Pattoki. Although both are tehsils, Pattoki is well connected with other cities as it is located on Grand Trunk Road, called GT Road, which serves as main road to connect many cities in central Punjab, and Pattoki is located on the road. Whereas, Chūniya is a tehsil that is remote and not as well connected as Pattoki, hence it has smaller commerce market as compared to Pattoki, and is more rural in its outlook.

[7] Geographically speaking, Depalpur is located around 140 kilometres away in the southwest of Lahore, the capital of Punjab province. It is a tehsil located in the Okara District of the Punjab. Being one of the ancient cities of the region, around 2000 years old, Depalpur has been destroyed and rebuilt many times in this duration (Tehsil Municipal Authority Depalpur, 2015). There are few landlord families, residing in this region, who own vast fields of land, which they either use themselves, or sublet to other small farmers on contracts for agricultural activities. Since these landlords are rich and influential feudal lords, this is also one of the critical regions for law and order situation. These landlords hold both formal and informal influence on the population of the city and also on the state owned institutions like police station and courts. It is against this background that we can understand the case that I observed in the police station of Depalpur.

located within the boundaries of the High Court of Lahore. I observed cases presented at these courts during my time of field work. I also interviewed lawyers and litigants, in order to include the perspective of all the stakeholders involved in the judicial system.

I made field observations in these courts where I attended several court proceedings. This helped me to identify on-spot interactions, happening between lawyers and judges, lawyers and clients, and clients and judges. By doing purposive sampling, I was able to focus on those cases where language, in the form of verdicts and verbal interactions, directly influenced the recipients. The cases were civil and criminal in nature. Having identified these cases, I conducted semi-structured and in-depth interviews, wherever possible, with the people who were involved in these cases. The interview protocols for these semi-structures interviews are provided in appendix E and F.

Likewise, I observed court proceedings at the High court of Lahore for a time span of two months. The idea behind this sampling was to compare the dynamics of language interactions taking place in the lower courts of magistrate/session with those practiced in the High Court of Lahore. The languages used in court proceedings were supposed to be the same as per the requirement of the legal system of Pakistan. I investigated whether the local practices were the same or if there was any difference in these two settings. Therefore, the primary source of my data on the judicial sector consisted of field observation, field notes and the informal interactions I had with different stakeholders. I also spent ample time in the premises of various courts, outside court rooms, and in the lawyers' chambers, taking field notes related to different court cases.

Additionally, I also interviewed lawyers and advocates as my sample, as they were the mediating link between the clients and the legal system. It is noteworthy how these lawyers also serve the purpose of interpreters, as the clients did not know what was being said in court rooms because the majority of them were illiterate; therefore, participant observation of lawyer's chambers was also part of my study as it is the arena where lawyers tended to exercise their support and/or exploitation over their clients. A third layer was those of magistrates or judges. In order to have a view of the whole picture, I wanted to conduct semi-structured interviews with magistrates or judges. However, this did not go as planned. It was very hard to get access to judges due to bureaucratic reasons. Nevertheless, I was able to interview two judges, one male additional judge and one female magistrate practicing at the judicial courts of Pattoki. It enabled me to see how they perceive and interpret the very process in which they were engaged, and what views they held on the use of different languages related to their institute. In order to establish a gender perspective, I also identified female lawyers, magistrates and judges. This helped me understand better the gender dynamics of language preferences and court proceedings.

3.4. Ethical Considerations

In order to take ethical considerations into account, all the interviews, focus group discussions, formal and informal talks were recorded only after seeking the informed consent from the participants. Upon receiving consents, I made recordings that were later transcribed and analysed qualitatively by using Atlas.ti. As I visited court room proceedings, the recordings of court room proceedings were officially prohibited; therefore, I relied only on taking field notes. Since, I made field observations in different university settings and outside class rooms, I could not take direct consent from the participants being observed, hence I did not record these sessions.

All the recorded interviews were transcribed in addition to the transcription of the field notes. Almost all the conversations took place in Urdu within university settings; whereas, Punjabi was predominantly used in the lower courts. I transcribed the data in the original languages; however, the coding of the data was done in English. After initial coding, the data was analysed for any emerging patterns of language use across different layers of the judicial system and also across the universities. Various themes, both similar and different, emerged from this data that was analysed further for coming up with varied categories that are discussed in chapter 5, 6 and 7.

3.5. Data Analysis

The field notes made in court room proceedings at various courts and the semi-structured interviews conducted with lawyers, judges and clients were transcribed for critical discourse analysis. These data were complimented with participant observations, field notes, and journals that were kept on a daily basis by visiting court room proceedings, both in magistrate/session courts and the High Court of Lahore, over the period of five months.

Similarly, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with students and teachers were recorded, where possible, and were transcribed for critical discourse analysis. Class room observations, field notes from on-spot observations at different places in the universities and participant observation data, complemented the recorded and transcribed data. In addition, the quantitative data of the survey questionnaires was transcribed and analysed in SPSS.

For the qualitative data, Atlas ti was used for data coding. After coding, the data was analysed for themes that emerged, and finally common categories were identified for critical discourse analysis. CDA was selected out of a pool of other available options such as grounded

theory or content analysis. I did not go for grounded theory and content analysis as it did not justify the purpose of my analysis. Both of these approaches rely heavily on the written text that is present in the form of official documents or transcribed interviews; whereas my data was primarily based on filed observations and comprised social contextualization more than the text itself. Therefore, I could not analyse this data set by using a data analysis tool that is limited in its scope (Creswell, 2013). I analysed my data through the lens of critical discourse analysis (CDA), that is defined by Van Dijk (2015) as a ―discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimised, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2015, p. 466). As CDA considers both talk and text and puts more emphasis on analysing the interlinkages between power and social inequalities that are institutionalised and reproduced in a specific context, it came closer to the aim of this research. For example, I included the social surroundings into my analysis and factors like age, gender, socio-economic status, educational background, ethnicity, etc., all were analysed in meticulous details in order to make sense of the exact social processes that guided the linguistic choices that happened in specific interactions both at the judicial courts and in the universities, presented in chapter 5 and 6. One of the major concerns was use of languages as it happened in the field. Many respondents in the judicial sector used Punjabi or Urdu, and those in the universities used Urdu and English. All the quotes, opinions, and views presented in the later chapters are the translations that were done by me. In this way, I used CDA to make sense of my own positionality within this exercise by trying to capture the nuances that were manifested in the linguistic choices the participants made or reported in a specific conversation. Therefore, many of the quotes shared in the later chapters, ch. 5 and 6, contain the original utterance in the language in which it was presented.

PART II: BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

4. BACKGROUND AND FRAMING OF LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF PAKISTAN

This chapter aims to provide the overall sociolinguistic situation of various countries of South Asia in section 4.1. The next section then provides the details of how India and Pakistan, two nations that came into being as a result of partition in 1947, followed different approaches, owing to the socio-linguistic dynamics of its populace in sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3. Furthermore, section 4.2 shows the political contentions that unfolded historically in the context of Pakistan. Section 4.2.1 shows the specific case of Punjabi language because Punjabi language is among the ones directly associated with the research design of this research. Lastly, section 4.3 offers an overall picture about the language shift and status of many other minor languages present in Pakistan.

4.1. Sociolinguistic dynamics of South Asia

The region that we know of as South Asia today, including Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, etc., consists of many languages that co-existed with each other without going through any major linguistic conflict. This co-existence posed a puzzle to the colonial powers that tended to think that “a monistic approach to language policy was the only way to survive in the modern world” (Schiffman, 2016, p. 646). Schiffman further asserted that this equation changed drastically after the colonial intervention and the narratives of multilingualism and linguistic tolerance faded away gradually in the wake of independence of the subcontinent form the British Raj, when ethnolinguistic conflicts rather became the norm (Rahman, 2002; Jalal, 2014). In the aftermath of partition of India, Pakistan, a homeland for Muslims who were a minority in united India, opted for Urdu as the national language because it enshrined the Muslim identity in the popular imagination. In the like manner, the Tamil-Sinhala conflicts also

presented a religious dichotomy, since the Sinhalese were mostly Buddhist and the Tamils were Hindu, Christian or Muslim (Schiffman, 2016, p. 646).

When we turn to other South Asian countries, a mixed picture emerges. Starting with Bangladesh, one could see that the linguistic history of Bangladesh is intertwined with the history of undivided India, i.e., before 1947. One salient feature about Bangladesh is that English established its base in Calcutta much earlier than in the rest of India, yet Bengali remained a well-established language because it contained its own rich literature (Rahman, 2002). Historically speaking, Bangladesh went through three partitions, one in 1905 when the then state of Bengal was divided in two provinces, i.e., West-Bengal being Hindu dominant region while East-Bengal was Muslim dominant. The second partition happened when the province of East Bengal ceded to Pakistan. Thus, this newly formed state of East-Pakistan saw the first language dispute after 1947 when the founding father of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, declared in Dacca in 1948 that the "state" language would be Urdu, not Bangla (details on this move follow in the next section. This move was met with great dissatisfaction by the Bangla people, and thus a movement for the linguistic rights of Bangla people to have Bangla as the state language finally translated into an independence movement that got its objective achieved in 1971 when Bangladesh came into being as a separate state (Hasan, 2004; Jalal, 2014). After the independence, Bangladesh declared Bengali the state language as 98% of the population of Bangladesh speaks Bangla (Schiffman, 2016, p. 654). Imam, however, notes that "the national elite continue to invest privately, as it always has, in English language and culture and Bangla-medium education threatens to signify not only lower cultural status but global incompetence" (Imam, 2005, p. 474). Schiffman concludes by stating that:

> This statement [made by Imam, 2005] in some ways summarizes the language policy situation for all of the nations of South Asia, where English-medium education and its benefits continue to be preferred by elites, and even non-elites strive to claim it, rather than languish in "ghettoized" non-English medium schools. But one of the results of this dominance is a lack of curriculum materials in Bengali. This means that higher education has to continue in the medium of English, limits access to it by Bengali-medium graduates, and deepens the social divide between those who can access it and those who cannot. this is of course a problem in the rest of the subcontinent as well, and attempts to deal with the lack of higher education in local languages have mostly led to failure (Schiffman, 2016, p. 654).

Schiffman's (2016) concluding remarks on the situation in Bangladesh bears strong resemblance with the situation in Pakistan where students of Urdu-medium backgrounds face the similar challenges of access against their English-medium graduate counterparts, more on this theme follows in the next chapter. Since this theme is directly linked to my research question and research sites, i.e., higher education sector of Pakistan, the next chapter explains in detail how these linguistic divides unfold explicitly in the higher education environment in the universities in Pakistan.

Returning back to the South Asian countries, another important example of language policy is the case of Sri Lanka. This is of particular importance for the fact that the government's move to push Sinhala as the official language came at the expense of other languages that generated controversy. This happened especially to favor Sinhala by denying linguistic rights to the Tamil speaking population as this segment was seen to be favored by the British (Canagarajah, 2005; Coperahewa, 2009). Eventually, such refusal resulted in ethnic riots in 1983

that led to civil war in Sri Lanka. The matter was solved in 1988 when Tamil was also given the status of the official language by introducing the 13th amendment to the constitution (Coperahewa, 2009, p. 121). As happened in the case of Bangladesh, the move was too late to appease the social tensions between the stakeholders because the policy on paper did not translate into concrete application on ground, and the question of language-based identity remain far from resolved.

4.1.1. Language policy in India

Since the account of language policy of Pakistan is dealt with in detail in the following section, it is important to mention the language policy in India as both India and Pakistan gained independence from the British and inherited the same ethno-linguistic diversity. Although the diversity in the populace was much larger in India as compared to Pakistan; both the countries followed varied trajectories for dealing with these diverse, multicultural, multilingual polities. The discussion on the issue of the official language of a post-independent India started within the Congress Party of India as early as 1920s and 1930 and the party decided to use Hindustani as the official language of independent India, a move that was forcefully resisted by other Indian language groups (Rai, 2002). The tensions simmered even within the camp of supporters of Hindustani; one group predominantly supported Hindi-version of Hindustani that is Sanskrtized form of the language, whereas the other group, mainly supporters of Urdu, supported a Persianized form of their language to be used as the official language, but Gandhi wanted to use a ―neutral" variety, which was neither Urdu not Hindi. This approach, however, failed as both the camps failed to reach an agreement (Rai, 2002, p. 76). Gandhi‘s decision to choose Hindustani stemmed out his motivation to unite India in an indigenous common official language, therefore India‘s constitution emphasized that in an independent India ―Hindi would

eventually become the official language for all-Union business, supplanting English" (Laitin, 1989, p. 418).

This objective was not achieved in the aftermath of independence when the first constitution was drafted in 1950. English was rendered as the official language and it took another fifteen years to replace English with Hindi (Schiffman, 2016, p. 650). When the issue was finally addressed, the non-Hindi speakers, especially Tamil and Telugu speakers in the South, retaliated furiously against Hindi, and after long deliberations a compromise was reached in 1968, which is known as the Three-Language Formula (TLF). This meant that the citizens of India were expected to learn three languages: a) their mother tongue in the state or the regional language, b) English or Hindi, and c) a modern language or European language (Rahman, 2002, p. 248). Though this arrangement provides a candid solution to accommodate the ethno-linguistic diversity of a specific Indian state, it nevertheless ends up not protecting the rights of even smaller linguistic groups of a certain community, within a specific state (Schiffman, 2016, p. 651).

4.2. Historical development of language policy in Pakistan

The government of Pakistan, however, followed a different path for dealing with the linguistic diversity of the population that were included in the state boundaries. In order to understand the complexity of linguistic diversity in Pakistan, one needs to trace historical trajectory back to the inception of the state of Pakistan. It is argued in the official doctrine that Pakistan came into being to protect the rights of the majority of Muslims of pre-partitioned India (Alavi, 2002). Once the state of Pakistan was established in 1947, the leaders were divided on which model of governance should be followed. It remains unresolved as to whether Pakistan is

a religious state or a liberal and democratic state (Jalal, 2014). In order to forge a national identity, Urdu was made the national language of the state, a move that fired back tragically later on (Oldenburg, 1985; Rahman, 2000). In pre-partition India, Urdu came to be regarded as the language of Muslims, owing to its connection with the Mughal regime. Although the official language in the Mughal Empire was Persian, Urdu became not only a lingua franca, but the language of literature, poetry, and music (Rahman, 2011).

Before the British conquest, many of the princely states of India were governed by Muslim rulers and Persian was used as the official language due to the link with the Mughal Empire. When the British took over, they, however, replaced Persian with Persianized Hindustani commonly known as Urdu, to deal with the state affairs until it was later on replaced by English (Mustafa, 2015). Since the political demand for an independent Pakistan was predicated on the notion of a homeland for Muslims living in India, Urdu was upheld as the glue that could hold the diverse Muslim polity together. However, it became clear with the passage of time that the diverse local population of various provinces of Pakistan rebelled against this oppression; the promise that Urdu held as a unifying cultural force, underlying the national spirit of Pakistan, remains undelivered. In terms of national policy on language, it seems that the state is still searching for a clear direction. As of now, English is the official language of Pakistan, of the Constitution, of judicial practices, official business, and it is also the medium of instruction for higher education. In addition, although Urdu is the native tongue of just 7% of the total population, it is the designated national language, and is used as a lingua franca for inter-provincial communication. It is, therefore, the language of interaction, of media outlets, and is widely understood across the country (Rahman, 2002).

At the time of independence, English was adopted as the official language by the states of India and Pakistan as both the countries inherited bureaucratic apparatuses that had adopted English as the working language under British rule (Rahman, 2009). Hamza Alavi emphasises that a post-colonial state is, ―not the instrument of a single class" but rather mediates competing interests of three propertied classes, namely, ―the metropolitan bourgeoisies, the indigenous bourgeoisie and the landed class" (Alavi, 1972, p. 62). He asserts that the military-bureaucratic oligarchies, ‗the apparatus of the state', assume a rather independent economic role. He maintains that ―the state in a post-colonial society directly appropriates a very large part of the economic surplus and deploys it in bureaucratically directed economic activity in the name of promoting economic development" (Alavi, 1972, p. 62). The relationship between three propertied classes mentioned above and the military-bureaucratic oligarchies is both ambivalent and complementary. It is important to note that both military and bureaucracy were taken as instruments of colonial power, as their sole purpose was ―to subordinate the various native classes and to repress the nationalist movement on behalf of the colonial master" (Alavi, 1972, p. 64). This colonial distribution of power continued in the post-colonial situation of Pakistan as well. Under these conditions, it was easier to adopt English for the purpose of efficiency (Jalal, 2014). The reason for maintaining English as the official language owes much to the patronage that English receives from the ruling elite of the country in the name of modernization, efficiency, and globalization (Rahman, 2002). English was not replaced as required by the law as it restricts access to higher power echelons to the few. Maintaining this status quo is assured as the majority of the population in the country do not possess good communication skills in English (Siddiqui, 2010; Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013).

4.2.1. Education system and language policy

The roots of linguistic supremacy of English over other languages in the Pakistani context are embedded in the discriminatory education system. The majority of the school-going population across the country are enrolled in public sector schools. All of these provide education to their students using Urdu as the medium of instruction; hence they are referred to as Urdu medium schools. Private schools claim to use English as the medium of instruction; hence they are referred to as English medium schools[8] (Rahman, 2004). This situation, however, is not limited to Pakistan. In India, Hindi is one of the official languages and also faces resistance from its even more diverse ethno-linguistic communities, especially from the southern states (Chand, 2011). However, in contrast to Pakistan where regional languages are hindered from being assigned any official role, India recognised the role of various regional languages prevailing across the country and in a diverse, multicultural and multi-ethnic population (Bhattacharjee, Rahman & Chengappa, 2009).

Initially, the British administration was impressed by the Indian society, its ways of life, and esoteric traditions. As rulers, the English administration took it upon itself to preserve Indian culture; that is, a phase of British rule that can be called ―Oriental phase". Viswanathan (1988) argues that ―... orientalism was adopted as an official policy party out of expediency and caution and partly out of an emergent political sense that an efficient Indian administration rested on an understanding of Indian culture" (p. 87). However, socio-political changes occurred back in

[8] The terms Urdu-medium schools vs. English-medium schools basically imply the medium of instruction employed by those schools. Most state-run public schools use Urdu as medium of instructions, whereas most private owned both small and larger range schools use English as the medium of instruction, however, there exists huge discrepancy between the standard of English language being used as the medium of instructions at these private schools. The quality of English medium schools is directly proportional to one's economic resources. The more one is willing to pay, the better the quality. Therefore, while English medium instruction does not imply a homogenous, standard system of instruction, the term is nevertheless used to make the distinction from Urdu-medium schools (Mustafa 2015).

England in the first decades of the nineteenth century when Evangelical-Utilitarian philistinism was on the rise and a new philosophy of economic development and modernization was underway. Under this development narrative, oriental society was seen with contempt, in need of reformation, and empty of sophistication. The overall objective, however, remained economic and imperialistic in nature but another element of developing the ―underdeveloped" was added subsequently. For example, an English officer states in his minutes, ―the natives must either be kept down by a sense of our power, or they must willingly submit from a conviction that are more wise, more just, more humane, and more anxious to improve their condition than any other rulers they could possibly have" (Farish, 1838, as quoted in Viswanathan, 1988, p. 86).

With the passage of time, a shift in the official policy took place when Thomas Babington Macaulay was tasked with planning reforms for British administration in law and education. Macaulay‘s minutes on education (1835) are still a valid reference for studying the British education policies in India. He basically argued to end the funding for supporting studies in Arabic and Sanskrit as for him it was waste of money on England‘s part to sanction the studies of these subjects. He primarily questioned the intellectual contribution of these languages and the attendant literature produced in these languages. In his minutes to the British parliament, he maintains:

> It is argued, or rather taken for granted, that by literature the Parliament can have meant only Arabic and Sanscrit (*sic*) literature; that they never would have given the honourable appellation of ―a learned native" to a native who was familiar with the poetry of Milton, the metaphysics of Locke, and the physics of Newton" (Macaulay, 1835, p. 1).

Not only he doubts the intellectual input of these languages, he furthermore asserts that there did not exist a single volume produced in vernacular languages that could be considered worthy of translation. He further elaborates:

> All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain *neither literary nor scientific information*, and are so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them… I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia. The intrinsic superiority of the Western literature is indeed fully admitted by those members of the committee who support the oriental plan of education (Macaulay, 1835, p. 2, emphasis added).

Later in his minutes, Macaulay maintains that the solution to this problem is to leave the vernacular languages altogether as a policy, thereby denying any support to Arabic or Sanskrit learning. The solution is to teach them English, but not really to all of them. He observes that English is already ―… the language spoken by the ruling calls. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of government" (Macaulay, 1835, p. 3). The silver bullet as a policy initiative in his view was to go with this class and teach them English while leaving the rest to these newly trained ―intermediaries" as how they want to execute the policy. He argues:

> It is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, -- a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but

> English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country (Macaulay, 1835, p. 6).

It is against the backdrop of this policy shift that the educated Indian polity grabbed the opportunity to learn English and aspire in government jobs in the second half of nineteenth century. Stokes (1973) explains that

> … in the struggle among the literate castes, predominantly Muslim, Brahmin, and Kayasth, for posts in government service and the related professions of law, education and journalism, one element, usually of aspirants rather than possessors, dropped the traditional Persian and Sanskrit learning and turned to English (p. 151).

This transition, however, is not as homogenous as it looks because it caused major social rifts among various sections of Hindu and Muslim population of India. The Muslim elite (locally called ashraf), was brought up in Persian owing to the Mughal era policies when Persian was the official language of India. They began to lose ground to the Hindu counterparts who were quick in adapting to newly emerging English context as compared to Muslims (Alavi, 2002). The second segment of population that was directly affected by Macaulay‗s contributions was of Muslim religious scholars. Before the introduction of statute law, written in English by Macaulay, these Muslim scholars were directly responsible for disseminating justice to the masses. Introduction of this statute and subsequent statutes displaced this role for them and their clientele decreased subsequently (Siddique, 2014). However, Alavi (2002) warns that contrary to popular belief, it was not all-Muslims versus all-Hindus contestation. He maintains that ―the rivalry that ensued was not between all Hindus and all Muslims, but only between the Muslim

and the Hindu salariats[9], the Muslim elites versus the Hindu service castes, such as the khatris, kayasthas and Kashmiri brahmins in northern India or the kayasatha, brahmins and baidyas in Bengal" (Alavi, 2002, p. 4515).

Within Muslim population, two groups emerged as a response to these policies: one that ostensibly opposed learning of English, mainly led by religious leaders, and one that advocated for learning it, mainly led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, a key historic figure in the Muslim political history of India (Alavi, 2002; Jalal, 2014). It was under the influence of Sir Syed Ahmed khan that Muslims finally started learning English and later on joined government services. Although his role is controversial for being either a colonial sympathiser or a reformer form within the Muslim population, he is nevertheless mentioned as one of the key leaders for Muslims of the Indian sub-continent (Rahman, 2009). The impact of his group was so profound that many of the leaders of later decades emerged from this school of thought. Leaders like Muhammad Iqbal, Muhammad Ali Jinnah (official founder of the state of Pakistan) and many others are said to have benefited from the integrative policies Sir Syed Ahmed Khan advocated vigorously.

As we go further into the history of India, the British power dynamics changed in the first half of twentieth century because both political parties, Congress and Muslim League, paved way for many constitutional reforms within the legal framework of the government (Jalal, 2014). This, however, also triggered many regional, ethnic, and religious anxieties within the diverse population of India. Muslim movement was not the only movement that was under threat. In the South of India, Brahmin minority dominated the population, and monopolized the government

[9]According to Alavi, salariat means a class associated with new English educated professionals, especially in law, medicine and other fields. In his views, salariat shared a common education and the emerging Anglo-vernacular culture (Alavi, 2002).

services and places on public offices, which was viewed as a form of oppression by non-Brahmin, native Dravidians (Chand, 2011). Alavi explains further that:

> Their sense of a separate identity was promoted by the discovery by the linguists during the first two decades of the 20th century that all four southern languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kannada, formed a distinct, Dravidian, linguistic group, quite independent of the northern Indian Sanskrit that came to the south with the Brahmins. Thus grew a sense of the Dravidian identity. The birth of the Dravidian Movement is dated to November 1916, when an organization was formed which eventually evolved into the anti-Brahmin Justice Party (Alavi, 2002, p. 4519).

It is evident that language-based problems and patterns of domination between English and local administrators, and also between local administrators and various regional political leaders started developing way before the partition of India. These problems partly emerged as a response to the homogenizing efforts put forward by the British rulers in order to rule smoothly, and partly because of the diversity of local groups that made the Indian society. Muslims versus Hindus, Brahmins versus non-Brahmins, and various caste belongings, all were contesting against each other in order to grab a share in power. These contestations continued after the partition of India in 1947 as well.

4.2.1.1. Continuation of colonial policy in education in post-independence Pakistan

The rulers of Pakistan got together to discuss the role of language in the education policy of Pakistan as early as 1947. One must realise that the language policy in education became an offshoot of language policy in general in 1947. Urdu was seen to be the language of the Muslims hence it was enforced as the national language. In order to achieve this target, Urdu was given a

special status within the education policy as well (Siddiqui, 2016). A special conference was arranged in 1947 to come up with a viable plan. The general agreement among the members was to make Urdu as medium of instruction and prepare to replace the official language, i.e., English, within due time. In this conference, however, there was a significant presence of dissenting voices who did not want agree to make Urdu the medium of instruction for all the provinces, and called for leaving the matter to the provinces to choose the language for medium of instruction but nevertheless emphasis was put to make Urdu the second compulsory language in schools (Siddiqui, 2016, p. 135).

The second effort to deicide the medium of instruction for education policy was made in 1959. By this time, Bangla has acquired the status of national language, in addition to Urdu, after relentless efforts of the people of East-Pakistan. The official medium of instruction, however, still remained English; hence the commission was convened to look into the matter again. This commission concluded that it would approximately another fifteen years to replace English as the medium of instruction for a large number of subjects taught at the university level. This target, however, also passed in 1974, without brining any substantial change in the linguistic scenario (Siddiqui, 2016, p 137). The next education policy was presented in 1969 that was unusually critical in its take on the role of English as the medium of instruction for higher education. The policy commented that:

> Not only does the use of English as the medium of instruction at higher levels perpetuate the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, it also perpetuates the advantages of those children who come from the well-to-do families, and results in a colossal waste of human resources which could be developed to a far greater extent if instructions were to be given in national languages (GoP, 1969, p. 3 as cited in Siddiqui, 2016, p. 137).

It is only in 1970 that the state officials moved away from English or Urdu towards regional languages as the medium of instructions, at least at the theoretical level. The key challenge identified in such transition is the readily available resources in English both at the academic levels and at the official levels where English was used as the language of inter-departmental communication, therefore, any effective replacement in the change of language in education meant a change in the official language at the state level. In 1973, the constitution of Pakistan was drafted and a special article, i.e., Article 251 made it imperative to change the official language of Pakistan from English to Urdu. This article also leaves room for the provinces to select their regional language for teaching. However, the provinces never used this right until very recently when the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) made laws in 2013 to promote the local languages (Siddiqui, 2016, p. 141). The same rhetoric of promoting Urdu as the medium of instruction was repeated in the education policy of 1992 and 1998. There, however, came a shift in 2007 when new education policy was introduced in General Musharraf�||s era. This policy departed from Urdu and put an emphasis on teaching English and making it the medium of instruction. The policy stated:

> A major bias of the job market for white collar jobs appears in the form of the candidate‘s proficiency in the English language. It is not easy to obtain a white collar job in the public or private sectors without a minimum level proficiency in the English language. Most private and public schools do not have the capacity to develop the requisite proficiency levels in their students. English language also works as one of the sources for social stratification between elite and non-elite. Combined with employment opportunities associated with proficiency of the English language the social attitudes

have generated an across the board demand for learning English language in the country (GoP, 2009a, p. 27, as cited in Siddiqui, 2016).

In the field of education, the policy of making English the medium of instruction and exams translates into debilitating performance of candidates in many state level examinations. In December, 2016, it was disclosed to the National Assembly standing committee[10] on Cabinet Secretariat that 92% of all the candidates taking the Central Superior Services (CSS)[11] examination in order to qualify for bureaucratic posts, failed in English. Only 2.09% of the candidates passed the examinations (Junaidi, 2016). In total, 9,642 students sat the examinations in 2016, out of which only 202 passed. The rate of students passing this initial examination has been deteriorating over the years, as only 3.33% of students passed the exam in 2014, followed by 3.11% in 2015, and 2.09% in 2016. The committee was informed that this situation is the result of the deteriorating quality of education in the country. Out of the 92% of those who failed in the exams, 82% failed in English essay writing (for details of the percentage of students who passed the CSS exams in the last decade, from 2007 to 2016, see appendix A).

4.2.2. Judicial system and language policy

By using the colonial period as a reference point, we can divide the judicial system of India into two distinct phases, although these are not mutually exclusive and they are deeply related to each other. The first phase can be called the pre-colonial phase, which is bigger in size and can be divided further into two periods: a Hindu period and a Muslim period.

[10] The proceedings of this committee took place in the parliamentary session at the National Assembly of Pakistan in December, 2016.

[11] CSS stands for Central Superior Services. These are the top most civilian bureaucracy jobs offered by the Federal Public Service Commission (FPSC). These jobs include areas such as District Management Services, Police Department, Foreign Affairs Department, Railways, etc. These are the most sought-after jobs for candidates across the country.

The Hindu period roughly extends from 1500 BC until 1500 AD. With the arrival of the Mughal dynasty in Indian subcontinent in late 11th century AD, there came many changes with the new rulers. In this period, the Mughals enforced Islamic law as the main system for setting criminal and civil disputes. The rulers, however, also let the indigenous customs and institutions continue side by side with the Islamic law. Like the Indian rule, the prime source of power remained with the king as an ultimate authority in all matters. But unlike previous times, many new offices were opened in every part of India and, irrespective of the castes, people with recognized knowledge, good competence and high integrity were appointed in these newly created courts. The main job of the system was to keep law and order and to resolve the civil disputes related to revenue collection. In this era, an elaborate system of taxation was introduced by the Mughal. Hussain (2011) elaborates on the contributions of this period in the following words:

> The Mughals improved upon the previous experience and created an organised system of administration of justice all over the country. Courts were created at each and every unit of the administrative division. At the village level, the Hindu system of Panchayats (Council of Elders) was retained, which decided petty disputes of civil and criminal nature, using conciliation and mediation as means of settling disputes. At the town level, there existed courts, presided over by Qazi-e-Parganah. Similarly, at the district (Sarkar) and provincial (Subah) level, courts of Qazis[12] were established. The highest court at the provincial level was that of Adalat Nazim-e-Subah.[13] Similarly, for revenue cases, officers known as Ameen were appointed at the town level. At the district level, revenue cases were dealt with by Amalguzar and at the provincial level by Diwan. The Supreme

[12] Qazi is a Persian word that translates as judge.
[13] It translates as the Court of the Administrator of the Province.

Revenue was called, the Imperial Diwan. Side by side, with civil and revenue courts, criminal courts, presided over by Faujdar, Kotwal, Shiqar and Subedar functioned.[14] The highest court of the land was the Emperor‗s Court, exercising original and appellate jurisdiction (p. 5-6).

Since Persian was the official language of the state under Mughal rule, all the newly established institutions included Persian names and titles for all the offices as is indicated in the above mentioned quote. Quite interestingly, even after going through an intense English colonial experience that resulted in complete overhauling of the judicial system, these Persian terms remain and are still in currency in all court records of the judicial system in Pakistan. By the end of the Mughal period, a well-functioning, indigenously owned, and culturally diverse judicial system had spread across the Indian sub-continent. No legal system with any written, universally agreed upon statutory body existed in this period, because ―the system was extremely fluid, indigenous and varied in its structure that corresponded directly with the overall diversity of the land" (Siddique, 2014: p. 25). Many different types of courts, schools of thoughts, religions and different sets of social and cultural norms existed across pre-partitioned India, and the system was self-governed and flexible.

4.2.2.1. Colonial Interventions in the legal system of India

Moving on from the Mughal period, the Indian society experienced the colonial period. When the British came in second half of the eighteen century, the biggest hurdle faced by the colonial rulers was the absence of any statutory body or book that could state the laws to govern the state of India. In the absence of any universal and standardized system, the British introduced

[14] All these were ranks of different officials appointed under criminal judicial system.

British courts in the parts of India where the East India Company held its right to safeguard its interests and assets. The locals were subject to English Common laws that were developed in Britain, but were experimented on Indian populace for their implacability and efficacy (Siddique, 2014). Elsewhere in India, where British were not in much strength, the local system still followed the Mughal system of Sadar Dewani Adalat (Supreme Civil Court), and Sadar Nizamat Adalat (Supreme Criminal Court).

Under growing British influence, the supreme court of Calcutta was finally established in the year 1773, and subsequently recorders courts were established in Madras and Mumbai in 1798. Once the British administration created courts abundantly across India, the issue of standard, universal law came to surface and was solved by introducing a trilogy of three main bodies of statutes that dealt with all kinds of disputes occurring in these areas. First part of this trilogy was called the Indian Penal Code (IPC), currently known as Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). This statute was meticulously framed by the famous Lord Macaulay[15] in 1860. The Indian Penal Code (IPC) stipulated penalties for all kinds of offenses that were charged back then, and a major part of this document still holds ground in today‘s Pakistan Penal Code. Macaulay‘s contribution to the English policy in India is not limited to drafting the key legal codes, which according to the legend - he wrote in one inspired week spent in the Ootacamund Club (Skuy, 1998; Guha, 2007). He is also known as the key architect for drafting the minutes on education system of India that he delivered at the British Parliament in 1835, More on this aspect of his contribution to the legal system of India follows shortly, but for now we must return to how his proposal stands, still valid in the current policy lines in post-colonial state of Pakistan.

[15] It is the same person who is famous for introducing differential education policy in India in 1835 as mentioned above. Further discussion on his role as a British administrator follows in the next section of this chapter.

The second pillar of the trilogy was created in 1898, and it was called the Criminal Procedure Code, locally referred as CrPC. This document delineated all the rules, standard operating procedures, and terms of engagement for all parties involved in criminal disputes. It held great importance in judicial circles as it provided rules of business for the lawyers, judges, and litigants involved in disputes. This document was adapted as it is, and to this date, this is the most important document that serves as primary source of reference across judicial courts in Pakistan.

In order to resolve civil disputes, the third tier of the trilogy was created in 1908, and was called the Civil Procedure Code, locally known as CPC. This code specifically narrated the laws to be observed, the standard operating procedures to be followed, and the procedures to be taken into account by all the concerned parties involved in the matters of civil disputes, such as land rights matters, domestic disputes, etc.

In addition to establishing the rules in these statutory bodies, many new civil courts were constituted under the Code of Civil Procedure 1908. For example, the Court of District Judge, the Court of Additional District Judge, and the Court of Civil Judge were created. To this date, all these courts exist with the same titles, jurisdictions, and functions. The British completed this circle of jurisprudence by introducing Federal Courts under the Government of India Act 1935; the Act that served as the basic document of reference for drafting constitutions a decade later for the newly created states of India and Pakistan.

4.3. Politics of language in Pakistan

Many of the languages of Pakistan suffered a great neglect since the time of inception of Pakistan. The reason for this was attributed to the conception of one-language, one-nation theory

propagated by the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as early as 1948. The idea was to make Urdu the national language of Pakistan as it belonged to the Muslim nation.[16] Any dissent from this state-led policy meant disloyalty to the very idea of Pakistan. He explained:

> … But let me make it very clear to you that the State Language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State Language, no Nation can remain tied up solidly together and function. Look at the history of other countries. Therefore, so far as the State Language is concerned, Pakistan�to language shall be Urdu. (From a 1948 speech on ―National Consolidation" in Dacca, as cited in Bashir, 2016, p. 638).

The narrative propagated by the founder of Pakistan translated into a stringent stand by the government of Pakistan against any or every linguistic group that challenged the role of Urdu. It has been established that enshrining English as the official language and Urdu the national language betrayed the diverse sociolinguistic realities of Pakistan (Jalal, 2014; Mansoor, 2009). In the formative years of the new country, this move met strong resistance across East Pakistan[17] (current-day Bangladesh). The majority of the population in East Pakistan spoke Bangla and had little knowledge of Urdu. This sudden move to impose Urdu as the sole national language of Pakistan triggered language-based resistance in East Pakistan from 1949 and it was curbed brutally in 1952 by the Government of Pakistan (Jalal, 2014). Police conducted a major operation at Dhaka University on 21 February 1952 against lecturers and students who were

[16] It is important to know that Jinnah was himself not a native speaker Urdu – his mother tongue was Gujrati, and Urdu was not even his second language (Schiffman, 2016, p. 652).

[17] It is important to note what Pakistan looked like geographically in 1947. The partition of India gave birth to two states, India and Pakistan. Pakistan consisted of two wings, called East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan was present-day Bangladesh and West Pakistan comprised the territory of today‘s Pakistan, i.e., the four provinces Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP, now renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, KPK), and the tribal areas of northern Pakistan, such as the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and the Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA).

demonstrating peacefully for making Bangla the national language of Pakistan. This high-handedness of the government of Pakistan resulted in bloodshed at the Dhaka University campus, fuelling the language-based resistance that fed into the independence movement of Bangladesh in the coming years. Increasing pressure from East Pakistan ended in 1956 when both Bangla and Urdu were declared the national languages of Pakistan. However, this move did not appease the already consolidated movement of Bangla people who felt discriminated against, alienated and exploited on language, among other socio-cultural factors, by the civil-military bureaucracy of West Pakistan. Eventually, mistrust between the political representatives of East Pakistan and the civil-military bureaucracy of West Pakistan grew so large that the country broke into two parts in 1971, resulting in the creation of the current states Bangladesh and Pakistan (Jalal 2014; Mustafa, 2015).

Urdu was not the mother tongue of the majority of the population of West Pakistan either, therefore, the incorporation of Urdu in other ethnic language communities posed a problem as compared to Punjabi language. The language controversy in East Pakistan resulted from the relatively different sociolinguistic properties of Urdu and Bangla. Urdu is close to Punjabi, and Punjabi-speakers formed the second largest ethnic community of Pakistan. Since Punjabi is linguistically closer to Urdu, Punjabi-speakers readily adopted Urdu; both Punjabi and Urdu are written in Perso-Arabic script. Whereas the Bangla language differs more from Urdu, as Bangla is written in a script derived from Sanskrit (Rahman, 2002). As for Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Balochistan and Gilgit-Baltistan region and their subsequent languages, i.e., Pashto, Balochi and the Dardic languages, they come from different language families that are not as closely related Urdu as is Punjabi. It therefore makes sense that the shift to Urdu from Punjabi has been smoother than any other language.

One, however, cannot assume that other regions of (West) Pakistan also accepted the imposition of Urdu as easily as Punjabi speakers. In fact, the major backlash against Urdu came from Sindh province where majority of Urdu-speaking Mohajirs (immigrants from India) settled after the partition in 1947. The indigenous people of Sindh struggled to keep Sindhi intact from the influx of Urdu-speaking Mohajirs into Sindh at the time of partition in 1947 that catalysed a reactionary cultural trend to preserve Sindhi that results in riots in Sindh in 1971, the same year when East-Pakistan became Bangladesh (Rahman, 2002, p. 337). The real reason for Sindhi-Urdu conflict in Sindh was the share of economic opportunities, state resources, and urban/rural divide in the province. Since most of the Mohajirs came from urban centres in India and were already well-versed in both Urdu and English, it was therefore easier for them to get access to the state resources; hence they did not feel the need to immerse in the culture of the province that sheltered them in post-partition Pakistan. Sindhi speaking population showed resentment against the ―outsiders" for showing this ―superior" attitude. Rahman (2002) portrays the scenario in Sindh in 1960s and 1970s in the following words:

> Above all, the state's policies did not pressurize or even encourage the Mohajirs to transcend or suppress their preconceived attitudes and learn Sindhi. At least in the cities, where most Mohajirs lived, the business of life could be carried on in Urdu. Cultural life was so dominated by Urdu that one did not feel that the cities of (West) Pakistan used any language in the street other than Urdu (Rahman, 2002, p. 336).

One could see that within first 25 years after independence, there emerged two strong ethno-linguistic movements in Pakistan, one in East-Pakistan that led to the creation of Bangladesh, and one in West-Pakistan that did not have the similar effects but nevertheless changed the political composition of the Sindh province. As evidence, one could see the

emergence of a political party in Sindh, particularly in Karachi, that promised to address the needs and challenges faced by the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs. Hence, it is no surprise to see that after 70 years of independence, the Mohajir vote is intact within urban areas of Sindh and the flagship political party, i.e., Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) runs the election campaign for the right of Urdu-speaking Mohajirs (Rahman, 2002).

4.3.1. Punjabi language and Punjabi identity

I mentioned above that the incorporation of Urdu went relatively easily within Punjab. This, however, does not mean that the imposition of Urdu was welcomes by all the segments of the Punjabi society. Punjabi language movement in fact started right after the emergence of Pakistan and still remains an aspiration of certain Punjabi intellectual but has not translated yet into any populist or powerful pressure group. Rahman explains few reasons for this attitude: a) exhibition of various degrees of cultural shame about Punjabi by Punjabi speakers of Pakistan, b) Punjabi identity is seen as ethno-nationalistic which is posed as anti-Pakistani, and c) fear that Muslim Punjabis would join forces with Sikhs to form a ―greater Punjab" that is against the religious basis for the construction of Pakistani identity (Rahman, 1996).

Rahman delineates various phases of the activism of Punjabi movement in Pakistan through historical periods. He explains that when the British annexed Punjab in 1849, they declared Urdu as the vernacular language that should be used in the basic education and the lower judicial courts in Punjab (Rahman, 1996, p. 75). He also reports that a meeting of Punjabi intellectuals was held at Dyal Singh College Lahore as early as 1948 and the aim of the meeting was to persuade the prominent writers of Pakistan (mostly writing in Urdu) to write in Punjabi. Later on, a Punjabi Conference was arranged in 1956 in Lyallpur [now called Faisalabad], and

the conference demanded that ―Punjabi be used as the medium of instruction at the lower level. This was accepted in principle, though no real change was made" (Rahman, 1996, p. 77). Furthermore, the promotion of Punjabi was always seen as a Punjabi-Urdu controversy, a move which would inadvertently subdue the national language by creating identities based on ethnicities. This matter got further problematic in 1969 when the former state of Bahawalpur voiced its aspiration to be given a provincial status with its own language as the official language, i.e. Saraiki. The Punjabi movement that was fighting for Punjabi‘s right to be recognized as a language in the official circles actually opposed this movement made by the Saraiki speakers. Rahman explains:

> This opposition to the division of the Punjab grew over the years as the Siraiki Movement developed and the Punjabi Siraiki controversy went on in the press. In the last analysis the controversy is political and economic, as Punjabi intellectuals oppose a diminution in the power of Punjab in the federal structure (Rahman, 1996, p. 81).

As the time passed by, there came new demands by the scholars working in Punjabi language movement. One such activity happened in 1985 in General Zia-ul-Haq‘s military regime when 139 eminent scholars from all around the country signed with a Charter of the Punjabi-speaking people. One of the demands of this charter was as follows:

> We believe that without the development of intellectual and cultural capabilities of our people which take place only with the introduction of our own language as the medium of instruction at all levels and in the transaction of business in all spheres of life, the personality of millions of our people will remain underdeveloped and the current socio-

cultural crisis in Punjab will remain unabated (Charter 1985: Demand No. 3 as cited in Rahman, 1996, p. 82).

This particular quote shows that the discourse of socio-cultural crisis that was crucial in 1985 still finds currency in contemporary research. For example, Bashir (2016) suggests that “in urban Punjab, where Punjabi has little social or economic status, is associated with illiteracy and low-level jobs, and is plagued by feeling of inferiority, there is widespread shift from Punjabi to Urdu” (p. 641). Rahman (1996) reports that a second Punjabi Conference was held in Lahore and “among the resolutions passed by the delegates the most important one was, predictably, that which pertained to the use of Punjabi in the educational, administrative, and judicial domains” (p. 83). To this date, no substantial efforts have been made to meet these demands by any government, even if most of the people in power have come from Punjab consistently.

4.4. Language Shift and sociolinguistic landscape of Pakistan

So far, I have presented a historical account of events happening in language planning pertaining to major languages of Pakistan, i.e., Punjabi, Sindhi, etc. In this section, I present the scenario for other major and/or minor languages. The basic idea is to show the current state of the art in terms of linguistic attitudes that are observed by researchers. For example, Bashir (2016), reports trends within linguistic communities where many small languages that are at the verge of extinction or severely threatened are being replaced by locally dominant langauges, e.g., in Southern Chitral, Kalasha speakers have shifted to Palula or Khowar; in Hunza and Nager, Domaki[18] speakers are now using Burushaski or Shina (Weinreich, 2010); in the upper Dir and Swat valleys, the speakers of the indigenous language Gwari (also knowng as Kohistani) are

[18] Domaki is categorized as severly endangered language of Pakistan as the number of remaining speakers of Domaki is only 350 present in Nagar and Hunza valley (Weinreich, 2010, p. 45).

shifting to Pashto (Baart, 2003); and Hindko has replaced the Kundal Shahi in the indeginous communities in the Neelam valley (Baart, 2003, p. 6). Bashir (2016) posits two major reasons for these shifts: i) feeling of inferiority or shame associated with the small endangered languages, and ii) economic realities. She elaborates that while many languages yielded to both these factors, such as Domaki in the northwest, Saraiki in southern Punjab, and Punjabi in central Punjab, ―some languages are under pressure for economic reasons, but their speakers maintain a positive attitude toward the language, e.g. Khowar and Kalasha. And some, like Pashto in the northwest and Sindhi in the southeast of the country, seem to resist both types of pressure" (Bashir, 2016, p. 641).

Local practices of speaking mother tongue are either discouraged or even punished in some cases. Association of shame with a local language is not limited to Punjabi only. Abbasi, Khattak, and Bin Saeed (2011) report the same situation for Pahari[19] language as students in a school environment are hesitant to use it in their Urdu-medium schools. Moreover, Manan, David, and Dumanig (2016) show the discriminatory attitude towards a local language, i.e., Balochi, in private schools in Quetta. The findings of this study suggest that teachers and school authorities use various strategies such as notices, wall paintings, penalties and also ―occasional punishments" to suppress the use of language other than Urdu or English. A major episode of discrediting the local language surfaced in August, 2016 when a private English medium school considered Punjabi, which is the mother tongue of almost half of the total population, as a ―foul language". The actual statement issued by the school authorities read as: ―Foul language is NOT ALLOWED within or outside the school premises, in the morning, during the school hours and after home time. Foul language includes taunts, abuses, Punjabi and hate speech" (Bangash,

[19] Pahari or Dhundi is a regional language spoken in the extreme north of Punjab province and some parts of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa areas and Kashmir (Abbasi, Khattak & Bin Saeed, 2011, p. 3657).

2016). One can see that the link between using a local language within educational institutions and receiving negative treatment is not restricted to a specific area but is an overall tendency prevalent across the country.

Moreover, the current research engages in exploring the societal attitudes, practices, and behaviours that are not limited to these two languages (Urdu and Punjabi), but go beyond them. Being a multicultural, multilingual society, members of the Pakistani society are expected not only to master these two languages in varied degrees, but also to navigate among these and other regional, local languages that are spoken across various fields. It is this interaction and subsequent identity construction that is formed along the linguistic lines that stand central to this research. The following chapters, chapter 5 and 6, show the use of different languages in education and judicial sectors.

PART III: EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

5. REPRODUCTION OF GATE-KKEEPING PRACTICES THROUGH EDUCATION

This chapter specifically explores the role of language in the higher education of university students in Pakistan, their differential educational practices, and their subsequent use of different languages in daily interactions. I collected data at Punjab University (PU) in Lahore and University of Sargodha (UOS) of Pakistan. The idea behind this purposive and convenient sampling was to assess whether the command or lack thereof, over a certain language, say English, is tied to the students‘ habitus and gate-keeping linguistic practices when they engage in group activities with fellow students. Furthermore, this data was triangulated by conducting interviews with lecturers from different departments. These lecturers become the relevant stakeholders as they play an important role in shaping the perceptions and practices of using different languages for different purposes. The language used in higher educational institutes in Pakistan, i.e. the medium of instruction and medium of expression both in oral and written form, is English. The policy of making English the medium of instruction in higher education, a resource the majority of the population do not acquire throughout their school training, results in favouring social exclusion in academic settings. I propose that this scheme of things is a manifestation of gate-keeping practices that is constructed by employing a certain habitus that guides the linguistic practices of the members. How such exclusion and marginality are produced and reproduced is addressed in the section below.

The main research question whether language choice becomes a gate-keeping practice within a particular multilingual field will be answered with the help of particular examples. In the following section, I present the empirical evidence of everyday practices, reproduction of discourses, and linguistic attitudes (read habitus) of the stakeholders of higher education institutions of Pakistan. The discussion and analysis of the cases presented shows how the logic

of practice of certain field, informed by a particular of the students, guides the choice of a certain language choices. Moreover, the association of identities with certain languages is also outlined. One would see the reiteration of many of the discourses discussed above in the official documents in the everyday linguistic practices and perceptions of the members of higher education institutions in the following pages.

5.1. Habitus: Reproduction of social distinctions in the university environment

From classroom observations during my fieldwork I noticed that while presenting their work as an assignment, students would read slides prepared in English but would narrate the concepts in an Urdu-English amalgam, while comprehending the whole phenomenon in Urdu, whereas officially they are supposed to conduct all these activities in English. In one class, students of the philosophy department, in their seventh semester, were presenting their work. I attended two presentations; in the first one student was presenting Derrida‘s concepts; whereas the second one was speaking about Heidegger‘s theories. The first presenter began speaking about her topic in English, but switched to Urdu in the very first sentence. She was talking about ontology without defining it. The lecturer requested her to pause and then asked her what the meaning of ontology is. The student attempted to explain it in a mixture of Urdu and English, stating that, ―Ontology branch of philosophy *hay jo* questions of being *say* deal *karti hay.*”[20] One notices that the exact Urdu quote by the student contains English terms such as ‗ontology‘, ‗branch of philosophy‘, ‗deals‘ and ‗questions of being‘. These are the core concepts she employs to explain what ontology is. However, she does not use English syntax to convey this

[20] Fieldnotes, recorded at Department of Philosophy, Punjab University, on 18 November 2013. The italics in the quotation are Urdu words that are mixed with English words. The English transliteration of this Urdu utterance is, ―Ontology branch of philosophy (is that) questions of being (with) deal(s)”; whereas, the exact English translation is, ―Ontology *is a* branch of philosophy *that deals with* questions of being”.

idea.[21] She is using Urdu syntax where, unlike English, the verb is at the end of a sentence. Now, if one examines the whole sentence structure, one observes that the grammatical structure in the student‘s mind is that of Urdu. This is illustrated by the positions of the verb and helping verb in both parts of the sentence. However, the predicates, the terms that she uses to explain the concept, are all communicated in English.

The second presenter also begins in English but switches to Urdu at the beginning of the presentation, in which she was talking about signifier and signified by reading English slides but explaining their content in Urdu.[22] This finding corroborates with the quantitative analysis as well. In the survey questionnaire, a question was asked to determine languages in which students feel they are more comfortable expressing themselves. Figure 1 illustrates that an exceedingly high percentage of students (81.25%, 208 out of 256) are of the view that they can express themselves more comfortably in Urdu. This finding, however, is in stark contrast to another response where students were asked in which language they understand the class lectures best. 75% (195 of 256) selected ―English-Urdu mix" as the desired language for lectures, a marker for language variety that encompasses the switches of English and Urdu linguistic codes,

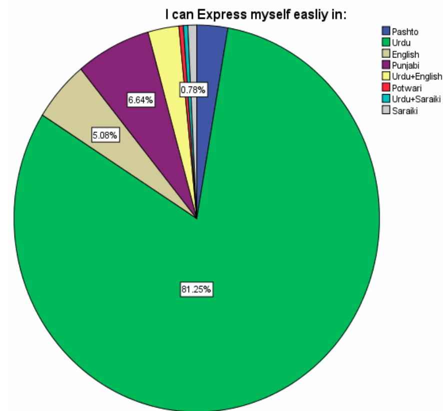

Figure 1: Languages students are more comfortable using for expressing themselves

[21] In this example, ‗to deal‘ is the verb. In Urdu, the proper word for explaining ‗deal‘ comes with two more parts, ‗*karti'* and ‗*hay'*. The verb ‗to deal‘ in Urdu will be called as ‗deal karna‘. Lastly, ‗hay‘ is a helping verb that explains that the action takes place in present tense. The English preposition for deal is ‗with‘. While she does not change the verb necessary for the sentence (deal), she nevertheless disjoints it from its preposition ‗with‘ and replaces it with Urdu counterpart, ―*say*", but still maintains the Urdu syntax, clearly manifested by the position of the preposition. In English, the preposition goes after the verb, whereas, in Urdu it comes before the verb; hence ‗deals with‘ is replaced with ‗say deal‘ in her utterance.

[22] Fieldnotes, recorded at Department of Philosophy, Punjab University, on 18 November 2013.

followed by Urdu (17%, 45 of 254), and then English (5%, 12 of 354) as the medium of instruction used by teachers in the lectures in the class. Although the official language of instruction is English, only 5% of the students actually said that they understand lectures presented by teachers better if English is used as medium of instruction. It should be mentioned that out of total sample, around 33% (86 of 214) stated that they came from schools that use English as the medium of instruction. Even then, only 5% (12 of 354) said they understand lectures better if English is used for delivering lectures. Although the textbooks and readings assignments for all their courses are of English and the exams they take are also conducted in English.

Such choices between the languages show the tensions between the official discourse and the convenience of the students to communicate in another language. This tension does not give rise to any discontinuity but rather work toward creating a new linguistic practice, English-Urdu mix that works as a middle ground for meeting the challenges of the official language and comprehension. Hence, the habitus approach explains the dispositions students embody when faced with such tensions and they navigate among various languages based on their symbolic capital and demand in a specific interaction.

I observed another difficulty that students experience while grappling with concepts that do not have necessarily resonate in the local context, hence the comprehension gets compromised. At the Department of Sociology at PU students were taking a course to improve their English comprehension. Their teacher presented them with a text from a foreign book and asked them to provide a concise summary of the text identifying its main theme. However, the themes in the text involved concepts that are well understood in the western context are alien to the socio-cultural context of Pakistan. For example, the passage presented mentioned ―liquor", a

common word for any English reader. And yet, none of the students understood the word‘s meaning. The absence of liquor from Pakistani cultural life rendered the concept totally alien to many students. Moreover, it was an uncomfortable moment when the teacher was forced to explain the concept in front of male and female students. The teacher stated that liquor is used for wine. One should note that the teacher used the English word ‗wine‘ rather than its Urdu translation, i.e. ―*sharab”*. Faced with silence and awkwardness from the students, the teacher went on to remind them that the text was taken from a western book, where the use of wine is not restricted. In addition, students asked as to the meanings of two more words, ―wit” and ―sword”, which the teacher translated in Urdu as ―*hazir jawabi”* and ―*talwaar*”, respectively. Another difficult phrase was ‗in a fix‘, for which the teacher provided the Urdu translation ―*uljhan*”. After providing Urdu meanings of all these words, the teacher stressed that the students should concentrate on comprehending the text, instead of going for literal word-to-word meanings.[23]

It is noteworthy that the text which the students were attempting to summarize was in English, yet they asked questions about it in Urdu. In response, the teacher replied in an Urdu-English mix, and then students continued with the task of writing summaries in English, hence one can argue the intermixing and switching of languages within an academic setting has rather become a second nature that guides these social interactions. These examples illustrate a lack of command of English language of students in the Master program (in Sociology). At the same time, these students were expected to be able to pass exams in English and, moreover, to form critical opinions regarding the concepts discussed in class. These examples provide the clear evidence that students commonly struggle to understand these concepts both in terms of their content and their context. Here one sees a clear description of how students coming from various

[23] Field notes, recorded at a class in the Department of Sociology, Punjab University on 16 December 2013.

educational backgrounds embody differential dispositions and attitudes that are manifested in the varying degrees of knowledge the students have of English language and subsequent worldview of the English texts that are foreign to them.

5.1.1. Manifestation of habitus in everyday linguistic practices

Although the discussion so far rotates around what students prefer to speak, the actual picture is much more complex and spontaneous. It so happens that the university habitus produces and perpetuates varieties of speech in which students may not be aware of their linguistic codeswitching, but nevertheless incorporate them as a norm. In order to examine how students switch from one language to another, according to changing social contexts questions were asked about the specifics of language preference in various settings (read various fields). When asked about the language spoken by students at home, the status of Punjabi and Urdu is almost equal. In total, 42% (108 of 256) stated that they speak Punjabi at home, whereas 43% (109 of 256) reported that they speak Urdu (see Figure 2). It is important to note that the general question about being comfortable in expressing, with 80% of the students preferred Urdu, whereas for this question only half of the sample declared that they speak Urdu at home.

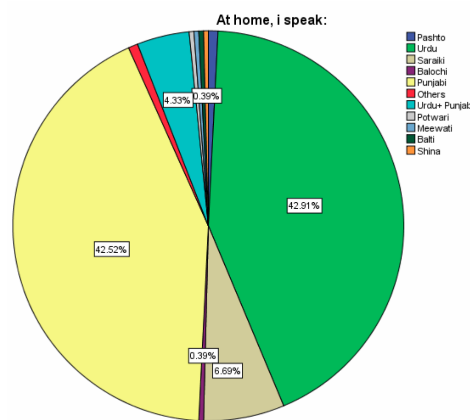

Figure 2: Languages students speak at home

Basically, it is an everyday practice that does not strike them as something different. Azam speaks Punjabi at home and had studied in an English medium school in Karachi, a city that is prominently Urdu speaking, explains this situation by saying, ―While I talk to my mother

in Punjabi and at the same time talk to my friend over the phone in Urdu, whereas I study English at school, and I know good English."[24] In order to ascertain if this language choice at home is consistent or different when a person moves from one setting to another, students were also asked which language they use while speaking with their friends, 77% (198 of 256) opted for Urdu. The results suggest that this is not in congruence with the language that they speak at home. Although, 50% (128 of 256) of the sample declared Punjabi as their mother tongue and 42% (108 of 256) stated they speak Punjabi at home, only 15% (37 of 256) opted for Punjabi as their preferred language for conversing with friends. Shifts in setting and social context therefore have a significant impact on the choice of language.

This seemingly unproblematic structuration where different languages are employed for different purposes is not limited to switching of situations like home vs. university but is also very much present in the physical or geographical placement of students in a classroom. Mostly students sitting in the front rows in a class are those who have had training in English medium schools; therefore, they end up being more active in classroom discussions, ask more questions compared to others, engage more with teachers, practice more linguistic codeswitching between Urdu and English, and subsequently acquire good grades. On the other hand, the ones sitting on the back benches are the ones who participate seldom in classroom activities, do not engage in discussions, are normally talking among themselves in Punjabi or other regional language, and have lower grades compared to others. The ones in the middle rows also navigate between these two extremes, thereby being active at times in class and remaining mostly silent, but nevertheless engaging with those students who engage more with teachers.[25]

[24] Focus group discussion (FGD 3), conducted at the library, University of Sargodha on 10 February 2014.
[25] Fieldnotes, notes at department of Psychology, English and sociology, in November, 2013. This observation is based on my classroom participation. In many classes, I sat on the back benches so that I could see the whole class

The fluidity of these practices makes codeswitching look normal, but nothing is farther from the truth. Such switching is not the same and simple for everybody. Students coming from more homogenous and socio-economically low backgrounds end up struggling when they have to change from one language to another in their studies. Those who studied in Urdu up until their Bachelors have had great difficulty to switch to English all of a sudden in their Master's program. Mostly these students are at the edge of failure in terms of their grades and class participation since they are prone to being under pressure and struggle to cope up with university environment. Abrar complains about it:

> The entire syllabus in BA was in Urdu. We studied all the psychological terms in Urdu, but here everything is in English. I faced problems, but I am trying to cope and hope it will get better. When I face difficulty, I talk to a teacher [from his high school] who taught me and motivated me to come to Punjab University. Whenever I face difficulty, I call him and he guides me[26].

In the same manner, Aqsa explains her problem with English:

> I studied psychology in Urdu in BA. It causes me some problem if I have to ask questions in English. In Urdu, I am comfortable. In the beginning, the subjects of statistics and

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from the back. It is here that in noticed that the students sitting on the back benches never participated in classroom discussions and most of the questions posed to the lecturers mostly came from students sitting in the front rows. However, it should be added that a difference exits between asking questions and answering questions. Normally, the back benchers avoid asking questions but if a more engaging teacher asks them a particular question, they tend to answer back; sometimes right while sometimes a wrong answer. One thing can be established from these observations that the students sitting in the front rows come more prepared to classes; whereas the back benchers are normally the ones who come less prepared. Therefore, the evidence is incomplete to conclude that classroom sitting arrangement is totally due to linguistic competences of the students. It includes other factors such as class preparation of the students, their interest in a specific topic, etc.

[26] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

assessment[27] went over my head. I used to ask myself why I came here. Everybody told me to go to Multan[28] but I wanted to come here. It frustrated me but now it is ok[29].

Although some of the students did well in their previous exams that were in Urdu and some exams were in English, they nevertheless feel they do not qualify to speak in class or that they do not have enough confidence to share their views in the classroom; a phenomenon that I refer to as gate-keeping practice manifests itself in many such daily instances for students. Tehmina reports, ―Many girls have good marks and I also have 572 marks[30] but because of English I feel I am a dull student. I feel it a lot."[31] In the same discussion, Rehana mentions she acquired 608 marks but still she does not tell to anyone about it as she feels so shy to tell anyone that she has such good marks[32]. Both these students qualify to be above average students and have some of the best marks in their class; they do not mention them to others. Having good grades is normally correlated with having greater command over English as well. Both these girls come from rural backgrounds where they had their education in Urdu and acquired marks by writing exams in Urdu; but exams and studies in PU are now in English, a language that they are not comfortable with. This very factor keeps them from mentioning their previous achievements to their peers as this information once revealed means that other students expect them to know concepts and to be able to explain them in English, the skills that these girls do not

[27] Assessment means the subject labeled as ―Psychological Assessment and Testing" that students were studying in that semester I visited the department of Psychology for the fieldwork.

[28] Multan has another university named Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan. This is also a big university in Punjab and located in the rural region of southern Punjab. As Punjab University is located in Lahore and is considered the biggest public sector university in Punjab, many students aspire to be part of this university even if it is far away from their native towns.

[29] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

[30] The student secured 572 out of 850 marks.

[31] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

[32] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

believe they possess. Their confidence in having enough knowledge is compromised by their self-perception of being unable to convey these concepts in English.

Here one can see psychological internalization as the notion of self-image is structured by the societal values of the adequate knowledge and skills in one language, i.e., English. Although these girls have achieved good grades in their previous studies, a well-understood indicator of one‘s confidence, yet they feel inferior to their peers. This lack of confidence in their own selves and their image as deficient originates from being high achievers in a language that is no longer supported in their current educational environment; therefore it can be observed that English language serves as a benchmark against which the students keep assessing their own competences. Hence, this shows a clear manifestation of internalization of dispositions that end up producing practices of using English as a standard mode of interaction. Here, English as a signifier becomes a gate-keeping practice that keeps students from feeling confident in their own skin.

5.1.2. The role of the intermediaries: Teachers' interaction with students

The other stakeholders of the education system, the teachers acting as intermediaries, help create these self-perceptions of students that end up being either reinforced or discouraged subject to their ability or inability to engage in a particular language, a theme that is investigated at length in this section.

This section explores the instances of differential treatment of students at PU and UOS have experienced upon entering the university environment. Tehmena,[33] a female student at PU, provided the following description about the differential treatment received by students for their

[33] All the names used from here onwards are fictitious and random names were selected to respect the confidentiality of the respondents.

fluency of English. “If there are two applicants for the same job, where person A speaks fluent English than person B, it is almost certain that person A will get the job, irrespective of the fact that person B is more skilled to do the described job.”[34]

Mona also from PU but from another department explains her experience of differential treatment based on language use when her team participated in a student-level competition, where students from other universities were also competing to win an internship at a telecom company, called Telenor.[35] Mona explained that she was part of a program in which students performed tasks in teams and made oral presentations of their work plan, based on which they were either upgraded or eliminated from the competition. She stated:

> We were given assignments that were totally in English. There were boys from UCP[36] who were competing against us. They were good in English. Both the groups were assigned the same task. They expressed themselves much better and we could not. Even if we had great points they got preferred because of their good expression. We were discriminated, and we felt this more over there. Despite knowing that our educational backgrounds were different, nobody cared for it.[37]

Since habitus is taken as the embodied dispositions, practices, and attitudes of the

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[34] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November 2013.

[35] Telenor Limited is one of the four major cellular companies working in Pakistan. It also holds different activities to engage students. Part of the student hunt program was to arrange different competitions every year where students could compete to finally get an opportunity to do internship at the company. In this case, Telenor branch in Lahore organized a competition in which Mona (along with three other colleagues) was representing her department (i.e., Department of Sociology, Punjab University, Lahore) that was competing against another institute from the University of Central Punjab (UCP).

[36] Unlike PU, which is a public sector big university, the University of Central Punjab (UCP) is a small, private university in Lahore that offers only limited courses in specific disciplines. Since it is a private university the academic environment there is more homogenous and mostly people with affluent background can afford the costly education UCP offers.

[37] Focus group discussion (FGD 2), conducted at Department of Sociology, Punjab University Lahore, on 5 December 2013.

students about using various languages for different purposes in their daily interactions within the academic environment, a survey was conducted in various departments of PU and UOS. The analysis of data illustrated some noteworthy figures that subsequently complemented the findings of the qualitative research conducted with students and lecturers in both the universities. Many parallels could be drawn between Pakistan‘s population in general and students who study at PU and UOS that are among the larger universities in the Punjab province. Some questions in the survey asked about the general use of English in society. Students were asked whether they feel that people who are fluent in English receive more importance in the society. A higher number of students answered ―yes” (64%, 161 of 252), followed by 28% (71 of 252) saying ―to some extent”, and only 7% (18 of 252) responded with ―not at all” to this question.

In order to test the validity of this finding, a question further asked in the reverse order whether students feel that those without English language proficiency are left behind by society in general. In answer to this question, half of the students reported ―to some extent"‘ 58% (150 of 255), followed by the number of students saying ―yes” 23% (59 of 255), and only a fraction of the total sample answered ―no” 16% (42 of 255). The results of both these questions point towards the importance attached to English in general that force students to use English in their academic activities. Hence, English language codes thereby work as gates that are used for allowing entry to anyone or everyone who wants to become prominent within an educational setting. The practice of using English thus becomes the boundary making practice, a gate-keeping practice.

In one of my class observation, I paid a visit to an advanced class at the English Department of PU. The topic of discussion was the evolution of tragedy in English drama. The female teacher was well-versed in English and received her education in the UK. Hence, she

speaks English fluently; whereas, the students asked questions in Urdu and switched between Urdu and English during the lecture. At one point, a student asked how Hegel‘s concept of antagonism is translated into the social project of Marx.[38] The teacher attempted to provide an answer that she was not sure about herself as she confessed in her response. She conjectured but the students remained unsatisfied and confused. Here language plays an important role as the teacher used her fluent English to address the question in spite of the student having asked the question in Urdu. After receiving an answer with which he was not completely convinced, he ceased further questions as he was unable to keep up with the pace of her fluent English. In this particular scenario, one sees the evident manifestation of symbolic capital at play that intersects the exchange of questions and answers between the student and the teacher. Since the teacher possesses a clear advantage of conversing comfortably in English that gives her a symbolically higher advantage over her student who struggles to find the right dictum to continue the conversation eventually drops out of the discussion. Another explains that language based discrimination by the teachers has been in place since their admission to the university in 2012. She explains:

> Students are admitted every year without knowing what kind of problems they will be facing. Some of us tackle, others can‘t and go back. Teachers discriminate already in class, the student who has good English skills is the favourite, regardless of the fact he/she has sound ideas or not. But those who do not have good English, even if they come with greatest of the ideas, are not appreciated.[39]

[38] Field notes, recorded at a class in the Department of English, Punjab University on 20 December 2013.
[39] Focus group discussion (FGD 2), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 5 December, 2013.

Ultimately, exchanges like these, which are not an exception but a rule, generate complicity in a disengaged attitude of students towards studies. The aim of academic training then is not excellence or comprehension but the passing of examinations by any means, thereby resulting in reduced comprehension. This theme was confirmed by a teacher, Dr Qandeel Yaqoob,[40] who returned to Pakistan after completing her education in the UK. During my interview with her, she points out to the other side of the coin and thinks that the students are not to be blamed for this behaviour altogether. She argued ―fault lies with the lecturers, who tend to encourage students to use keys.”[41] These guides or keys are used as short-cuts as the students do not put enough effort into formulating their answers; instead they cram the material and reproduce it in the exams. In such study culture, the students perceive the lecturers as ‗keys‘. Since the standard textbooks, written mostly by foreign authors, are perceived as difficult to comprehend; students fall back on these guides that provide ready-made answers. However, Dr Yaqoob believes the language problem, in the academic scheme of things, to be rather exaggerated. In her opinion, by arguing for language disparity as the cause of the problems in academic achievements, we actually reinforce the incompetence of the students. She believes that rather than trying harder to understand complex texts, the students tend to hide behind the veil of language problems that they face at the university. In her view, ―the lecturers themselves reinforce these practices as it means less work for them.”[42] Therefore, the problem of disengaged attitude towards education is two-fold as it is shared by both the student body and the lecturers in general. She further complained of having faced difficulty on joining the English Department at

[40] Personal Interview, Dr. Qandeel Yaqoob, Punjab University on 20 November 2013.

[41] ‗Keys‘ is used as a general concept for all the helping materials that the students get from outside the class. Normally, these are study guides, written by local authors, for different subjects. These keys are prepared for helping students to pass the exams. The guides are structured in a question-answer format. Instead of providing textbook format content, these guides are structured for providing specific answers for specific questions with headings and subheadings that the students tend to cram and reproduce in the exams.

[42] Personal Interview, Dr. Qandeel Yaqoob, Punjab University on 20 November, 2013.

PU as a teacher, after attempting to challenge this practice by engaging the students more in class activities to improve comprehension of texts. She explained that the initial response was positive as students displayed more interest but also complained about having to do more work on her course than for other courses.

In one of the sociology classes at BS level in UOS (the second university) a girl presents her topic but is unable to do the presentation in English. I interviewed her later and she shares her view in the following words:

> I gave presentation, you saw. My blood pressure went low. The teacher made me sit down because I was not speaking English. The purpose of presentations was to boost confidence. She [the lecturer] saw that I was not confident and did not give me the option that I could go ahead and explain myself in Urdu. She did not see that. She said, ―You don‗t want to speak English, come here and sit down". She gave me six marks out of ten but did not let me speak.[43]

It seems like she eventually get decent marks, six out of 10, but apparently is not satisfied with it. After seeing more presentations and grades that students got, six accounts for a poor performance. It seems that marks are not the only thing she eventually got, but the attending embarrassment that she had to go through for not completing her presentation weighs heavy on her mind. For her, it is more important to finish off her presentation even if she did not know English, and wanted to continue in Urdu, an option that she finds herself eligible to have. But the lecturer advised otherwise, hence her role as an intermediary becomes more pronounced. For the lecturer, the key focus is on using English as a medium of conversation than comprehension of

[43] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

clarity of thought that the student might be able to express should she had been given a chance to use Urdu. Thus, the decision of allowing English or Urdu in presentations is a gate-keeping practice that is established very firmly in the favour of English. It is also noteworthy that the student takes the opportunity of presenting one‘s work as a technique to ―boost one‘s confidence” for public speaking. For her, a more troubling thought is that the lecturer did not let her realize the purpose of the exercise, which is meant to boost her confidence in public speaking; rather, the teacher‘s behaviour curbs her already lean confidence by making her sit for not being able to speak English. I asked a similar question in the quantitative survey. The question was about the languages used by students for presenting their works in class presentations. The data shows that 30 % (74 of 254) said that they use English for presenting their work in the class room; whereas, a majority, around 63 % (158 of 254) said that they use English-Urdu mix language for presenting their work in the class. Only 7 % said that they choose Urdu for class presentation.

The data analysis of qualitative interviews also shows as mentioned above that lecturers also have an implicit inclination towards English that is also evident in the way they deal with students[44]. Arooj tells her story of an oral exam which she was taking in one of her courses. She says, ―once I was in viva [oral exam], the teacher preferred those who were speaking English. I was talking in mix language [Urdu-English mix]. At one point she pointed out to me that I was not speaking English and asked me why. I got totally discouraged.”[45] Hence it can be argued in the light of this quote, that it is in the social structuration of these *prescriptions* that member of Pakistani multilingual community align themselves with one or another language. The linear

[44] It is observable during classroom participation that I undertook during data collection period at PU and UOS. The questions coming from students in English are answered fully and the ones from Urdu are told to wait for the rest of the lecture.

[45] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

relation between ability/inability to speak fluent English and perceptions of the speaker being educated/uneducated, remain central to students of both the universities. For example, Nosheen mentions such dichotomies being played out in society, ―My brother-in-law is educated and is going for PhD but he speaks Punjabi with people in the accent of his region. People who see him speaking Punjabi say that he is so well-educated but does not look like it. The standard has been set so he is perceived by it.”[46] Another boy, Shakeel, presents in the same focus group opines, ―If one has to speak Punjabi after having education, what is the use of that education.”[47]

One can see that it is rather through the role of the teachers, intermediaries between the students and the education system, that privilege of the socially dominant is maintained by imposing a hierarchy of values that tend to align with the cultural capital already owned by the dominant (Tamim, 2014a). The price formation mechanisms set by the education system value only those products (read linguistic practices) that are possessed by those already well trained in them. The rules of the game are rather rigged in favour of those who already possess a certain advantage, cultural capital holding greater symbolic value, over the others.

From the analysis, I conclude that practical discourse of favouring English, in society in general and in educational institutes in specific, as a medium of exchange is a gate-keeping practice and is propagated by teachers and is internalised by students so deeply that it runs the risk of being the only option available for conducting linguistic transactions. The international demand narrative puts pressure on speakers for producing more and more utterances that possess the symbolic capital of knowing English. There exists a specifically unanimous agreement among the students, lecturers in this study's sample, which can be generalised to laypersons in

[46] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

[47] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

Pakistani society, i.e., English as a signifier suffices to be representative of one‘s acquired knowledge, professional skills and the attendant worldview that is needed to survive in this changing world. The focus seems to be on speaking English, whether grammatically correct or not. In one focused group discussions, Noor opines that, ―If someone is very uneducated and speaks English, even wrong English in front of us, we will say that he/she knows very good English. We get impressed and that person is called educated."[48] The matter of comprehension, effective and correct use of words and grammar is rendered secondary. This gives birth to what Canagarajah and Ashraf (2013) refer to as a ―pseudo-culture of cosmetic Anglicization", which according to them, ―is more present in less expensive schools both in India and Pakistan, where emphasis is on western uniforms and behavioural routine" (p. 265). However, this ―pseudo-westernization", as the authors call it, does not provide the ―language competence necessary for privileged jobs and opportunities that many poorer communities dream of" (Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013, p. 265). Popular attitudes of people towards English are reported as ―the passport to success, the key to national progress" (Shamim, 2011, p. 291). In the presence of these attitudes, English inadvertently becomes more demanded in the market and even a mention of it, a gesture that denotes it, is cashed in the linguistic markets of everyday interactions.

5.2. Linguistic hierarchy, symbolic capital and social mobility of students

In a fluid environment where different languages are being used for different purposes, effective engagement with the ideas and their significance increases when one shifts from English to Urdu because it also increases participation. However, due to current rules of the game, linguistic structures and dominating discourses, students are pressured to produce

[48] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27th November, 2013.

deliverables such as assignments, essays, exam responses in English. The discourse of English as a tool for success is strong and entrenched in Pakistani society in general, and in universities in particular. A student in a focus group explained that, “people see what benefits more as they know if they speak English it will give them good job and create good impression. It‘s like the impression [trend] has been set.”[49] The theme resonates well across universities elsewhere in Punjab as well (Rahman, 1999, 2004; Mansoor, 2009). While talking to another set of students at UOS, one of the girls says, “If we don‘t speak English, how we will talk to other nations. In order to talk to them, we have to know how to use English so that we could express our views.”[50]

To see if this attitude is a shared perception among students, a question on the same theme was asked in the quantitative survey. A question inquired as to whether students lacking fluency in English have an inferiority complex. In response to this question, almost half of the total sample (128 of 255) selected the answer, “to some extent” to this question. This was followed by almost one third of the total sample (93 of 255) replying “yes”, and only 12% (33 of 255) saying “not at all”. The statistics presented here show that the majority of the students experience inferiority complex for lacking fluency in English.

Another question was asked as to whether students believe that having an education in English is a hurdle for the development of the cognitive capability of students. This was a leading question. The assumption behind putting forward this question was to assess whether students perceive it as a trick question thereby rendering it as an improbable correlation, or whether they actually correlate cognitive abilities with knowing English. Surprisingly, almost half of the students (43%, 109 of 255) answered “to some extent” to this question, followed by

[49] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.
[50] Focus group discussion (FGD 2), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 5 December, 2013.

30% who said “not at all” (79 of 255). In addition, around 25% (66 of 255) said “yes” to this question. The results illustrate that the students value English not only as a language to engage with, but also as a means to move higher up the social ladder in Pakistan, for instance in terms of job accessibility.

If we examine the results of the last two questions, it becomes clear that the majority of the students associate negative traits with those lacking fluency in English. They are perceived to be left behind or having inferiority complex. Whereas, the majority of the students reported that those who are fluent in English are given more importance in society. These findings are in line with the qualitative findings reported in the following section, where students claimed that those with English fluency attract the limelight on campus, becoming lecturers‘ favourites, engaging more during classes, and eventually achieving better grades.

As I argue that language choice in a multilingual society becomes a gate-keeping *praxis*, various languages are used differently for moving within the society, and this differential valuation process is perpetuated during academic training at the universities. The basic assumption that one can transcend the social mobility ladder by just knowing English is very much shared among the members of the Pakistani society as such, hence fluency in English becomes a gate-keeping strategy. But since all the students are not equally well equipped in English, Urdu is taken as a negotiating ground between the global demand and local belongings. For example, when students were asked to report their mother tongue

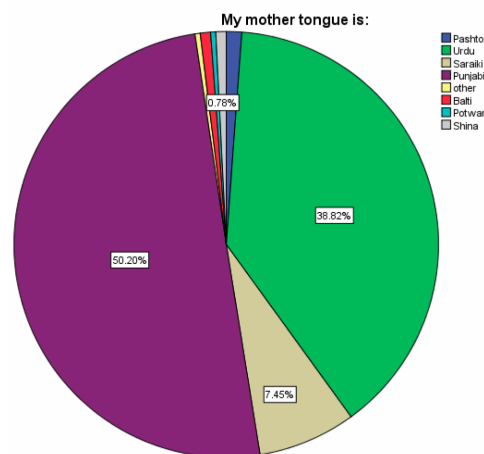

Figure 3: Choice of mother tongue by students

in the survey questionnaires, a significantly lower number of students who reported Urdu as their mother tongue (38.82%), especially since half of the student sample (128 out of 256), declared Punjabi as their mother tongue (as shown in Figure 3). Although not native to the majority speakers, Urdu is still closer in its grammatical structure, script, and meaning construction, to native languages, such as Punjabi.

A possible explanation for this divergence is that the majority of the students attended Urdu medium schools for their primary and secondary education; hence their ability to express themselves comfortably is greater for Urdu as compared to other languages. This campus trend strongly echoes the wider national discourse of Pakistan, that promotes and privileges Urdu as the national language. However, the data sample of this study is too limited in its scope to examine whether this trend is also witnessed across the other provinces. Outside of Punjab, Pakistan‘s regional languages enjoy more popularity and usage. In Punjab, however, the incorporation of Urdu, at the expense of Punjabi, faced fewer challenges. The real issue arises when these students trained in Urdu from a young age compete in the new university environment where English is the language of instruction and exams. Although comfortable in Urdu, these students face immense challenges in competing with students who attended English medium schools.

There are, however, some gender differences in the data when further analysed by regional background. The majority of the female students (53%, 97 out of 181) reported that they speak Urdu at home, whereas significantly fewer male students (16%, 11 of 69) disclosed that they speak Urdu at home. In contrast, the majority of male students (61%, 42 of 69) reported that they speak Punjabi at home, while only one third of the women (35%, 64 of 181) made the same choice. This favouring of one language over the other is dependent on whether students were

raised in urban or rural contexts. Taking this point into account, the majority of the female students (55%, 100 of 181) from cities chose Urdu as the language they speak at home; whereas one third of them (59 of 181) said that they speak Punjabi at home. This corroborates the trend discovered among female respondents.

This finding is in contrast with the respondents from villages. Only seven out of 68 of those from villages said that they speak Urdu at home, and the majority, 46 of 68, said they speak Punjabi at home. This divergence highlights the different cultural attitudes that urban and rural Pakistanis hold towards Urdu and Punjabi. When the qualitative data was analysed, students of villages reported higher levels of attachment towards Punjabi. These students also showed greater levels of interest in having Urdu as their medium of instruction, as it is closer to Punjabi as compared to English. Those from cities and those with English-medium schooling, chose Urdu as the language they speak at home and they showed greater interest in making English the medium of instruction at universities. What emerges from the analysis of the results of the survey and interviews is that two societal attitudes run parallel to each other, a theme that is also evident in the focus group discussions and interviews of the students, as in the following example:

> We have to adapt in order to come at par with them [native speakers of English]. The people who are native speakers are contributing in making new inventions and bringing everything to the world. It is their right that we speak their language so we have to speak their language. If we have to get knowledge then we have to speak English.[51]

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[51] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013. Please note that English is not the language the respondents used. It was rather Urdu with English words used in between. This and all other quotes shared below are author‘s translations unless stated otherwise.

The reasons outlined by the students in the survey questionnaire and qualitative interviews for emphasising one language over the others vary not only from person to person but also from one region to another. English, nevertheless, remains the decisive factor in one‘s education, subsequent academic success, and finally success in finding employment. For job applicants this means that the decisive factor, in addition to educational and academic achievement, remains their ability to fluently converse in English. While interviewing students from different departments of two different universities in Punjab, a recurring theme was the inevitability of English as a preferred language for instruction. A student in a focus group explained that, “people see what benefits more as they know if they speak English it will give them good job and create good impression. It‘s like the trend has been set.”[52] This theme echoed elsewhere in another varsity. While speaking with another group of students at UOS, one of the girls stated that, “If we don‘t speak English, how we will talk to other nations. In order to talk to them, we have to know how to use English so that we could express our views.”[53] Likewise, Nargis explained the same issue as follows:

> We are forced (to learn English) because it is the *demand*, also because it is our learning phase so they (the lecturers) want that we should speak English wherever we have chance. If we don‘t speak here and don‘t develop our fluency, we cannot compete outside.

In one of the informal conversations with students, Rubina, mentions that, “indirectly one is made to feel the pressure to speak English in university.”[54]

[52] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November 2013.
[53] Focus group discussion (FGD 3), conducted at the library, University of Sargodha on 10 February 2014.
[54] Field notes, noted at the department of Psychology, Punjab University on 1 November 2013.

What became clear from the qualitative data is that terms such as *market*, *demand*, *trend*, were employed by the students to demonstrate that English is regarded as an inevitable resource that is ―demanded” by the market, or any subsequent field the students may join upon leaving the university. By field, I mean any social arena of work force guided by its own in built power hierarchies that are established along various sociological factors, language command being one of them. Analysing this data, one observes that the pull factor of the job market, combined with the push factors of the aspirations of lecturers and parents for higher academic achievements coalesce. These forces create a socio-cultural milieu, a habitus that favours the use of English in a society where the majority does not understand it, across public and private sectors. This future-oriented dimension of the aspirations of students in particular, and of population in general, harmonises well with Appadurai‘s (2013) ―capacity to aspire”, where he suggests that one important dimension of aspirations are the ideas that members of a society hold about the future and good life, which are nevertheless culturally defined. For Appadurai, the capacity to aspire refers to ―… the actual know-how, developed by own experiences and those of other actors‘ immediate social environment that is necessary to achieve one‘s aspirations” (Appadurai, 2013, p. 69). In light of these definitions, we can argue that the type of social pressure students feel in their immediate academic environment to speak English actually originates from aspirational models that significant others, e.g., elders, lecturers and members of the society, hold about a prospective good life. For students, a capacity to aspire mandates English as a sanctioned linguistic practice; this was visible in interactions during fieldwork for this study. Those who are proficient at speaking English harness this capacity to move upward socially by securing better jobs. Conversely, those who lack this ability actually navigate this capacity by

trying to use codeswitching as a strategy to match the demands of the market with their learned abilities.

To conclude, I can say that the aspiration to speak English is embedded in the habitus of the field of education. The motivation behind this is both practical and historical and it serves to impress upon others one‘s ability to speak English, as performance of one‘s social standing but also to demonstrate one‘s desirability in the job market. This is not only restricted to the job setting per se, but also extends to the general academic environment in universities, the sub-fields working under the umbrella term of the field of education. The reasons delineated by the students for emphasizing one language over the other vary from person to person and from one region to another, but English nevertheless remains as one of the deciding factors in one‘s education, subsequent academic success, and finally bigger share in acquiring jobs.

5.3. The question of language and identity in the academic environment

As my findings demonstrate, the difference among English, Urdu, and Punjabi is deeply internalised by the students of various departments, universities and socio-economic backgrounds. From the analysis, it emerges that association with the Punjabi language in terms of identity is not something to be proud of, at least in the university arena. Punjabi identity is associated with an identity called ―*Paindu*‖. The literal translation of *paindu*[55] is villager. However, the connotation that this term evokes is far beyond solely locational. Participants of the survey, focus groups and interviews across various age groups, backgrounds and genders endorsed this perception when explaining their views of Punjabi-speakers. For example, Noreen, a girl who speaks Punjabi at home explains the reason for doing so:

[55] Paindu stems from another word of Punjabi language, i.e., *Pind*. The meaning of *pind* is village; hence the dweller of a *pind* is named as *paindu*.

> We know Punjabi but have hesitation. It is not considered nice. When sometimes I try to speak Punjabi with someone, my parents would say why you are speaking Punjabi. We are called *paindu*. They say you speak Urdu, you shall not speak Punjabi.[56]

A male student from village, Munir, who had great difficulty in adjusting to the new environment of PU, talks about the difference he felt while talking in Punjabi at the university. Completely fluent in Punjabi even during the interview, I asked Munir in Urdu if he uses Punjabi with friends in general. He explains that he faces discrimination from fellow students when he started his education in Lahore. He complains, ―Students from Lahore taunt us that we are *paindu*, and we come from villages. We say you are the offspring of the English"[57]. Munir says that he speaks Punjabi, even Saraiki[58], with friends in the hostel but not in the university. Here a clear demarcation is visible between university lecture settings vs. hostel life. Although students' hostels are also part of the academic environment, yet Munir explains he is hesitant to speak Punjabi in classes but completely fine with speaking Punjabi or even Saraiki in his hostel with friends: the reason being that it is perfectly acceptable to use a non-formal, local language in the hostel. A hostel represents a rather informal sub-field compared to a university lecture setting which is formal in nature. English and Urdu are preferred in classroom lecturers and Punjabi or other regional languages are strongly discouraged. Here one sees how language use changes within a subfield, hostels vs. classrooms, of the same field, i.e., a ―university". Hence it is argued that such linguistic codeswitching is subject to the nature of the environment, formal vs. non-

[56] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November 2013.

[57] Interview conducted with Munir at the Department of Sociology, Punjab University on 2nd January, 2014.

[58] Saraiki is the lingua franca of Southern Punjab and is spoken by around 14 million people across the region (Rahman, 2002).

formal, and the practical logic of a subfield, i.e., nature of the conversation. In classrooms, students are expected to debate over academic topics hence English and Urdu are preferred whereas in hostels students engage among themselves more freely and informally therefore local languages such as Punjabi, Saraiki, Pashto, or Balochi etc., are used more frequently.

Moreover, Munir posits that many of his friends also know Punjabi but purposefully do not speak it. He says, ―Even if they know Punjabi, they don't speak in front of girls as it will look *paindu*. It's our regional language, we should use it."[59] He further explains his interest for participating in a debating competition, but he chose not to, as he is not fluent in English. More specifically, he says ―I wanted to take part in debate competition and I feel so angry. Only if I knew good English, I would have competed."[60]

Punjabi is not only associated with being uneducated, it is also an identity marker that entails a specific cultural background and also specific taste and manners, specific ways of being and living, that does not fit well with the urban educational environment and is not encouraged in urban homes or schools by parents or teachers. Public discourse discourages the use of Punjabi, as it is the language of the down trodden. One girl explains how the divide between Punjabi and Urdu is also associated with social class, ―We face difficulty in speaking Punjabi with our maids. They don't understand Urdu, so it becomes difficult therefore mother deals with them.[61]" In the same group, another girl endorsed this notion. She opines, ―Our maids talk in Punjabi. They say, (*aiwen hunda wae:* this is how it is done). I don't like this. It is the language of the maids."[62] However, this tendency is not homogenous either. It depends on who one talks to. Another

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[59] Interview conducted with Munir at the Department of Sociology, Punjab University on 2nd January, 2014.
[60]Interview conducted with Munir at the Department of Sociology, Punjab University on 2nd January, 2014.
[61] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.
[62] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

female student, Aqsa, whose parents speak Punjabi at home but she nevertheless speaks Urdu, gives an example of her childhood experience. She explains:

> When I was in class six, I was at a modern defence school. I spoke a word of Punjabi with my friend and she told the whole class, ―Oh she just used Punjabi word, she is paindu…" when I went home and told my mom, she said you should be proud you know Punjabi and tell them tomorrow that they shall be ashamed, they do not know Punjabi.[63]

Whereas Akeel[64], also shared his views stating that the discrimination starts from childhood, when parents do not allow their children to mingle with those who speak Punjabi. In another focus group discussion, Arshad also shares the notion that parents purposefully keep their children from speaking Punjabi. He says, ―Society's trend has become like this. Parents prefer to teach children Urdu in order to distinguish them from other children, whereas they speak Punjabi among themselves."

These qualitative findings were also ascertained by the quantitative data. The results of the survey showed that the tendency among female students to associate themselves with a local language like Punjabi is less pronounced than among males. This was correlated with the urban settings from which the majority of these female students originate (140 out of a total of 181 female respondents). Half of these female city-dwellers (81 out of 140) chose to nominate Urdu as their mother tongue. The urban identity of female students necessitates Urdu as the language of identification. The link between language and identity is discussed later in this chapter; however, suffice to say that identification with the Punjabi language entails an identity, i.e.,

[63] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

[64] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November, 2013.

being *paindu.* The social associations that this word is loaded with are largely negative - of being ill-mannered, uncultured, uneducated and lacking etiquette. Expressly, the term connotes belonging to the lower socio-economic strata of the population, a finding that is also reported by previous studies (Rahman, 2002; Mustafa, 2015). Therefore, a greater number of female students show the tendency of distancing themselves from Punjabi language as it is associated with Punjabi identity that is located more closely in rural areas of Punjab. As discussed previously, just 39 out of 180 women reported a village as their current residence. This demonstrates that any association with rural geographies and cultural norms is rather perceived as retrograde. However, this situation is not the same as for male students. In a patriarchal society, male students from villages take on Punjabi as an identity-marker and feel comfortable in declaring their mother tongue; whereas a larger number of women from urban centres regard identification with the Punjabi language as a sign of ‗backwardness', a theme that came across repeatedly during the qualitative interviews.

As is evident from the above examples, the attitude to keep Punjabi out of everyday exchanges is far reaching and discrimination starts very early in the childhood. Parents do not encourage their children to speak Punjabi even at homes. It is this disenfranchisement from the Punjabi language that takes it out of the league of languages fit for official or formal purposes. Against this backdrop, Punjabi ends up being the language of jokes and informality. This attitude is also strengthened through quantitative data presented above, when students are asked to report the language they use for humour and fun-talk. Referring back to the quantitative survey questions, students were asked which language they prefer in more informal settings, for telling jokes and making fun, the response was strikingly higher in favour of the Punjabi language as compared to any other language Two thirds of the total sample (171 of 256) chose Punjabi

language for humour and making jokes. This is the largest percentage for Punjabi in any category and speaks volumes about the status of the Punjabi language in general. Many of the students who might speak Urdu at home and with friends nevertheless enjoy engaging in jovial banter in Punjabi. In the modern Pakistani imagination, Punjabi language is mostly associated with informality. It is rendered the language to be used for informal everyday settings. Hence, when the context changes from formality to informality and students are not obligated to comply with the demands of etiquettes, the language they choose to converse in changes. What this finding points to is that language choice is not only determined by the social context in which one speaks, but also by the content of the conversation concerned.

Therefore, any speaker of Punjabi language is also rendered not serious, or not worthy of attention from the students and teachers alike in formal settings. But this applies more closely to urban settings where Urdu has taken the place of Punjabi as lingua franca. However, the argument goes further in favour of English, as many elite schools in urban centres like Lahore are even advising the parents not to speak Urdu with their children and to instead use only English. One of the teachers, Dr. Ahsan Akhtar, at the Department of Sociology at PU explained what he experienced at school when he went for his daughter‗s admission. He narrates the whole incident in the following words,

> I got my kid admitted in the school and the principal on the first day, when they gave us counselling for one full hour, says that first thing you need to do is, don‗t talk to your child in Urdu. Seriously, LGS[65]. I stopped and asked her, ―Do you not want her to converse with all the people working in my house; those who come to visit us, all these

[65] LGS stands for Lahore Grammar School. It is one of the most expensive and most sought after school system in Lahore where only the children of highly affluent background with good money end up securing admissions.

people can't speak English? What do you want her to do? You want her to be alienated in her own house."[66]

Here it is evident that a linguistic choice is used as a marker for social exclusion or inclusion. Mostly, students coming from similar educational backgrounds group together, speaking the same language, that plays an important part in creating these boundaries. It is a more structured problem of the system that is rendered as personal flaw which essentially results in social exclusion. This applies more to informal, friendship networks or social networks students form during their stay at the university. As PU is a big university and students from all over the country come there. Even those who might come from other cities, but have been raised in similar educational institutes, tend to form groups with students of similar educational backgrounds. This means that students who are trained in English medium schools tend to be friends with others coming from similar schools, and those coming from the public sector Urdu medium schools find themselves more connected with those coming from similar schools.

Under such conditions, where the English language invariably promises a higher status and rewards one with urban friends, students coming from less privileged backgrounds display two trends: 1) those who aspire to join this new environment tend to emphasize and practice more linguistic codeswitching, employing more English words that grant them acceptance and entrance into their new environment, and 2) those who feel this pressure to be unnecessary, do not invest energies in joining their new environment and rather succumb to forming bonds with other like-minded students. By this construction, the latter group mostly consists of those who directly or indirectly resist the social pressure of speaking English and form their own identities as _village boys' or _outsiders'. This identity construction becomes a sort of defence mechanism,

[66] Interview as conduced with Dr. Ahsan Akhtar at his office in the department of Sociology, on the 1st of January, 2014.

which the students do not mind ownership of, as it subsequently wins them the sympathy of peers from similar backgrounds. In this second case, more emphasis is placed on speaking Punjabi, Saraiki or another regional language, nevertheless such students must compete academically in the classroom with classmates coming from English-medium schools, both from urban and rural backgrounds.

5.4. Colonial Undertones of Linguistic Preference

Although there is a great deal of emphasis on acquiring English language skills, the status of English does not go unchallenged by students. There exists a resounding awareness of the superior position of English, among students and lecturers alike, as compared to other languages in Pakistan. They are cognisant of the factors, actors, and processes that support English as compared to other languages. They are also aware of how the perception of English superiority in general, and in education and the job market in particular, favours or discriminates against different sections of society. The word used most in interviews and focus group discussions to describe this discrimination and marginality was *“ghulami”*, which can be translated as “slavery”. Some went on to directly equate English with the shackles of the past, as colonial baggage, and a slavery of the mind; whereas, others considered English an inevitable fact, as it suits the status quo currently governing the country. Nabeela put so: “Language is a discriminatory tool. We got independence from (the) British but still we are *ghulam* (slaves) in some ways. If we also develop our language Urdu, we will not have to take help from other languages.”[67]

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[67] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November 2013.

However, a student from Balochistan[68] looks at the use of English in a different light. He argued that: ―We are unconsciously slaves. We don‘t have preference for our own languages. Dostoevsky wrote in Russian. Marx wrote in German. People give preference to their languages."[69] Moreover, the sheer dichotomies of ‗us‘ vs. ‗them‘ are prominent in the discourse that students feel is being imposed on them from outside. There exist, according to students, clear motives behind sponsoring English in universities. In responding to the question why the education policy of promoting English is in place, some students responded in the following way:

> The people in authority, they do not think about it. Some countries boycotted English in order to promote their languages. They use their resources, such as China. It took time but they brought it to some level. We cannot do it, as we feel we are disabled and we cannot survive without them. For example, USA, we are so much dependent on them, we feel psychologically we cannot move further.[70]

Students are therefore familiar with this preference for English, which inadvertently affects their subsequent reliance on or avoidance of the English language, vis- à-vis ―English culture", i.e. English books, films, music etc. Speaking English is regarded as having been imposed from above and therefore does not take root in the social consciousness of the population, hence active engagement with the language and the attending cultural forms mentioned above remains absent. There is a section of the population that wishes to adhere to

[68] Balochistan is the largest and the least populated province of Pakistan that has seen many military operations by the army establishment and security agencies in the last one and half decade. The situation in the province is perilous and people have developed anti-state sentiments. There are different separatist movements in the region. Although different in their approaches, they all combine efforts in supporting Balochi as their language and strongly discourage the use of Urdu in their daily lives, a language that is otherwise seen as a symbol of national integration. In this context, Urdu is considered as the language of the oppressor and people do not want to talk to others in Urdu.
[69] Focus group discussion (FGD 1), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 27 November 2013.
[70] Focus group discussion (FGD 3), conducted at the library, University of Sargodha on 10 February 2014.

this whole package, and then there is a majority that resists it in the name of religion, culture or social process. As Afsheen put it as:

> The system cannot be changed. Out of 100, 90 experts will say English is being imposed on us; the sociological term we use for this is ‗cultural lag'. We have adopted English but we do not accept it mentally. Even lecturers say we are befooled by it.[71]

What Afsheen and others refer to is that, on paper and at a formal and academic level, there exists an agreed-upon consensus to use English as a language of instruction and of business in society. But fundamentally, beyond formality and in close circles, there exists an active, conscious resistance towards accepting this language.

As I mentioned above, the majority of the students in PU hail from across Punjab and even from other provinces. It is this Punjabi-speaking section of the student body with a rural background that displays resistance to learning English actively. Behind this trend is a bias, a resistance that is post-colonial in nature. The simple act of defiance by the students not to engage effectively is partly due to their lack of training, as they have not had the opportunity of acquiring good English language training in their formative years. Beneath this is another layer of resistance, a partly unconscious motive, almost dormant against western, outsider and colonial identity represented by the English language. This mood is palpable around students coming from villages and cities; however, it is not a homogenous practice. Those who attended English medium schools or who are from well-to-do families, from any part of the country, learn actively, participate effectively, and build on their abilities of speaking English, in order to excel further outside the university environment. Therefore, it is rather a function of the socio-cultural

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[71] Focus group discussion (FGD 3), conducted at the library, University of Sargodha on 10 February 2014.

background and habitus one comes from that directs one‘s attitudes and subsequent behaviours towards learning English which will consequently define the direction one then follows.

Another aim of the analysis was to link these individual linguistic practices with national discourses and perceptions towards English. My findings illustrate how cognisant the students were, rightly or wrongly, in their opinion on interactions between national and foreign stakeholders that shape policies and dictate the discourses of the Pakistani government. Of course, the opinions held by the students are not fully informed in terms of their historical accuracy. However, the finding in itself speaks to the vulnerability of the situation. It also speaks to the values that the students assign to different languages while trying to make sense of their own identity in the bigger picture. When asked why they believe that the general political situation is as it is and whether it can be changed, many students responded in the negative. The most representative quote is the following:

> It depends on the agenda set behind the scenes by foreign powers. We are following how they have set it. We do not do it (change language policy) because our government does not want to do it. It‘s a kind of dependency. Colonization and dependency link together. Since independence, we have failed to make our own policies. The policies we make are foreign influenced. Foreign forces are dominating our culture, so our thinking, patterns of thoughts, our media is setting our mind like this. Job sector is setting this up.[72]

This perception, however, is not only restricted to the students but is also present in academic circles. When I spoke to different faculty members at various universities, the colonial

[72] Focus group discussion (FGD 2), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 5 December 2013.

undertones of language policy, i.e. the superiority of English in academic circles, was always mentioned. That said, there was a significant discrepancy among faculty members as well. One section of university faculty members holds foreign superpowers, both past and present, responsible for purposefully steering the education and language policy in the direction of favouring English. This section of university staff is deterministic in its approach and blames foreign hands for all events that occur in the country. This attitude is not restricted to language policy, but extends to the overall socio-political discourse of the society, e.g., political process, financial affairs etc. The other section, from the upper middle-class intelligentsia holds a different view that sees the problem of language linked with ―colonial baggage", as one faculty members called it, but nevertheless favours English as it is inevitably the order of the day, that according to them we must comply with in order to compete within the current globalised world. One lecturer, Dr Ahsan, mentioned this very aptly during his interview. He argued that:

> We have not been able to shed even an ounce of our colonial baggage that we were given in 1947. How can you give primacy to your language? You have an education system that has been designed to favour the colonial system, to actually encourage classes in society. Those who are good at local languages will be at the second tier or the third tier. Those who can speak the British, the colonial language, will be at the first tier. Look at the institution, GC[73] is still there, Aitcheson[74] is still there. I know what role these institutions represent and what role they were playing prior to the existence of Pakistan.[75]

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[73] GC stands for Government College Lahore, now known as Government College University Lahore that was established in 1864 by the then British establishment. This was the first college to be established in Lahore and is still considered one of the most esteemed institutions of the city.

[74] Aitcheson College is a school system that was established in 1886 for educating the sons and daughters of the most influential and powerful Indians present at that time. The college still remains a restricted elitist club where the

Notably, some students expressed the same views, regardless of whether they are in the earlier years of their training. This indicates that such views are not only the product of informed reading but are linked with existing perceptions and attitudes that the population in general holds towards the domination of the English language and English culture in general. Azam went on to express his views in the following way:

> We as a nation are trapped in inferiority complex. Firstly Mughals ruled and then we spent time under British rule. The psychological effect of that is that we are still their slaves. Sonay pay suhaga yeh (the icing on the cake is) that we started declining when they (the British) excelled continuously. Firstly, we were in slavery. We were slaves physically earlier, and now we are slaves mentally. We want to be like them.[76]

Moreover, English as the medium of instruction also means that the content being used for teaching comes not only in the form of English words, but also with the English worldview, die *Weltanschauung,* from which these words originate.; Hence, students are expected to read books and construct complex concepts about ‗English society', more specifically American society, to which they have no direct exposure. Although the students mentioned views of European countries (such as Germany, Netherlands or France, mostly based on hearsay from relatives rather than from direct experience), but the textbooks in their courses are by American authors. Here one can observe the confusion students have of what is ‗foreign' in their view. The fact that the European countries they are speaking about are different from the examples of American society that they find in their books does not register as a difference. Many students

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children of a select few get admission and almost all the top bureaucrats and politicians trace their educational history back to this college.

[75] Interview as conduced with Dr. Ahsan Akhtar at his office in the Department of Sociology, Punjab University Lahore, on the 1 January 2014.

[76] Focus group discussion (FGD 3), conducted at the library, University of Sargodha on 10 February 2014.

may know very little or nothing about European history and may not know names of more than two states of the USA, they nevertheless categorise and lump them together as ‗foreign land‘. One student explains this puzzle, when he argues:

> English in addition to our subjects is also reflected in everything, in our dressing. Even all other examples in our books are from European countries. We are living in Pakistan but the examples are not from here. Many students simply do not understand those examples. If we use examples from this land, we will observe the things around. We don‘t even know the names of those places. We don‘t know about them, but we are given their examples.[77]

Therefore, the emphasis on the promotion of English is not only a linguistic problem, but also a social one. As English takes precedence and enjoys dominance over the Urdu or Punjabi languages, the worldview that is entailed in and communicated through ―Hollywood culture" captures the imagination of the educated youth. As a result, they develop tastes and preferences for English cultural representations, be it in the form of dress choices, movies, or books. It is here that we see the perpetuation of colonial discourses through educational institutes and embodiment of a certain habitus, both in the stated policy and in the development of tastes as well. What does being ―educated" mean for a Pakistani citizen? The answer is multifaceted but having proficiency in the English language and subscribing to ―English cultural forms", especially American forms, becomes a necessary part of it.

[77] Focus group discussion (FGD 2), conducted at Department of Psychology, Punjab University Lahore, on 5 December 2013.

5.5. Summary

This chapter has explained the reproduction of the discourses and practices of differential use of various languages; favouring English as it is the official yardstick and discouraging Punjabi as it is not considered as the language of the –educated”, while Urdu lies in between these two extremes. The immediate environment (formal vs. informal) plays a vital role in guiding the switch between various languages. Therefore, one can decipher the gate-keeping practices manifested in the overall habitus of the university environment by favouring a certain language over others. Also, how the command of a particular language influences the self-perception of the students, and what role it plays in establishing their social status, was examined at length.

This very personal choice, almost unconscious, of language use and shift is mediated by notions of practicality and push and pull factors that are guided by habitus, prevailing dominant discourses and socio-cultural currents of practices. These practices originate in colonial habitus, but are now continued in the disguise of a demand narrative of the importance of the English language propagated by the globalisation discourses of human and social development (Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck, 2005). The motivation to learn English is not only restricted to performing well in one‘s studies, but is also focused on gaining entry into a rather restricted club of power-holders who are seen as different, educated, and elite by the rest. English thus becomes an entry point to a way of life that promises many things, such as academic success, better jobs, and higher status in society. The findings of my study thus corroborate what has been reported by previous researchers (Rahman, 2002; Mustafa, 2015; Tamim, 2014a).

As being is always in the state of becoming, every utterance is an act of making and transforming the speaker from one stage of self-placement to another. Every utterance combined

with more and more English words is marked as a step forward and boosts self-confidence, although also taking one away from regional language fluency, which is a cost that everyone seems to be willing to pay. To utter is to associate and substantiate oneself in one's immediate surroundings (Heller, 1995), hence English becomes a yardstick against which various linguistic products were weighed for establishing boundaries of social groupings in educational institutes of Pakistan, thereby creating patterns of social inclusion and exclusion. Such practices become unconscious and new ways of using words that may not comply with any linguistic register, nevertheless serve the practical purpose of engaging with interlocutors. The focus of these practices is to use one's symbolic capital and make one's impression in the eyes one's interlocutor. The inequality of values assigned to languages, i.e., English, Urdu and Punjabi, in the university environment, thus translates into differential perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours that are encouraged, produced and reproduced, in the form of discourses mediated and shaped by the habitus of the universities. This later on finds expression in society in general.

6. MANIFESTATION OF GATE-KEEPING PRACTICES IN THE JUDICIAL CASES

In the previous chapter, I shared various aspects of language use within educational institutions. I also showed how the stakeholders of educational institutions perceive different languages and what practices originate as a result of those attitudes. But the discussion in the previous chapter was confined to the boundaries of educational institutes. This chapter takes this process of exploration a step further. I seek to explain in this chapter whether the findings of the last chapter stay true if we expand our analysis from one arena to another or from one field to another in Bourdieu's terms (Bourdieu, 1984). Does the relation between habitus, capital, and field remain similar among individuals of another social institution, i.e., the judicial system of Pakistan? Do we see the discourses of superiority or inferiority of one language over another in other social institutions? Bourdieu contends (1991) that the education system serves as the seedbed that gives birth to all practices, discourses, dispositions and attitudes that manifest themselves in other social institutions. This chapter shows if this happens to be the case.

Following the structural logic of the previous chapter, section 6.1 shows how habitus of a certain social setting guides the choice of a certain language in the judicial settings. Section 6.1.1 goes on to provide the manifestation of habitus in everyday linguistic practices in the judicial settings, and the role of the intermediaries of the judicial system, i.e., lawyers is delineated in section 6.1.2. Section 6.2 offers empirical cases where a certain language is used as a symbolic capital is used by the interlocutors for social mobility in the judicial settings. Furthermore, section 6.3 addresses the question of identity linked with language and its manifestation in the judicial system of Pakistan. The next section, section 6.4 provides empirical evidence to see what role language plays in widening or bridging the gap that exists between the promise and delivery of the justice to the people of Pakistan. It explains how contented or discontented the

recipients of the judicial system feel based on their experiences of the judicial system of Pakistan.

Eventually, section 6.5 sums up the arguments presented and built in all the previous sections. It looks into the processes through which a linguistic code affects and is affected by the social code and habitus of a particular society. It concludes that in a multilingual environment where the interlocutors possess unequal linguistic resources and are engaged in unequal power relations, the use, intermixing and codeswitching between various languages becomes a sociological practice that is unconscious, but tactical and intentional in nature.

6.1. Habitus: Reproduction of social distinctions in the judicial court settings

In order to capture the diversity and complexity of the judicial system, I visited both the subordinate and higher courts. I also tried to spend time in as many different courts as possible, the details of which are provided in chapter 3. Some key cases are presented below for deeper analysis. The selection of these cases involves various factors, e.g., the peculiar nature of the offenses; and the gender, age, and socio-economic backgrounds of the clients convicted in these cases. I present here cases that differ in all above indicators in order to show how in various different situations linguistic codeswitching does or does not occur and what triggers these choices.

The common linguistic practice, both in the courtrooms and lawyer‘s chambers, is either Urdu or Punjabi. This choice is influenced by one‘s gender, and/or perceived socio-economic background, but it does not suffice to explain the complexity of the situation. In addition, it is rather a function of one‘s age, socio-economic status, ethnicity, professional affiliation, and rural or urban origin that constitutes the social identity, upon which the language choice rests. It must

be noted that the predispositions for and against these social indicators result in the overall choice of language one might make in a given situation. During my stay in the judicial courts, I came across incidents where the choice of language differed based on the indicators mentioned above. In the following observations made at the judicial courts, I try to decipher the particular habitus that gives birth to different linguistic practices within a judicial court, a theme that resonates with the linguistic choices influenced by the particular habitus of an academic setting as was elaborated in section 5.1. In one interaction between a lawyer and a litigant, an old man in his 60‘s, was present in a lawyer‘s chamber and was arguing in Punjabi with the lawyer about why his case had not made any progress over a six-month period.[78]

The old man was arguing with the lawyer over his case used his age to assert himself as the lawyer was half his age. He held the lawyer responsible for not making enough progress on his case. He was speaking Punjabi all the time. The lawyer who was in his late twenties also used Punjabi to answer back. The lawyer pleaded that the address the old man provided where the accused was to be found and arrested was wrong, whereas, the old man argued that the lawyer was lazy in following up the process and that the police got to that address late, thus, giving the accused enough time to escape. Irrespective of the consequence that conversation brought, the point to note was the confidence in the litigant‘s voice, which was unusual as compared to other litigants who may be intimidated or silent when facing a lawyer. Normally, it is the lawyer who is in charge for disseminating information as he/she pleases; whereas, in this case, the old litigant was direct and confident, as he accused the lawyer of not doing his job properly. In this specific case, the litigant was also using his experience of dealing with cases as his symbolic/cultural capital, since this was not the first time he was facing case in the courts.

[78] I was present at the time of this conversation, and I observed the interaction taking place between the litigant and the lawyer. Both were present in the lawyer‘s chamber on 22 June, 2013

Normally the litigants rely on whatever they are told by the lawyers, without questioning the lawyers. In this case, the confrontation between the lawyer and the litigant was obvious. The litigant was using his social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), his status within his community of being an elder and wise person, and his experience of facing court proceedings. On the other hand, the lawyer was using his cultural capital and his symbolic capital of the knowledge of intricate legal terms and procedures when talking to the old man. The litigant went silent when the lawyer started using his knowledge of legal procedures and told him what was supposed to be done by him legally in order to get the accused arrested. The gist of his argument was that it was the court�Gs fault, as the lengthy bureaucratic process of legal action took so long that the accused managed to escape from the place identified by the litigant as the hide out of the accused. Whether his stance was true or false, the litigant had no way of knowing, since he could not read, comprehend or cross-check the information the lawyer was providing.

When this case is compared with another conversation that happened in the chamber of the same lawyer, there emerges another pattern of interaction. During one of my days of fieldwork at the tehsil courts Pattoki, a retired army brigadier came from Lahore for the hearing of his case[79]. The person was an old man, also in his late 50‘s. He was also accompanied by a serving army officer. The two of them were arguing with the two lawyers who were handling their case. This was an exceptional case in which the litigant had filed a complaint against the then chief minister of Punjab, Mian Shahbaz Shareef. The dispute was over a piece of land, a rather large one. The charge was that the chief minister violated the legal distribution of land and confiscated the property of the complainant. Since the complainant was also an influential person, being an ex-army brigadier, he filed a case against the then chief minister of Punjab,

[79] The observation was made in the lawyer‘s chamber at tehsil courts Pattoki on 28 July, 2013.

which was usually not possible given the highly volatile political environment, and the overarching bureaucratic and state power held by the office of the chief minister of Punjab.

At that point, two lawyers were present in the chamber. The fact that both the lawyers, one belonging to Pattoki and the other belonging to another village close to Pattoki, were paying full attention to this litigant could not go unnoticed as both were very keen to satisfy the client by providing him with as much information as he wanted regarding his case. These lawyers who normally address their clients in Punjabi as was done in the example shared above tried to converse with this client in Urdu that was also mixed with English words every now and then. This version of linguistic codeswitching between Urdu and English was grammatically wrong, but socially desirable, because their client was an urban educated male who would have considered being addressed in Punjabi as an offense. The fact that the variety of linguistic codeswitching used by one of the lawyers was grammatically wrong can be elaborated by an example. In one of his utterances, for example, the lawyer introduced another person who was present in the chamber. The lawyer went on to introduce the person in the following way:

Urdu utterance: یہ تو village سے belong to کرتے ہیں

Urdu transliteration: *Yeh to* **village** *sey* **belong to** *kertey he*

English translation: He *belongs to village*

What makes the above utterance visibly problematic is the use of word “*belong to*”. This kind of switching of words is a common practice, where different parts of speech of English are incorporated in Urdu utterances. The important difference in this utterance is the lawyer‘s inability to differentiate the verb from the preposition, in this case “*belong*” and “*to*”. To the lawyer‘s understanding, this pair must exist together in Urdu as it does in English whereas in Urdu the simple incorporation of verb “*belong*” would have been enough, as the Urdu utterance

already contains the preposition, i.e., “*sey*”, the counterpart of “*to*”. The reason that the lawyer was unable to separate “belong” and “to” as different parts of speech stems from his limited knowledge of the English language and insufficient training in using such utterances both in English and Urdu efficiently.[80] Since in this specific case he was confronted with a situation where he was supposed to address an educated, urban client who was well versed in English and Urdu and who was continuously speaking Urdu mixed with English phrases. This rather unsaid but omnipresent social norm dictated that the lawyer must use as many English words as he may know in order to gain authority and authenticity in the eyes of his client.

The important point is the use of English words even if they were grammatically wrong. The reason why such grammatically incorrect utterances may go unchecked is that, in reality there does not exist any standardized, codified, and grammatically punctuated rules and regulations for such mixed use of language. This form of linguistic codeswitching, whether performed in cities or villages, used by rural or urban people, mixed heavily or lightly with two languages, is not a standardized form. It only emerged out as a “hybrid” variety of speech: a variety that is not written but only spoken by the members of the society, a variety that serves as a coping strategy for those who may lack the full knowledge of the superior language, i.e.,

[80] The reason why this specific lawyer did not know good enough English goes back to his educational training and background. This lawyer belonged to a small village located outside the city of Pattoki. He completed his education in public school in his village and completed his law education from a local college in a nearby city of Okara, as compared to mainstream bigger law college located in Lahore. Since all his life, the lawyer has been trained in smaller, rural educational institutes, his ability to communicate in English accurately and confidently dwindled. What kind of command one has over the language very much depends and is shaped by the kind of educational institutes one attends. The farther the institutes are from main cities, the further the quality of education declines. In rural areas, the educational standards are very low; the language use is mostly Punjabi mixing with Urdu in schools. However, in higher educational institutes, the exams are conducted in English, but the actual ability to develop communication skills in English remains scant. Since this lawyer never went to any university for his education located in bigger city, his ability to converse well in English lagged behind compared to his counterparts who graduated from bigger universities. However, this must be mentioned that since the majority of young lawyers practicing in Pattoki courts came from the similar educational backgrounds, this deficiency was rather common, hence was never felt as all of them were almost at the same level of comprehension in English language, vis-à-vis their comprehension of law, as the law is in English.

English. The same theme was observed in the educational sector when students were using mixed speech variety, i.e., Urdu-English mix, Urdu-Punjabi mix, etc., in order to gain authenticity in the academic setting they find themselves in.

However, these two examples of differential treatment by the lawyers and switching of language between Punjabi and Urdu are also related to the power relations among the interlocutors. These cases also lend support to the power as embodied practices perspective. Although the Weberian conception of power as domination is evidently present in the interactions, it is the negotiating capacity of the litigant‘s social capital that serves the purpose for them. In the first instance, the lawyer used his knowledge of linguistic terms, mostly in English and persianized Urdu, that the litigant was clearly unfamiliar with which established his symbolic superiority over his interlocutor, hence language is used as a gate-keeping practice. In the first case, the litigant was an uneducated village dweller with no legal knowledge; whereas, in the second case, the litigant was an educated city dweller who knew law at least on the surface. Since the lawyers were superior to the first litigant in their social standing, the treatment he received was that of receiving less attention as compared to the second litigant who received more attention because he came from a background that is superior to the lawyers‘ background. The first litigant exerts his social capital, i.e., his status of being an elderly, knowledgeable person of his own social circle; the indications of which are his tone and questioning attitude towards the lawyer‘s. But he was nevertheless put to silence by the lawyer, who used his cultural capital, his legal knowledge as a tool against the litigant. In the second example, the litigant came from an affluent background and with his own superior cultural capital hence the same trick could not work in this case, therefore, the lawyers found themselves under pressure to satisfy the second client by being more considerate and showed an apologetic tone while talking

to him. So we can see how a differing habitus, plus social and cultural capital of both the litigants, shaped the very conversation within the ―field" of the lawyer's chamber, where the lawyers dealt with both the litigants differently in different languages. Here the choice of one language over the other, Punjabi over Urdu or Urdu-English mix, was guided by the habitus and by the certain logic of the field, the rules of the game, i.e., the disposition of the litigants, coming with their varied educational backgrounds, social statuses, cultural and social capital; hence the nature of the conversation changes according to these indicators.

Moreover, the conversation took another turn when the lawyer introduced me to the second litigant. As I was also present in the room, the lawyer mentioned that I had come from Germany to collect my data for my research. At this point the litigant, who was rather switching between Urdu and English in his interaction with the lawyers, switched completely to English when he started talking to me. The reason for this switch can be attributed to the fact that I had come from Germany to do my field research. The mentioning of Germany changed his choice from Urdu-English mix to English. Although I looked like everybody else in the room, the word Germany triggered a response that was not unusual. Had I been described as a researcher working within Pakistan, the interlocutor would have continued in the Urdu-English mix. But the mere mention of Germany generated a response in which the symbolic authority of the litigant appeared to be challenged as he now had confronted someone better than his audience in the room and this scaled up his conversational pattern from Urdu-English mix to English. I kept talking to him in Urdu for a while to see his response while he was conversing in English for most part of the time and shared the details of his case with me. One could see that in total the conversation between the first litigants and the lawyer, the second litigants and the lawyers, the second litigant and me, all are different in their variety and choice of language, each of which is

triggered by various socio-cultural factors that are embodied in the predispositions of the persons involved in the conversations.

This switch from Urdu to English, however, was not a one-time incident. I also had a similar encounter during my stay when I was interviewing another lawyer working in Pattoki tehsil courts. Mr. A.G was one of the best criminal lawyers working at tehsil court of Pattoki, and he also practiced at the High Court of Lahore, and the Supreme Court of Pakistan[81]. When I approached him for an interview, he was sitting in his chamber with three more junior lawyers and some of his clients. His room was full with around ten people. Most of his clients were from different villages around Pattoki, hence they only knew Punjabi, or Urdu at most. I first introduced myself and my research topic and sought his consent for the interview. At this point, our discussion was in Urdu as I initiated the conversation in Urdu. Quite contrary to usual response, in which lawyers normally chose to use Urdu by switching with English words in between, this lawyer kept speaking English throughout the interview.

In order to understand this choice better and also to see why this lawyer was successful in Pattoki, I collected background information that became helpful in explaining this specific behaviour. The story is that Mr. A.G is a retired army officer, at the rank of major, who then became lawyer at the age of 45 years. After his early retirement from the army, he studied law and started a law practice as his second career. In no time, he was successful and became one of the most sought after lawyers in Pattoki to plead criminal cases. The key factor in the success of

[81] There are only two lawyers among the lawyers‘ community in Pattoki who are regarded higher as compared to others practicing at Pattoki courts, Mr. A.G. is one of them. The reason for their distinction is their practice at the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Both of them divided their workload by spending some days working in Pattoki courts, and other days working in Lahore, presenting their cases at the High Court of Lahore, and also occasionally presenting their cases at the Supreme Court of Pakistan. Just the mere ability to present themselves at the High Court of Lahore and the Supreme Court of Pakistan gave them added advantage over their colleagues locally practicing only in Pattoki courts. Both these lawyers were consulted by their colleagues for consultation, guidance and advice. I interviewed both of them separately, but the case of Mr. A.G was unique, hence I present it here in detail.

his second career was his ability to plead cases in English. While he was answering my first question, he specifically asked me if it was ok for him to continue in English. To this question, I replied that he could continue in whichever language he may feel comfortable in. At this point, he continued answering in English for a 40 minute interview.[82]

Although none of his clients could understand what he was saying, he continued with English even when questions were asked in Urdu. Later on, it became evident that he held repute of being one of the only two available lawyers in Pattoki who could plead in English. For A.G., his symbolic capital of having better command over English in his otherwise Punjabi dominant surroundings translated into extra leverage, larger clientele, and huge appreciation in his community. Again, his choice of English while answering my questions was triggered by the fact that I came from Germany to conduct my research.

These instances highlight the importance of the symbolic capital that speakers of English enjoy over their counterparts in their conversations: those who possess this capital, the ability to converse freely and frequently in English, use it abundantly. Those who do not have good command over English, try to compensate for this lack by using linguistic codeswitching as a coping strategy, a practice that is also seen among examples from students in the last chapter. Linguistic codeswitching thus serves as a camouflage that conceals one‘s true ability to converse in one or another language. On one hand, it is a tactic to acquaint oneself with those who one idealizes, as many lawyers tend to idealize Mr. A.G within Pattoki courts because he serves as the model to follow. On the other hand, it also is an identity marker in itself, because it serves as the basis of one‘s status within society. In any case, it is English that serves as the mark, the finish line to reach, the trophy to win, and the goal to aspire.

[82] Interview was conducted at the lawyer‘s chamber in tehsil courts, Pattoki on the 26 June, 2013.

It can be assumed, based on the evidence presented hereby, that the choice of language use, language mix or switch, is a function of one‘s habitus; with socio-economic background, gender, age, dress style, professional affiliation and point of origin, being the indicators of this habitus. The lawyers speak Punjabi with the litigants coming from villages, and use their knowledge of law terms if and when required. But when confronted with educated, urban, and socio-economically better clients, they change according to the demands of the situation, and the profile of the clients. This practice is not necessarily restricted to lawyers only but is a generally held social practice among members of the community.

6.1.1. Manifestation of habitus in everyday courtroom proceedings

The above mentioned examples indicated the use of language in the interactions between lawyer and litigants. In the following section, I try to narrate the actual use of language in the courtroom proceedings. This case was observed at Magistrate courts in Pattoki. This case is of particular importance as it shows the choice of language that is informed by the rather complex overall sociological code present with all its complexity in a courtroom ―field". It shows how different social agents position themselves in relation to each other within the judicial arena; who speaks and who does not, which various languages are used and for what purposes, and what social conditions contribute towards these behaviours. There came a case in front of a civil judge, Mr. U.M, presented hereby.

A woman around twenty five years of age was presented in the court. She was accompanied by her counsel (the lawyers), her parents, and some other family members. As the judge opened the file for the case, he asked in Urdu[83], ―What is the progress of the case?" By

[83] کیا **progress** ہے **case** کی؟

default his addressees were both the parties[84]. The lawyer from the man‘s side told that judge, in Urdu, that the plaintiff wanted to take her claim back. The judge looked at the girl. Her body language was reserved; she was not looking up, and she was nervous standing in the court room. The judge directly addressed the girl in an intimidating tone. He spoke in Punjabi, ―Is it true?" The girl did not speak and nodded her head in affirmation. He continued in the same tone in Punjabi,[85] ―I will send you to jail if you don‘t speak the truth."[86] At this point the girl looked towards her lawyer; she wanted to say something but her voice was low and broken. Eventually she managed to reply back in Punjabi,[87] saying, ―*I do not recognize him. He is not the guy. We have pardoned him*". The judge was suspicious of her answer. He confirmed again in Punjabi, ―Are you sure he is not your culprit? Tell the truth or I will send you both to jail in the charge of *zinah* [fornication]."[88] The girl looked shocked by this comment but remained silent as she had no clue how to respond. The judge looked at the girl for some time and then ordered the police to release the accused. The case was dismissed and the man was released as the plaintiff had retracted her claim.

It was here that the lawyer used his legal knowledge to move the case in a direction that would save his client, but not necessarily follow the strict legal obligations. Only under this scenario, could the girl escape a legal trial even if this nevertheless puts the man behind bars. At that point, the family of the accused approached the girl‘s family and offered them compensation

[84] It is customary in a court that the judge will speak directly to the lawyers in the presence of their clients. The judge normally refuses to speak to the clients directly if the lawyer is not present. The rationale behind such treatment was explained to be that the clients by themselves are not prepared to understand the complexities of the law, hence are wasting the time of the court, therefore, the judge asks the clients to come with the lawyers. Whereas, in many cases, the lawyers present cases on behalf of the clients, while they are absent from the court room, an observation also shared by Siddique in his work (Siddique, 2014).

[85] ہیرتیوں أدرکر یارگا چھے توسچ نَبولیا

[86] All the translations of Punjabi and Urdu expressions from here onwards are provided by the author.

[87] ہیں ہَیپشأدی ایُوں، اے اوبُدٍ ہَین اسیعافی دیدتی وے

[88] FN-04. FN stands for field note, an acronym that will follow in later citations too. This specific courtroom observation took place at the civil judge court, tehsil Pattoki, on the 13 June, 2013.

for taking their claim back, the only available option to get the man out without facing a lengthy, time consuming and costly legal process. Once both the families agreed that a handsome amount would be paid to the girl‘s family for taking their charges back, it was matter of legal jurisdiction as to how to take the man out. In these circumstances, the girl was convinced to say in court that she did not ―recognize” the man.

Given that the judge was also familiar with the way the lawyers can turn the cases based on the statements of the client, he doubted when the girl said that *she* did not *―recognize*” the man. In this specific case, the judge not only switched to Punjabi, considering that the girl only knew Punjabi, he also pressurized her intentionally to speak by changing his tone from normal to a louder emphasis in Punjabi that makes the tone threatening. The switch from Urdu to Punjabi was both intentional and in accordance with the social norms of local community of Pattoki[89], but this choice nevertheless violates the official discourse of speaking only Urdu in court proceedings.

As a stated policy, the general practice in courts is to use Urdu as the language of argumentation. The judges in lower courts in rural areas speak Punjabi with lawyers, but as per the decorum maintained by the High Court of Lahore, they are supposed to conduct their inquires in Urdu and report the observations, court proceedings, and verdicts in English. The law dictates, that the judge may choose the language of the court, which in major parts of the country remains

[89] Linguistically speaking, Pattoki is not a very diverse region. The majority of people speak Punjabi; some communities speak dialects of Punjabi. Some other languages such as Mewati, Ranghri are also spoken, and Urdu is used in educational institutes. Since Pattoki is a business hub for commerce activities of over sixty villages that surround the city, the language of the business, of buying and selling at shops is also Punjabi. In this environment, most of the litigants ending up in courts belong to villages and are only familiar with Punjabi. Those who go to school understand Urdu, but still prefer Punjabi outside schools. In this scenario, the judge did not want to use Urdu as he was convinced that the client was from a village who would understand better in Punjabi.

de facto Urdu. Following this decorum, the judges normally speak Urdu; however, the judges also speak Punjabi with their male interlocutors, but never with the females.

In this specific case, one may assume a deviation from the gender norm took place when the judge addressed the female litigant in Punjabi. This deviation actually accords to and corresponds with the hierarchical dimension of social inequality working underneath the conversation. Since the girl present in front of the judge was not an educated female, and since this girl belonged to a village, as compared to any female coming from city of Pattoki, she received different treatment. She was perceived as not worthy of the formality of being addressed in Urdu that is reserved only for females coming from either good socio-economic background, or from the same professional circles as that of the one in which the judge is working. However, there also exists a cognitive element to this switch. Since the girl came from a village background with no or little exposure of Urdu, the judge made a cognitive choice of switching to Punjabi so that the girl may understand him better when he wanted to know what the truth was. This happened also because the judge wanted the girl to feel the terseness evident from his tone while he was speaking, assuming that he was not hearing the truth when she said she did not –recognize” the man.

I use habitus approach to analyse this case. By habitus here I refer to the predispositions and perceptions the social agents hold of other members of the society. Since the girl looks like a village girl by her dress, body language, and surrounding family members, the judge having –feel of the game” switched his language and used the one he saw was appropriate for his audience. The perceptual cues like dress, body language, and the surrounding environment of the girl, unconsciously directed the judge to switch to Punjabi. The judge was talking to the lawyers in

Urdu, but as his interlocutor changed from properly dressed lawyers to a village girl, so did his language from Urdu to Punjabi.

Another point of emphasis is the choice of words by the girl in the conversation. In her last sentence, she uttered in Punjabi, ―I do not recognize him. He is not the guy. We have pardoned him”. Here the construction of collective identity is evident by the choice of proverb, ―*we*”. Although, the case is registered on one-to-one basis, the girl alone becomes the complainant and the man alone becomes the perpetrator, the girl nevertheless uses the pronoun, ―*we*”, thereby implying that her decision is not solely hers but is rather affected by the *significant others* who have accompanied her to the court. The mentioning of ―*we*” have, as compared to ―*I*” have, pardoned him, is the point that goes unnoticed even by the judge, who rather overlooks this small change in her position. It is because the judge shares the habitus (Bourdieu, 1984) in which the proceeding is taking place where, unconsciously and knowingly, such decision is not made by the single person, but is rather taken as a collective offense against the whole community, hence the community comprising immediate significant others decide whether to pardon or not. The girl has internalized such structuration hence she speaks in plural form, when on the other hand, legally speaking, the rest of the audience in the room do not possess the power to be a party to the dispute. But since the whole discussion in the lawyer‘s room and even before in the houses of both the families took place in a collective form, the use of plural form was inevitable, an unconscious switch in the positioning of the individual in contrast to the social that encircles him/her.

From the above mentioned case it cannot be deduced that this kind of treatment is restricted to the females coming from lower socio-economic rural background. A closer look at the courtroom proceedings show that such treatment is not a function of one‘s gender but of the

overall habitus one belongs to that includes but is not limited to gender. Such treatment of switching from Urdu to Punjabi in tehsil courts of Pattoki is also observed in other court proceedings. In another instance, in the court of additional session judge Pattoki[90], where a young man was presented by his lawyer for a hearing, a similar situation emerged. Upon looking at the file, the judge, Mr. I.A[91], looked up at the lawyer. He asked the lawyer where was the accused, who was supposed to be present in the court along with his lawyer. Since the accused was absent from several previous hearings, which is against the law, the judge was rather angry with the lawyer for not presenting his client in court. He was talking to the lawyer in Urdu when he was inquiring why he failed to present his client before the court. At this point, when the lawyer was pressed harder to give convincing reason for the absence, the judge reminded the lawyer that by not presenting his client the lawyer was making his case weak and his client might be in contempt of court for not abiding by the laws; thus the consequences could be dire for his client.

Under such pressure, the lawyer reluctantly admitted that his client was present in the court and was not an absconder as was accused. On this occasion, the judge got furious and asked who the accused was and where exactly he was standing in the court. This person, Mr. R. G, in his early 30's, was standing at one corner on the right side of the room. The judge was furious earlier but was still arguing with the lawyer in Urdu, but as soon as he came to know about the presence of the accused, he looked at the accused and furiously ordered the police in Punjabi to arrest him and put him behind bars. In his fury he verbally abused the accused when

[90] FN-01. The observation is made in the tehsil court of Pattoki on 12 June, 2013.

[91] It is important to know that an additional session judge is higher in rank than a magistrate judge explained in the previous example enjoys more judicial freedom, and uptakes the cases of higher offenses compared to a magistrate. An additional session judge enacts as an intermediary link between a magistrate sitting at tehsil courts, and a district session judge sitting only in the district. This judge sitting at tehsil level enjoys more judicial power and responsibility than the magistrate judge, but nevertheless sits at tehsil courts.

he was ordering the police to arrest him. His utterance in Punjabi[92], which means ―Arrest him, put him behind the bars… [curse words]… How dare he does not come to court?"

The common factor among this case and the one presented before is that, in both cases, the litigants belong to lower socio-economic backgrounds, one female and the other male. In the second case, the motivation for this switch is the anger that the judge had for the man who did not abide by the court‘s orders of coming to the court earlier. In this specific incident, the switch from Urdu to Punjabi and specific use of swear words in Punjabi was to communicate dissatisfaction and anger to the lawyer and the litigant.[93] The choice of Punjabi for expressing one‘s anger, dissatisfaction and discontent within official circles where Urdu or English are supposed to be the languages of interaction is very common and prevalent in other spheres as well, i.e., education, official businesses, and hospitals. Normally, it is customary to find officers of higher ranks, in public service offices, to address their subordinate staff in Punjabi. The denominator that combines both the cases is that both judges, although varying in their ranks and jurisdictional powers, when faced with litigants of similar socio-economic background, ostensibly choose to communicate dissatisfaction and discontent in Punjabi, an indicator of where the Punjabi language is used within official circles where it is not the legitimate or official language of discourse. The following cases look further into the different scenarios, indicators and situations where a linguistic switch is triggered by the overall habitus of a certain region.

6.1.2. The role of intermediaries: Language changes as the nature of court changes

It is not only a specific setting, urban or rural, or age, gender, socio-economic background that determines the shift in language. One of the strongest indicators of linguistic

[92] پھڑلو ایہنوں، اندر کرو ایہنوں (گالی) ... آندا کیوں نہیں عدالت وچ

[93] I have also confronted different scenarios elsewhere, in educational institutes, where Punjabi was used for the expressions occurring in heightened state of emotions, like, anger, rage and disappointment.

codeswitching in the High Courts of Lahore was the specific nature of a court that determined the language of use in its proceedings. A banking court residing within the premises of the High Court of Lahore functions completely in English, as the judge chooses to speak English to the attending lawyers.

There exists a clear demarcation regarding the type of court, the specific nature of the field, in which the case will be presented, banking vs. trial court, and the language that is used therein. The lawyers and judges involved in criminal trial courts within the High Court of Lahore use Urdu predominantly, and discourage Punjabi; whereas the judges and lawyers involved in a banking court within the High Court of Lahore, use English predominantly, some use Urdu also, but Punjabi is not present in official talk. The general perception among lawyers is that those with better training in high-end law schools and better command of English end up in the banking courts as compared to the majority of the lawyers trained who tend to turn toward criminal courts where the entry bars are not as higher as in the banking courts.[94] As most of the cases in the banking courts do not relate directly to humans involved in personal disputes, but are related to conflicts among the private and public institutions over monetary matters, one can see that the need to use language that relates more with people is smaller, hence the official discourse of using English takes over in the banking courts. It is, however, noteworthy that during a break between sessions in a banking court, the lower staff officers at the banking court were busy arranging the upcoming cases and giving dates for hearing to their clients (this happening in the absence of the judge), they conversed in Punjabi. This was the usual everyday language for the staff officers working in the court, the police officers and some clients present in the court. There we can see a clear demarcation of official vs. unofficial use of language;

[94] FN09, the observation was made in the High Court of Lahore on 19 August, 2013.

English being the indicator of official language, Urdu bridging the gap where a person lacks the professional efficiency to converse completely in English, and Punjabi being barred completely from the official discourse but nevertheless being used in informal conversations.

It cannot, however, be established that the lawyers and judges in the banking court mentioned above were speaking English all the time under all conditions. In this court, where the judge himself and most of the lawyers were comfortable with conversing in English, there came an instance during the proceedings where the judge asked the lawyer to perform simple numerical calculations. It was the number of bottle productions per spout per minute (for a leading beverage production company in Lahore) that was in question.[95] For the sake of not pushing the case onto another date, the judge asked the lawyers how they reached the numbers they were contesting. The task was to calculate the number of bottles produced per spout per minute by three beverage companies, i.e., Coca Cola, Pepsi, and Gourmet Cola. In this specific situation, as soon as the judge asked the lawyers to start calculations, which he also did with them, all of them invariably switched to Urdu. It was an unusual task for the lawyers as well, who were finding it hard to keep their flow in English, and hence they also started contesting answers reached by judge, and other lawyers by explaining how to multiply which number and how they reached the specific numbers. Eventually, after five to ten minutes of calculations and discussion, with no consensus reached, the judge said that ―the case is turning on calculations; therefore, an expert was needed to explain this to us. Let‘s call an expert."

This rather small episode of rigorous calculations that put both the lawyers and judge off the track from their normal English conversation, ended up in codeswitching from English to Urdu when dealing with numbers. It speaks of the internalized patterns of behaviour as compared

[95] FN05, the observation was made in the High Courts of Lahore on 2 September, 2013.

to deeply rooted cognitive skills. To converse in English without difficulty has become second nature for those who have good command over English, hence they have developed greater ability of using English in given, official business, but as soon as the discussion turns to a task that involved a deeper cognitive task, the linguistic switch happened as the participants could not keep up the pace of multi-tasking, i.e., at one hand, mentally they were facing the task of using basic arithmetic skills to come up with the exact answer, and on the other hand, they were supposed to mentally translate this on-spot calculation into the English language, which was an added task, hence psychologically they switched from English to the language that was widely spoken in their immediate environment, i.e., Urdu. We see the veil of officiality went off for the lower staff members as soon as the judge left the room and they switched to Punjabi, and the same veil went off for judges and the lawyers as soon as they were engaged in higher cognitive task of calculations, thereby, they invariably switched from English to Urdu. Here the logic of the field is essential to unearth the underlying mechanism of choice. As long as the authority figure of a judge was present in the field, in the courtroom, the choice of language was either English or Urdu, but as soon as the authority figure left, thereby changing the structuration of the field, the interlocutors, i.e., the lower judicial officers, switched to a language they are more comfortable in, i.e., Punjabi.

Unlike the lower courts present in different tehsils in Punjab, where Punjabi is used by the lawyers to address their clients and also judges in some cases, most of the judges preferred speaking Urdu, in the High Court of Lahore, both with clients and lawyers. Punjabi that is accepted as a language in the lower courts is discouraged in the High Court of Lahore. At various occasions when some police officers tried to speak Punjabi, they were reprimanded by the judges

for their behaviour and were asked to speak Urdu.[96] The reprimanding treatment of judges toward police officers who spoke Punjabi in the court was not limited to High Court of Lahore, but also happened in the Anti-terrorist Court (ATC), situated also in Lahore.

At the lower courts, at Magistrate level courts, they were allowed to use Punjabi, as in most of these courts, the lingua franca is Punjabi. But at upper courts, the High Court of Lahore, and also courts situated in Lahore like Anti-terrorist courts, the police officers using Punjabi were challenged and rather scolded for speaking Punjabi. Although by law, they can use the language of the province, but the judicial environment in the legal courts in Lahore discourage Punjabi that is rendered as not fit for formal operations in the Higher Courts, hence anyone who is holding a public office is not allowed to speak Punjabi. Here we see a distinction that is based both on rural vs. urban lines and also is a matter of scale. In the upper courts, in the High Court and/or in the Supreme Court, the language of use is predominantly Urdu and stress is on English, whereas, in lower courts that are located elsewhere in the province the lawyers, judges, and official staff may take the liberty of expressing themselves in Punjabi.

6.2. Linguistic hierarchy, symbolic capital and social mobility in the judicial circles

As part of my research, I also went to different judicial courts located in other parts of the province. As part of my plan, I visited the tehsil Depalpur courts. In the courts, I could not find any more proceedings by the time I reached there. But I had the chance to visit the police station in Depalpur. There, I had the chance to look at how the station house officer[97] (SHO) dealt with a

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[96] FN09, the observation was made in the High Court of Lahore on 19 August, 2013.

[97] In any police station, a station house officer (SHO) is the highest officer present and is responsible for the law and order situation in a specific area. The use of term SHO goes back to colonial times, as both the title and the hierarchy of police officers within a police station remains today just as it was designed by the British in the colonial days. Locally, an SHO is perceived to be all in all in his area as he enjoys greater legal power over the area under his jurisdiction. People do not perceive the SHO as public servant service offices, but he rather symbolizes terror, state's

conflict, which was brought to him for mediation. I also interviewed a retired police officer who was still working in the police station on a contract basis, and lastly I observed one of the incidents within the police station where a young man of 28 years of age, Mr. A.A, who came from Lahore, was arrested under dubious and somewhat political motivated charges. This case can be studied only under the light of the overall socio-political situation present in the tehsil at that time.

While I was present in Depalpur for data collection, I visited the police station which was next to tehsil courts and wanted to know more about the way language is used within the police official discourse. While I was interviewing the then station house officer, I observed the case

> Case study 1: At the police station Depalpur
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> The story unfolded that the accused had been arrested from his home on the charges of robbery made against him by his brother-in-law, his sister‘s husband to be exact. It was said that this brother-in-law was a landlord in the area of Depalpur. He had married the accused‘s sister some time ago. The family of Mr. A.A belonged to Lahore, and had been living in one of the elite towns in Lahore, called Johar town. It became clear that after the marriage the girl moved to her husband‘s house in Depalpur, which is a rural town as compared to Lahore. Domestic issues of various nature arose, of which the accused did not speak, and the lady wanted a divorce from her husband. The lady demanded divorce when she went to see her parents in Lahore and did not go back to her husband‘s house in Depalpur. The husband was furious about this demand, as this demand meant great disrespect against him and his family name. He asked his wife to return to home, or else he would use his influence to force her to come back. Since her family did not pay heed to his verbal warnings, the husband had his wife‘s brother arrested, in order to use this as a point to force her to drop her claim. It was against this background, Mr. A.A alleged, that he had been put behind bars for eight days and he had not been presented before the court during this time. According to the accused, his brother-in-law used his local political power to influence the police to arrest him. He further explained that the police officer had moved him from one police station to another in order to avoid presenting him before the court. He said that he talked to his parents and they were informed that the complainant would drop his claim if his wife‘s family retract their divorce claim.

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authority of violence, and total control over his area, a remnant of colonial times when SHO was supposed to treat the local population not as citizens but as objects. To this day, an SHO enjoys the same legal privileges and responsibilities as in the times of colonial days. For example, I was told that under the law an SHO can arrest a person on the street if he/she refuses to tell him his/her name, if and when the SHO may choose to ask. Such provisions exist under the law that gives the SHO immense powers to control people‘s rights as citizens. It is also the office of the SHO that is used by local politicians to influence the electoral process during elections.

proceeding of Mr. A.A., the young man who was arrested from Lahore under section 395-397 of PPC. The man who was behind bars, was taken out of the custody room, and was invited into a nearby room where his relatives, lawyers, and a police officer were sitting[98].

In order to see what the motivation was behind getting the man arrested in this case, I looked deeper into this case. It came to my knowledge that Mr. A.A, held an M.Sc degree in Business Studies and completed his M.B.A from a prestigious institute in Lahore[99]. All his life, he lived in Lahore, and at the time of his arrest, he had a well-paid job in one of the leading companies in Lahore. Such a background did not go with the gravity of the charges under which he was arrested.

When I interviewed the Station House Officer (SHO) in Urdu who was posted at police station Depalpur, a few men came asking for the SHO. The men included one lawyer who was a former president of Okara Bar Association[100]. The SHO left the room to talk to them for a while and then these gentlemen came back to the room when the SHO had left. As I was in the middle of the interview and I was waiting for the SHO to come back, I stayed in the room and the whole case unfolded in front of me. It became clear that these gentlemen came to see a person who had been arrested and had been kept in the police station for a few days. The arrested person came in the room; he was around 30 years old, and was very emotional at the moment when the police officer took his cuffs off and let him sit on the chair in the room.

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[98] The observation was made in the Depalpur Police Station on 20 July, 2013.

[99] Lahore is the capital city of Punjab province. It is the second biggest city in Pakistan and is rendered a cultural hub of the province. Many highly established educational institutes are located in Lahore, and are starkly different and superior in terms of providing quality education to the students. The estimated population of Lahore is above 80 million.

[100] All the lawyers in Pakistan are members of their respective bar associations located in the city in which they perform their law practice. This body of association of lawyers holds strong influence, both direct and indirect, over court affairs. Members associated with these bars, mostly office bearers, have greater social influence and political hold, both in and outside of court settings.

The most important fact behind this case is that here we see a different dynamic emerging in court proceedings. Here we see a young, educated, urban man being trapped in a far flung small rural police station. When he was telling his story, he was speaking Urdu all the time, whereas, the lawyer who came to meet him and to arrange his bail was asking him questions in Punjabi. Also, the general discussion in the room with Mr. A.A, and about him was all taking place in Punjabi. Everybody seemed convinced in the room that he had been wrongly convicted and they were all talking about getting him out and arranging bail; all this was happening in Punjabi.

Here we see that the lawyer did not leave his comfort zone of speaking Punjabi and did not switch to Urdu, even when his opponent was speaking Urdu all along. The reason for such practice is that the lawyer, who is an ex-president of bar association, held greater influence and respect in that area, hence he continued using the language in which he was comfortable and also the one that was in currency in that part of the country. Since the town of Depalpur is a rural town, all the residents around spoke Punjabi. The lawyer did not feel the need to impress his audience with his credentials, as they were well-established in that area; everybody present in the room, knew exactly who he was. Under these conditions, the lawyer held greater social capital as compared to Mr. A.A, who was educated in an urban setting. Here we see that the legitimacy that Punjabi enjoys in the rural local linguistic market of Depalpur is greater than its use in urban linguistic market like the city of Lahore. The lawyer does not switch to Urdu, which may have been the natural choice had the lawyer been sitting in Lahore, where Urdu enjoys greater legitimacy over Punjabi.

On the other hand, Mr. A.A. did not switch to Punjabi either as this was not the language he had gotten his training in and the one he had difficulty in speaking. The language habitus in

which he got his socialization was pre-dominantly Urdu and Punjabi was not part of it. Since he has been raised in an urban, an elite background where Punjabi is not spoken, he did not feel the need to converse in Punjabi. It shall be noted that even if he did not speak Punjabi, he understood it perfectly well. This is in line with the findings reported in the previous chapter. As was reported, Punjabi language is associated with village identity and is vastly in currency across the Punjab province.

It can be concluded that the language habitus in Depalpur favoured Punjabi; hence the lawyer did not feel the need to switch to Urdu when the accused was speaking Urdu. This finding is in contrast to the situation discussed in section 6.1 narrated above, where the two lawyers tried using English-Urdu codeswitching when they encountered an old, educated, urban client from Lahore. All these indicators gave the army officer more symbolic capital of age, education, socio-economic status, and origin. In the present case, we see a well-established, former bar association president, talking to a young, educated, urban litigant. Here we see that the lawyer, owing to his habitus, has more symbolic power, and he is already considered an established authority in this region. Under these circumstances, the lawyer is far better in terms of his acquired symbolic capital, hence he did not feel the need to impress his litigant of his credentials, and kept talking in the language that he is more comfortable in and the one that is rendered more authentic as a means of communication in this region.

From the examples mentioned above, it may seem as if speaking Punjabi is a phenomenon present only in rural settings. The picture presented so far may seem linear, mutually exclusive and partitioned against rural vs. urban lines, which divorces out the complexity and interdependence of spaces in which the participants of a society live. Looking

from this angle, I also visited many courts located in Lahore, where one finds interaction between Urdu, Punjabi, and English more strongly and deeply.

<table><tr><td>Case study 2: English verdict explained in Punjabi at the anti-terrorist courts in Lahore

In one of these courts, a case was presented that had been concluded and the final verdict was due at any time. The accused were two men in their early thirties. Both of them were handcuffed when they appeared in the court room to receive their verdict. One of them was holding prayer beads on which he was reciting something. They were standing on the far right edge of the room, not near the bench but away from it. They were charged for the murder of a man, who was walking in an open market, few months ago. The judge finally came and addressed them.</td></tr></table>

Once the judge settled in his place, he started reiterating the charges against the accused, and moved towards telling them his judgment. The judgment was written in English which he narrated to them in Urdu. Against each charge, he told them the exact punishment they received. On two of the charges, they were fined, on one more charge they were given a few months imprisonment but then on the murder of the concerned person, they were convicted with capital punishment. At this point, the judge said in Urdu, ―In this crime, I gave you ―*death*" penalty.

The judge narrated all the technical terms to them in Urdu, even the sections and sub-sections they were charged with, but as soon as he came to announce the final sentence, the core of the matter, he used the English word ―*death*" instead of its Urdu counterpart, which is ―*Szā-i Maut"*, literally means ―death punishment". Although this Urdu word is commonly used in court proceedings, the judge used the English counterpart instead. At this point, the judge looked at both of them. One of the accused addressed the judge in Punjabi,[101] saying ―You have convicted us but nevertheless I swear to God we have not done this crime. Have mercy on us, we have not

[101] سرسلت ےتسُیس"ا اتی اے ہپر ہں اللہ ًوں حلضر ًاظر جاىک ےکہ"اں واں ںلںی اے جرم ًہیکتاکُش رحزکروساڈےتے ںلںی اےکن ًہی کیتا۔

done this.” To this the judge replied, also in Punjabi,[102] with “Both of you, listen to me carefully, washing did not kill the cat, wringing did.” The accused were dismissed after this conversation. Once they went out of the room, the judge leaned back in his chair and was still talking about them to the lawyers standing in his room. He told his audience in Urdu, “What could I have done, my hands are tied. The lawyer these guys hired were very weak. The prosecution cross examined them so meticulously that they had nothing else to defend. It is not the fault of the accused that they got this punishment, but of the lawyer they hired.”

This case that was observed in the field pointed towards various aspects of the justice system in general, but more importantly it showed the relevance of linguistic choice as a gate-keeping practice during the conversation. At first, the judge did not use the Urdu word for death penalty. One reason for such choice can be the shattering connotation and emotional value the Urdu counterpart holds, hence the judge avoided it and replaced it with the English word. Had he used the Urdu word for death, it was more likely the men might have broken down in the court room, although “death” is also familiar but only remotely. It helped dissolve the pressure the judge might face for giving this harsh punishment.

On the other hand, once the verdict was given and judge was talking to the men more directly, he completely took a shift and switched to Punjabi, which is very unlikely in the courts of Lahore. Even in Punjabi, the judge did not simplify the concept for them, but rather symbolized it. The whole process of creating a metaphor and using a Punjabi proverb instead of plain talk speaks of the symbolic value Punjabi language holds both for the judge and the men. At one point, the judge uses English words to mitigate the effect on the accused; at another he

[102] اِکگلسیلوتسُی دو ًوں ملی ًوٹاں ًہ ی مری، ًچوڑاں مری اے

uses a rather symbolic Punjabi expression, with which his audience are more familiar, to convey the message. This analogy, regardless of the fact whether the accused understood it correctly at that point or not, served the purpose for the judge of avoiding any emotional breakdown within the court room. Such codeswitching is not common among high courts, but is clearly visible in lower courts, in Pattoki and Chūniya tehsil courts.

6.3. The question of language and identity in the judicial setting

In the above example I elaborated the use of a Punjabi proverb the judge used to explain his point of view to the litigants. This, however, is not particular to a single judge or court located in Lahore. As part of the research, in addition to making court room observations, I also interviewed a few people who had gone through judicial trials. In such interviews, it became clear that the practice of using Punjabi as a tool to explain one's point is rampant and everyday practice across courts within Punjab. The judges and the lawyers alike seem to use Punjabi as a way to establish links between their own cases and the used semiology presented in the given proverb. Here we see that the language that is closer to the people is used as a means of expressing higher-level linguistic processing in the form of proverbs and semiology. The fact that the higher order linguistic processing takes place, and is enjoyed and appreciated even by the laypersons, not having any formal education at times, speaks of the symbolic power the use of such proverbs can have on the interlocutors. I elaborate below with a case which explicates the scenario of such usage.

During my field stay, I interviewed a person from Pattoki who was jailed for one and a half months. The interviewee, Mr. A.Q, was an educated, young English teacher, appointed as a lecturer at Government Degree College Pattoki. Mr A.Q had four brothers.

> Case study 3: The Chuniya courtroom proceedings
>
> A.Q is the brightest among his brothers. His elder brother had a business which went bankrupt. As a consequence of this, police raided A.Q's house and arrested him and two of his brothers. Although completely illegal, such arrests are common practice by the Punjab police, and are used as harassment tactics to catch criminals. Mr. A.Q and his brothers were held at Chūniya police station for eight days without being presented to the court, which is against the law, but is used as a tactic by the local police officer to forge an out of court agreement. Since A.Q had a relative who practiced law in Lahore, he called upon him and was advised not to enter any agreement before the police officially put charges against them. On the first hearing of the case, the judge reprimanded the plaintiff. The judge called upon the police officer who arrested A.Q and his brothers on such false charges. But as soon as he met the investigating officer and Station House officer of the related police station, he realized that the case had been made under political pressure by one of the leading politicians and the Member National Assembly (MNA) of this area. The judge prolonged the case as it was election time and he could not afford to offend the plaintiff who was a close ally of the MNA.

What is interesting in this case is the way the prosecution used language against these otherwise educated men. Mr. A.Q called upon his cousin, who practiced law in the High Court of Lahore to plead his case. When the case is presented in court, A.Q's lawyer pleaded in Urdu, whereas his counterpart, who is a local resident of Chūniya, used Punjabi when he was presenting his case. In order to counter this with his better training in law and at the Higher courts of Lahore, A.Q's lawyer presented his case by using his command over English in many of their conversations, the reasons presented by the prosecution were not in simple Punjabi argumentative style but rather presented in the form of Punjabi proverbs. For example, in order to justify arresting A.Q instead of arresting his brother who was allegedly the criminal, the prosecution lawyer said in Punjabi, —The burden placed on head is heaved by feet."[103] At another

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[103] سر دلپارت پہی رارت ے آ ًدا و ے

point, he explained the concept in Punjabi, ―Broken arms are ultimately slung around the neck."[104] In both these Punjabi proverbs, the prosecution uses the human body as a metaphor to emphasize the cultural underpinning of a joint family system prevalent in Pakistani society. According to the prosecution, the rationale of this illegal, wrong and extra-juridical arrest was justified, as these three were the brothers of the accused, just like the body parts that are linked together, like the head and the feet; therefore, whatever the head bears, the feet have to lift it as well. In a like manner, if an arm is broken, it cannot be simply done away with; it has to be slung around the neck, in this case these brothers being that neck. These reasons were taken by the judge as arguments against these three brothers, who were jailed for around one and half months in this case.

The common thing between these proverbs is the practical use the Punjabi language enjoys in local rural communities. In A.Q‘s case, the prosecution faces with a more educated, properly trained, well-versed high court lawyer. Since the lawyer on the prosecution side only practiced law at lower level tehsil courts, he is in no way able to reach the level of competence of the defence lawyer. Thus, instead of trying to compete with the challenge of professional competence, he uses his social capital, his local knowledge and his understanding of the Punjabi language, the language that the majority of the people present in the court room could comprehend; therefore, he went on quoting Punjabi proverbs, which was also not prevented by the judge. A.Q mentioned he was rather surprised to see the kinds of arguments the prosecution was presenting, but the judge and the lawyer did not find it surprising at all. In this case, Punjabi became the local symbolic capital that worked against Mr. A.Q‘s lawyer, who has his own capital of knowing Urdu and English which did not work in that local setting. Even at one point

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[104] ٹوٹی اربا ً واں گل ً وریپی ُھاں یً ں

the judge addressed Mr. A.Q‘s lawyer in Urdu and remarked him, ―you are a competent lawyer, come have tea with me sometime”, thereby acknowledging his higher competence of law, evident by his choice of language.

In these cases, one unexpectedly important theme emerges, i.e., the social situatedness of symbolic capital. According to Bourdieu‘s (1991) theory, the standard language or the official language within a multilingual society serves as the yardstick against which the interlocutors measure their performances and to which they aspire to reach. In this case, it became evident that that although Punjabi does not have official value in legal and official discourse, nevertheless holds greater social value for those who want to connect with the masses. In this regard, Punjabi becomes the yardstick in that court room against which the defence is pressed to measure itself. Besides a symbolic capital approach, there exists another factor that influenced the acceptability of the prosecution‘s Punjabi as compared to the defence lawyer‘s English, i.e., the linguistic attitude towards Punjabi and English. Although official and legal, English is perceived to be the language of the outsider and is not welcomed in the rural areas as such. Even Urdu which is fairly well understood by the lawyers, judges and audience alike is perceived to be the language of formality and distance. But Punjabi, on the other hand is perceived as a symbol of closeness, of warmth, and frankness; a theme that resonates with Bernstein‘s (1964) restricted codes model explained earlier in section 2.3.2. This theme emerged from various interviews and observations done during the field work.

Against this backdrop, the lawyer who was doing the right thing on paper by using Urdu and English as the languages of the court was seen as an outsider, whereas, his opponent switched to quote Punjabi proverbs as a line of argumentation was perceived to have the social understanding of the situation. Therefore, it can be argued that language choice becomes a

function of one‘s surroundings, its attendant linguistic habitus and underlying power dynamics of the interlocutors. Even if the lawyer possesses greater cultural capital in terms of his training and practice, he nevertheless lacks the social capital in terms of his connections at the local courts of Chūniya. On the contrary, the prosecution lawyer possesses greater social capital in terms of his social connections at the court, but does not match the cultural superiority of the defence lawyer. Officially speaking, it is the defence lawyer who should have had the upper edge but the socio-cultural milieu and power dynamics of this specific court proceeding tilted in favour of the prosecution lawyer, hence he continued using Punjabi as language and went on quoting Punjabi proverbs in his line of argument.

6.4. The promise and delivery of colonial justice system and mediating language habitus

After sketching the official discourse of promises that the law made to a person in terms of his access to the process of law, the preceding section also shows the on-the-ground practices, in terms of barriers and problems, that a person faces when he/she comes to the courts of Pakistan seeking justice. In order to summarize the discussion so far, the current section will focus on the question of whether the dispensation of justice to a person in an adequate form is only done on paper or also in practice, whether the idea of justice has also been actualized at the grass root level. Given the complexity and universality of the notion of justice, the current research only delimits its scope to the linguistic dimension of it. As is already mentioned, this research is specifically focused on investigating any systematic disempowerment, if at all, in terms of access, in the form of language, among the masses of the society.

Having gone through the legal discourse, it became clear that the legal system, on the one hand, makes it mandatory to use English as the language of the law, of court proceedings, and of providing verdicts; but on the other hand, it also wants to ensure that the target audience is

provided with proper translations and with adequate explanation if the recipients of the legal system do not understand the legal language. However, this promise remains a far cry from delivery. At lower courts, Tehsil Magistrate courts, it is common practice to use the local language, i.e., Punjabi, not only for conversing with the disputing parties, but also with the lawyers. Although the official documentation is done in English and Urdu, the judges prefer to interrogate, examine, cross-question in Punjabi when dealing with people coming from far flung areas of the land. This shows that the judges reach out to the people to help them better understand the processes. This, however, does not translate into satisfaction on the part of the clients. In one of the interviews, a young lawyer[105] in Pattoki tehsil confirmed that, “the satisfaction of the clients is a problem”. In one interview, the plaintiffs made a comment about the system in the following way:

> We do not know anything, what is happening in our case. Only the lawyer knows. We only want justice. Those who want this system to be in English, please provide them with English. Had these proceedings been in Urdu, we could have understood it.[106]

In this case, the plaintiffs were two old males who were present for the hearing of their grandchild by two men who abducted their grandson for ransom and later killed the boy even after getting the ransom. Here we see a direct demand and urge of the people to be more involved in the legal proceedings but the mere barrier of the language debarred them from being cognizant about the system, therefore I argue that language becomes a gate-keeping practice in the legal system that is exclusionary in its current form. The important part is the soundness of the argument made by two laymen in this court proceeding. The interviewee specially mentioned

[105] The interview with the lawyer happened in Pattoki on the 23rd of May, 2013.
[106] FN13, the observation was made in the Anti-terrorist court Lahore on the 5th of September, 2013.

the coexistence of two alternate systems, i.e., the legal system can remain in English but Urdu translations must be made mandatory, if the total overhaul of the judicial system is not possible, for all the technical or bureaucratic reasons. The clients only demanded the system to be fair and inclusive enough so that they could also make sense of their case.

During the fieldwork in the court setting, it became evident that the focus of these proceedings has never been the recipients. They are never properly addressed in the court rooms. They are not supposed to walk by the lawyers whether going to or coming back from the court rooms. The litigants walk behind lawyers in court settings, stand behind lawyers while in court rooms. It is always the lawyers who explained the situations to and asked questions from. Only in the cases where a direct encounter with the litigants is inevitable, the judges chose language based on their age, gender, and socio-economic backgrounds of the litigants.

As it was mentioned in elaborate details of case 1 (see section 6.2.1), the judge addressed the girl in Punjabi. On the other hand, the judges at High court of Lahore also speak to the clients in a distant tone, but do not use Punjabi. At times, where approval is needed, they use Urdu or simply ask the lawyer if their clients have already understood the proceeding and agree with it. Given the huge amount of pending back log, the judges do not have enough time to pay attention to clients at all. Where needed, only one or two sentences are used to wrap up the matter. For example, in one case, the judge had to take consent from the plaintiff if the outside-court agreement had actually been reached. He read her name out loud and talked to her in Urdu, saying ―Are you *Sahib beebi*? Has compromise been done? " Once the litigant replied in the affirmative, the judge dismissed the case. This and many other rather short lived encounters with

the litigants mostly leave them perplexed as they do not know what exactly was asked and what they were supposed to answer. Mostly they say whatever their lawyers prepare them to say.[107]

By law, the clients can take a record of their cases from the court staff, but it has been observed both in lower and upper courts that clients do not make any such efforts. Normally, they stand reserved behind their lawyers, and it is the sole responsibility of the lawyers to get all the documents. The clients feel rather alien, distant and arcane from the justice system. It will be oversimplification to say that language is the only barrier that has put them at such distance, but language nevertheless is one of the main factors that plays a role in pushing the masses away from the law. Law to them is not a body, an institution that they own and relate to; but a structure that stands there to govern and to control. There is a famous Punjabi saying that captures the essence of the perception the general public holds about the legal system of Pakistan. The saying is, “*Khuda kadi kisay dushman nu wi adaltaan day was na paway”,* which translates as, “May God never put even an enemy through the court matters”. Hence the perception of the law and courts is not that of a state-service that stands for providing justice and appeasement, but rather one that they have to face when they are dragged into it (Siddique, 2014).

The answer to the question whether people feel left out because of not knowing the language of the law, one has to acknowledge that the mere use of English as the official language - when majority of the population does not understand it - does present a challenge and is an issue. In such an environment, a litigant standing in a court room, silent and perplexed, feels left out as he cannot make sense of what is happening in the court room. As a result of this, the idea of the law emitting from the people, owned by the people, is hampered by this absence of an understanding of the language in which the law is being administered. This problem is however

[107] The court proceeding was observed in the High Court of Lahore on the 1 September, 2013.

shared both by the population at large and majority of lawyers in general too, who also struggle with the same linguistic problem. So it does create bifurcation in the legal profession and alienation between the population at large and the legal process of the law.

When I was collecting data from different field sites, I also wanted to see how the current law, both in its written form and in real practice, is perceived within the judicial system. There are differences of opinions among lawyers and judges whether the current law is up to the mark. One section sees the current Pakistani law as an amalgamation of English common law, given by the British, and Sharia law, which was introduced in 1984 by then president Zia-ul-Haq. A high court lawyer, Mr. S.K[108], opined that said mixture is responsible for much of the confusion[109]. In his opinion, the current law was made by the British to safeguard their own interests, and the state of Pakistan imported the same without going through enough revisions. Whereas, on the other hand, according to another senior lawyer, Mr. N.A, Pakistani law has no problem as such. He differentiates between the laws inherited from the British time and the laws made currently by the lawmakers. He remarked that the quality of the English laws made by the British is much better than the laws that have been drafted in past few decades by the lawmakers in the National Assembly of Pakistan. More specifically, he states,

> New laws that have been drafted, that have been framed, are invariably badly drafted. There are ambiguities in the law because of that lack of command over the English language. You can see clearly that the 19th century laws are much crispier, clearer, are

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[108] As was also done in the last chapter, all real names of the participants are omitted and only initials are used in order to ensure anonymity.
[109] Interview with this lawyer was conducted at his chamber in Session Courts Lahore on the 27 August, 2013.

better drafted, and the laws we have drafted in the last 30-40 years are, in terms of language, of inferior quality[110].

When asked if this difference is due to the lack of command over English, he answered in negation. In his view, it is not a command of language issue only, but the general lack of conceptual clarity and intellectual understanding. The lack of intellectual capacity, N.A says, can be attributed to the inadequate educational training at law schools. He says that it is the general problem of a flawed educational system that supports cramming and reproduction of material instead of critical thinking that generates practices of following a given line, which result in conceptual ambiguities. But since the judges and lawyers alike come from the same pool, no one challenges these practices and the law remains as it was 50 years ago. Many lawyers remarked that the exigency to revise law, especially the CrPC and CPC, is the need of the hour, but the widespread lack of motivation to do it, is rather what is responsible for this delay. The lawyers explained that the British law from which the current law is adopted has undergone substantial revision since then; but Pakistani law still remains the same that in parts is obsolete and still has old diction of colonial times.

Despite the fact that the majority of lawyers lack comprehension of the law in English, many of them equally rejected the idea to translate it into Urdu. The reason given was the fact that almost all these terms in current law are Latin-driven, they lose their comprehension when translated into Urdu since the Urdu language does not possess their actual counterparts.

[110] A High Court lawyer and interview was conducted at his office on the 15 of September, 2015.

6.4.1. Linguistic Analysis of contemporary Law Terms

When looked at from a linguistic lens, the legal system of Pakistan offers an interesting mixture of four languages. The first set of terms is of Latin. While the basic body of the law remains in English, most of the terms used are of Latin origin; words like *de facto, de jure,* and *prima facie etc.,* are in common currency in all cases, and are used abundantly by lawyers. It is, however, hard to establish whether the lawyers using these terms really know the literal meaning of these terms.

The second category of terms is in Arabic, introduced mainly in 1984 when new Islamic laws were incorporated in the already existing Anglo-Saxon law. For example, words like *a k y a-tūl šhūhūd log* (تزکیۃ الشہود لوگ), i.e., purified people, *Hūdūūd Ordinance* (حدود آرڈیننس), i.e., punishment ordinance, and *e sād fil- ar* (فساد فی ا رض), i.e., terrorism, etc. These terms are part of the main body of the law and are referred to by their Arabic names in court cases. Whether the users know their literal meanings is not easy to establish, but mostly they are referred to for their meaning and in reference to the clauses that are inevitably written in English.

The third set of law terms comprise of Persian and are abundantly used in legal documents. These terms were initially coined and used in the Mughal era when the official language was Persian, but are still used today in legal documents. Few terms of this group are provided as a specimen, in the following table:

Table 3: Persian Terms used in the Legal System of Pakistan

Sr. No	Persian terms	Transliteration	English translation
1.	طلبی	*elb*	Called upon
2.	پیشی	Peyšh	Hearing
3.	قبول شد	Qabūl šhūd	Accepted
4.	گواہ حاضر شد	Gewāh Hāzir šhūd	Witness present
5.	ازبرائے رو نمائی	Az bray rū-nūmā	Identification parade
6.	چٹھہ	Chṭhah	Register
7.	مچلقہ	Mechliqah	Bond
8.	فرد	Fard	Copy

These terms are specific in nature, as they are used only by the lower level judicial staff. Since these staff officers are not familiar with English terms defined in law books, they use the alternate Persian terms presented here. Besides the lower level staff officers of the court, the documentation prepared for police investigations, is also done in Urdu and these terms are widely used in these documents; however, these and many other such terms are not used in everyday Urdu conversations. Many of the Urdu speaking population are unfamiliar with these words as they come from pure Persian linguistic registers that are obsolete now for Urdu speakers.

The fourth category comprises those English terms that are used in common English but have developed locally embedded phonology and connotation. Words like *FIR* (first information report), *Registry*, *Stamp paper*, *interim order,* etc., are all established terms. The uniqueness of these terms is that the contents of all these documents are in Urdu but the names of all these

documents are in English, with no Urdu counterparts available. For example, an FIR is always called FIR, but the content is in persianized Urdu. Similarly, the basic document in land revenue department is called ―registry", which is a legal record of registry of a piece of land. This document contains so many obsolete Persian words that only the patwari[111] or land officers know; whereas, if someone wants a copy of his/her registry, he/she will ask for a *fard/naqal*, both of these are Persian words, which literally means a copy. The point to stress here is the interlinkage between the names assigned to same documents and hierarchy maintained within this system. All the important documents are always named in English, but the content of such documents are in Urdu or more specifically in persianized Urdu.

In sum, it can be said that the legal system is an amalgamation of various languages not only in its content but also in its nomenclature. This shows that multilingualism is not only an oral discourse among interlocutors, but an inevitable result of a system that is composed of so many different languages in its written content. Amidst all this, English finds its unique place. However, the staff not well versed in English, i.e., the lower level judicial court staff and the lower level police staff; all use Urdu as their working language. They use obsolete, Persian-based Urdu terms that are not used in everyday Urdu language.

Here we see how the official hierarchy within a sector is also demarcated by linguistic hierarchy. The higher the officer in the rank, the documents and official business are in English. The lower the officer is on the official ladder, the more the use of Urdu, Persian, and in some provinces even the regional languages. For example, in Sindh, Sindhi is used for preparing court documents, such as FIR; however, Punjabi does not enjoy the same status in Punjab. Although

[111] Patwari is the designation of the land officer. This is the first person one contacts in land matters. Even word Patwari is of Persian origin.

the officers of lower ranks always talk to each other in Punjabi, they never use Punjabi in official documentation. The reasons for such discrimination across provinces towards the regional languages originate from the general perceptions, and pre-conceived ideas of people towards these languages in different parts of the country. Due to limited resources and scope, It is, however, not possible to dig deeper for inter-provincial differences of language perceptions and use in this research.

6.5. Summary

This chapter showed, through empirical evidence, that a word is not an empty signifier having a linear relation with the signified that generates communication as Saussure assumed (1966). It is rather loaded with pre-existing social inequalities, hierarchies and power relations that exist among the interlocutors engaged in the act of speech at a certain period of time (Hasan, 1998; Bourdieu, 1991). In this chapter I explored, with the help of different empirical cases, the underlying currents of the social realities of everyday life that influence and are influenced by historical processes, and affect everyday practices of linguistic exchanges in contemporary multilingual Pakistani society. The results show that language serves as a mark of one‘s identity and social status and speakers of different languages are empowered or discriminated against for speaking a certain language in settings where the official language is different from lingua franca, a clear manifestation of gate-keeping *praxis* based on the sociological indicators of the interlocutors. This chapter maintains that a linguistic switch among different languages (English, Urdu and Punjabi in this research) is governed by and conditioned with the overall language habitus of a society. Furthermore, it shows that social indicators such as gender, age, educational qualification, ethnicity, socio-economic background, and rural or urban origins, serve as

perceptual cues based on which the interlocutors select, switch, and change the language of use as they speak (Bourdieu, 1991).

PART IV: CONCLUSIONS

7. CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation problematizes the idea of social meaning of language in the multilingual settings. It is presented in the previous chapters how the choice of a certain language in a certain situation works as a gate-keeping practice which is guided by the pre-existing differences, power relations, and hierarchies among the interlocutors. In two specific cases presented, i.e., of educational and judicial institutes, it becomes clear that these two fields differ in their use of various languages in the multilingual context of Pakistani society. It is, however, still possible to draw similarities that are present across the board in these two social institutions and among others, within the specific context of Pakistan. The conclusions drawn from this research, it is assumed are also applicable to other multilingual societies in the world. This chapter brings together all the pieces of the puzzle of multilingualism that was unpacked in the previous chapters.

Theoretically speaking, this research builds on post-structuralist debate but moves beyond it (Benzecry, Krause, & Reed, 2017). It takes as a given that language plays a constitutive role in shaping the social reality that individuals embody, but it also moves away from subscribing to any particular school of thought or thinker. I intend to show that social reality, manifested through practices of the individuals, is not as neatly put, fixed, and distributed into categories as structuralist thinkers like Saussure or Levi-Strauss would have us believe. It is rather muddled with complex networks of interactions that are fluid, transitory and intertwined, unexplainable by any single frame of reference by its very nature. I propose that when looked from a practical logic angle, the neatness of the phenomenon evaporates and gives space to moments of negotiations in which the individuals pick and choose from the plethora of options available and/or suitable to a certain setting. Such understanding defies the very nature of

empiricity the researchers try to pin upon the objects of their studies. I propose that something fixed like language keeps on changing every moment because the speakers of that language keep on adding and subtracting from the given pool of relational characteristics of that language; more so in a multilingual society where such transactions are not an exception but a rule that necessitates and precludes the transitions made at every moment. Thus, the current research adds evidence to the practice theory, post-structuralist theory and hermeneutic dimension of social life. Habitus explains why certain language gains acceptance in a certain setting; in this particular case, use of English in disparate settings tends to render its speakers more noteworthy as compared to Urdu and/or regional languages. The story does not end here though. Moving a step lower on the social ladder, one also finds Urdu occupying the stage of official transactions in second-level jobs, thereby leaving regional languages like Punjabi at the bottom. Such scheme of things is not by accident but by design, made, kept, and perpetuated by socio-historical forces and individuals who find themselves at a privileged position as compared to others. This distribution remains so because it reinforces the symbolic capital that is reproduced in a specific field through the generative principles of habitus of that specific field.

As has become evident from the cases presented above, that linguistic codeswitching from one language to another is not simply a matter of chance or random selection the interlocutors make from readily available linguistic registers they possess. It is suggested by this research that the linguistic code that is switched is very much dependent on and conditioned by all these indicators of the overall sociological code, thus formed and informed by the verbal and non-verbal environment of the interlocutors. The switch in language seems unconscious, as it is happening effortlessly and spontaneously, but is nevertheless measured and intentional. The practice of linguistic codeswitching is unconscious in itself, but the choice of a certain word at a

certain place is both tactical and intentional, and depends upon or relates to the habitus in which the interaction is happening. This switching also serves as a buffer that helps alleviate the tension present between the official and the local, between the dominant and dominated languages and their corresponding social hierarchies.

Linguistically speaking, the current mixed form of words, the ones that originate from linguistic codeswitching, do not necessarily belong to any dictionary entry, and do not follow strict and standardized grammatical rules. It is rather constructed socially by following the market logic, where English being the official and legitimate language enjoys higher currency as a linguistic product, Urdu is in the middle, and Punjabi, being the language of the local and having widespread use in society, does not find space in official discourse, but is nevertheless rendered legitimate and authentic in rural settings as compared to urban centres. Historically speaking, after the independence of Pakistan, the British rulers left, but the unequal social spaces they created stayed behind as they suited and supported those who were already working under the British rulers. Under such conditions, there emerged a hybrid form of speech, the one where words of Urdu, English or Punjabi or other regional languages are mixed. This hybrid speech serves two purposes; a) it keeps the power inequality intact as it renders one language, i.e., English, superior over all other local languages, and b) it helps to appease those who, not having the capacity to compete in the English dominant market, nevertheless remain at the periphery of the circle, trying to carve out their own space. They use this speech variety as a coping strategy for making up for the perceived deficiency they have in using the official language of the state, i.e. English (Rahman, 2011; Mustafa, 2015; Canagarajah & Ashraf, 2013).

7.1. Social contextualization as the key to understand habitus and practice

The first major strand of argument that emerges out of these cases is that language is a mark of symbolic representation that facilitates and dictates the notions of identity construction in a multilingual society. It can be seen that in formal settings, in official spaces, the more an agent employs the official language, the better symbolic power he/she enjoys. In this context, it was English that enjoyed greater acceptance and knowledge of English came with added advantage for interlocutors within Pakistan‘s context (Chand, 2011; Rahman, 1999; Mansoor, Sikandar, Hussain, & Ahsan, 2009). Even if the educational institutes insist to evaluate students in English, the actual transaction and interaction happens in a mix-language [Urdu-English mix], a local language (Punjabi, Saraiki, Pashto, Balochi, etc.) or in the national language, i.e., Urdu. It holds true for both the case studies as Urdu was preferred across the board by the stakeholders of both the fields, i.e., the education and judicial system of Pakistan. One could see the trend prevalent in the educational sector, where students coming from rural backgrounds prefer Punjabi or other regional languages for interaction among themselves but use Urdu, English, or Urdu-English mix in their formal interactions; whereas English is used in their academic evaluation activities, such as assignments, quizzes, presentations and exams.

However, one finds Punjabi gaining legitimacy in the lower judicial courts situated in various districts in the rural areas of Pakistan. Whereas, Punjabi is rather reprimanded and use of Punjabi is discouraged in the higher judiciary situated in Lahore. Here Urdu becomes the lingua franca and English takes more centre stage in some of the courts such as the banking courts. In the like manner, Punjabi is preferred in the lower courts, Urdu in the upper courts in Lahore, whereas the outcome of the judicial activities, i.e., the verdicts, are written in English even when the whole prosecution, questioning and cross-questioning happens in Urdu, Punjabi or other

regional languages. The interchanging positionalities provide room for investigating the linguistic practices of both the institutions.

Based on my findings in the education and judicial sector, I suggest that language choice in a particular setting works as a veil: it conceals more than it reveals. By choosing a certain signifier at any given point, the speaker does not only convey the desired message but actually ends up conveying something more about the nature of the communication. It means that language is not only a mean to an end, but an end in itself. For example, drawing from the examples provided above, the mentioning of word ―death" instead of commonly used Urdu counterpart, ―*Szā-i Maut"* in a judicial hearing conveys a particular meaning (for details of this example, see section 6.3.2). Here the signifier is concealing something in its expression. In the like manner, the student presenting her work in Urdu language is stopped by the teacher, hence a message in itself. Whether it is a Punjabi proverb that is used to explain the verdict, or the use of other Punjabi proverbs to combat the official Urdu language in a court room; whether it is the choice of Urdu-English mix in a classroom for conveying one‗s ideas or asking questions in Urdu while trying to understand a certain topic; all these interactions are episodes of rupture from the official, and sanctioned practice, both in the judicial and educational settings. Thus, these language choices become the messages in themselves: i.e., a certain signifier, although officially sanctioned, is unable to convey the message or comprehend a certain message, hence the interlocutors fall back on the choices they are most acquainted with, i.e., Punjabi, Urdu, or any other local, regional languages. Here one can see that both habitus and practice approaches merge in one over-arching theme, i.e., social context in which the linguistic interactions take place. This, however, shall not be taken as a homogenous practice. In other words, one can say

that it is rather the logic of the field combined with one‘s embodied predispositions (habitus) and acquired linguistic resources (capital) that runs the show.

As a conclusion, one can assume that under such a varied linguistic system, the mere act of using a word from another language has become all the more significant. The interlocutors may not know the meaning of the signifier used in the speech but this act of using another signifier results in providing extra leverage, symbolic superiority, and authority to the speaker. Here the two, the signifier and the signified, merge in one entity to signify something else, something more, i.e., superiority of the speaker over the listener who does not share the same code, or the same level of competence and mastery of the language in which the communication happens between the two of them; hence it is referred here as gate-keeping practices. Thus the linguistic, eventually and inadvertently, results in shaping, reproducing, and reinforcing the sociological habitus of the members of the society that in the first place creates the social inequalities that generate varied use of languages.

7.2. Field-dependent nature of language choice and patterns of social inclusion/exclusion

It is also important to notice that the symbolic space or field in which the social interactions take place is also a contested construct and is rather dependent on various sociological factors, such as age, gender, socio-economic status, ethnic affiliation, educational background and geographical location of social agents. All these qualifiers come together in negotiating among various identities a person possesses. A simple choice of using one language than another is dependent on these qualifiers. It is in the habitus of a certain society that one finds indications for making these linguistic choices; choices are nevertheless driven by practical logic or ―feel of the game" as Bourdieu (1984) would call it. The cognitive elements of these

practices are rather unconscious and are based on the practical sense of the social –fields" one is embedded in. Furthermore, there is not one overarching generative principle that is ever present in all the linguistic choices. It is rather a matter of scale, social-situatedness and symbolic values of linguistic resources, i.e., various languages, that guide and inform the linguistic choices of the interlocutors (Heller, 2008; Harker & May, 1993; Rahman, 2002). It so happens that an asset at the national level, in terms of knowing good English and Urdu, might become a barrier at the local level where predominant discourse and habitus favours local languages such as Punjabi, Pashto, Balochi etc. A clear example of this was the case where a high court lawyer went to fight for one of his relative in a lower court and tried to use his higher cultural capital of higher degree and better command of English and Urdu language; whereas his counterpart was a local lawyer, well-versed in Punjabi but not well-equipped in Urdu or English. Therefore, an asset at the national level did not work well for the lawyer from Lahore, as it turned out that habitus of the lower judicial court appreciated the local lawyer for speaking Punjabi instead of Urdu. On the other hand, when police officers from various regions are called to testify in the High Court of Lahore and try to speak Punjabi, which they normally do in the lower courts and in their police stations, are reprimanded by the judges of the High Court for speaking Punjabi in the court.

Related to the first is another overarching theme, i.e., language is a tool for social inclusion and exclusion. In a multilingual environment, people align themselves closer to or away from others based on their ability to speak a specific language (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Rzehak, 2012). People coming from small provinces, or coming from peripheries of one province, tend to group together with others speakers of the same local languages. For example, Saraiki speakers in the universities, a community that resides in the south of Punjab, group together with other Saraiki speakers. This finding in itself may not be novel; however, it

becomes more important when analysed along the lines of class-based associations among the members of Pakistani society. Those who are trained in private high-end English medium schools tend to group together with others coming from the same educational background, based on their ability to converse in English, irrespective of their provincial origins or ethnic affiliations. Hence, the sense of belonging and identity cannot be fixed on one‘s origin or ethnicity. It rather becomes clear that identity construction as a process is much more fluid a phenomenon where many other factors such as socio-economic status and educational background become as vital as traditional indicators like ethnicity or origin. Therefore, the ability to converse comfortably in English ends up producing a sense of belonging toward others who share the taste and manners that pertains to ascribing to same cultural forms, such as reading English books, watching Hollywood movies or listening to English music. Hence, a new form of identity is constructed along linguistic lines, one which is urban in outlook and modern in practice. This identity is strongly linked to secondary education.

7.3. Psychological impacts of multilingualism

One way to look at this linguistic attitude is to use aspiration model. In both the case studies, we see people aspiring for English as it promises greater share in terms of access and participation. Given that this is the set standard for achieving success in any given field, those who have varied training in English are seen as ―successful"; whereas, many of the students, owing to the asymmetrical and differential educational system of Pakistan, fill the gap between what they are and what they want to become by using an intermediary variety of language, i.e., codeswitching. Thus the switch in linguistic codes in a given conversation is directed by the overall habitus that is context-dependent. Therefore, it is argued that linguistic codeswitching

that is guided by the overall sociological code of a given situation. It is rather a navigational capacity that individuals use in order to ascertain their position in a given conversation.

Hence, I conclude, that socio-historical processes that are political in nature construct a self that is always intertwined and tossed between the dialectical relations among the interlocutors. The intentionality of the speakers at this level becomes irrelevant and turns into structured practice, that is itself structuring in its nature and is pushing the boundaries of what a certain practice embodies, i.e., codeswitching as a linguistic category is not bound by the rules of the game. This variety of speech, codeswitching, does not follow any grammatical rules; hence it falls outside the realm of standard linguistic norms. It, nevertheless, makes a bigger portion of oral repertoires of many members who end up navigating among various languages within a conversation.

Using Lacan‘s mirror image stage as a referent point, I propose that language becomes the mirror through which one sees oneself. The self-perception of a social agent is, therefore, not a mere reflection. A person sees him/herself as others would see him/her. Hence the exercise of self-censorship is at work as the speakers make their selection of words in response to their interlocutors. The speakers try to produce the utterances that others would find relevant of their status. The interlocutors involved in a conversation look at themselves through the mirror of language, hence the term self-perception as confident, lacking, or disappointing become the differentiating features in a given conversation.

Linguistically speaking, codeswitching thus becomes a middle ground that people use for negotiating their identities, for navigating between what they are and what they ought to be, what they want to become. Thus language becomes a symbolic lens, an imaginary mirror (an

extension of Lacan‘s mirror stage) through which the speaker looks at himself/herself, with the only exception that this mirror speaks back to him/her. The conversation keeps happening at the unconscious level where the speaker keeps correcting himself/herself with every conversation, thereby, trying to incorporate more and more words of the dominant language, in this case English language, in the base language, be it Urdu, Punjabi or any other regional language.

It can be further argued that the social model of aspiration where culture is seen as a ―capacity to aspire" (Appadurai, 2013) goes hand in hand with psychological model of self-perception (Tamim, 2014b) where symbolic capital of knowing English plays a vital role in shaping one‘s perception as being confident, participative, and educated. The lack of symbolic capital, in terms of not knowing English, results in poor self-perception, in which the speaker finds himself/ herself less-confident, shy; hence restricted in participation. In this case, the individual ends up with little participation in educational institutes that then translates into acquiring less desired jobs in the end.

It should, however, be mentioned that language is not the sole criterion for these decisions. This research does not assert that the ability to speak English is the only way to look at the social processes of participation. It simply wants to show that language is, in fact, an important ability among other variables, a dimension that have not been stressed so far for analysing these processes. Language should rather been seen as a missing piece of the puzzle if one wants to make sense of the inner logics of social institutes like education and judiciary among others within the multilingual context of Pakistan. This research rather establishes that the psychological effects of language choices within multilingual context should rather be factored in while analysing the sociological dimensions of linguistics. Within a social context where various languages are deployed for various means, these languages serve various functions

within the overall sociological milieu of the multilingual society. If one wants to move higher in the social hierarchy, it is the mastery of the official and national languages that makes the move easier for the members of Pakistani society. If one wants to extend one‘s influence among local networks within population of various villages, it is the local language that does the job, hence I conclude that it is rather a function of habitus one finds oneself in that determines these linguistic choices. Then people navigate between these two extremes of the spectrum of language choices by using various linguistic resources, codeswitching being one of them.

Hence, I conclude that study of language choice, as a carrier of a message, is more important than the message itself. When one constructs a sentence, this construction is subject to a certain discourse, is informed by a certain habitus and this praxis is played out in a certain field. All this indicates the complexities of the processes of the day to day interactions that one finds oneself in. Thus the inner working of habitus is explained by using Lacan‘s theory of language, i.e., the chain of signifiers constructs a message and renders a certain act of signification as valid or invalid.

7.4. Language policy and development

When we examine the official discourse of development of the government of Pakistan, we ironically do not find any attempt at discussing linguistic disparities. For example, the most recent policy document for development, Vision 2025, does not mention any of these factors for consideration. It seems like the official development discourse is more inclined to traditional neo-liberal matrix where much more emphasis is put on making Pakistan a knowledge economy, and providing social justice to all the citizens (GoP, 2013). How such aims are to materialize in consideration of the existing social inequalities, linguistic disparities being one of them, is not

clear from the official documents provided by the government of Pakistan. Hence, we are left with a conundrum and confusion that seeps through the policy circles of Pakistan. However, at the least one thing can be said with certainty: the current asymmetrical and unequal educational system simply adds to the problems of marginality and discrimination as no attention is being paid toward creating a level playing field for all the citizens.

The divide, based on linguistic lines, of ‗us' vs. ‗them' is so deeply entrenched in the Pakistani society that the mere ability to communicate in English pays off well in terms of access to resources, jobs, and social standing in the society. Thus language, especially English language, becomes a marker, a barrier that keeps entry restricted to a few, thereby, disempowering the majority of the population from the echelons of power, in terms of high-level government and non-government jobs. The most important example of this is the case of Central Superior Services (CSS) exams that was mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation. These top-most jobs are filled with those candidates who are expected to be excellent in their ability to read and write in English. The fact that 92% of the total candidates failed in CSS only in English exam just last year (2016) speaks about the barrier that the majority of the candidates face for entering these jobs. This is just the tip of the iceberg of discrimination that is hidden deep under the layers of social attitudes towards English and other languages. Here, one can see the inner working of Pakistani bureaucracy in terms of the selection criteria. The biggest hurdle for the candidates thus becomes English than any other skills, knowledge or determination. Therefore, it can be argues that language works as a gate-keeping practice, one that differentiates between who can and cannot participate in the echelons of power. In the end, it can be argued that the obsession with English runs deeper in society and is similar in both sectors. Furthermore, it is not restricted

to these two social institutions only but is rather a social attitude that is present in society in general.

Therefore, the choice of a school, in turn, is a matter of affordability. This means that the rich will get to send their children to schools which provide excellent training in English and the standard of quality decreases as we go down the economic scale (Rahman, 2002; Mustafa, 2015). State run Urdu medium schools come in the last position for providing quality education in English. Why is the relation between language of instruction in school and the subsequent economic success worth exploring? The answer is that after having such varied, asymmetrical, non-comparable training in elementary and high school education either in Urdu or in English, all students are expected to compete with each other in the higher education sector and subsequently in the job market. Since all of them come from varied educational backgrounds, the chances of succeeding in the university and subsequently in the job market are not equal. Therefore, this latent form of symbolic constraint, this hidden dimension of social conflict, eventually creates boundaries that distance the individuals of an already bifurcated nation. However, I must mention that it is not only the Urdu - English divide that makes all the difference in academic training. In addition to using English as the medium of instruction, private English medium schools might teach students critical thinking which results in approaching problem-solving in a very different manner. It thus does not only depend on the language skills but also the way subjects are taught and what kind of study skills are conveyed by lecturers in the classrooms that makes the final difference in terms of one‘s ability to excel in the subsequent fields of higher education.

This refers to a class dimension that Alavi (2002) termed as ―salariat" in his analysis of Pakistani society. It is important to mention that for Alavi salariat meant rich, urban, middle-

class, educated Hindu-Muslim population of pre-partition India. In my research, however, it is shown through empirical evidence that this dimension of belonging is present even in post-partition, post-colonial Pakistani society as well. The same characteristics of salariat, i.e., rich, urban, middle-class, educated, that defined pre-partitioned population working under the British rule can be applied to the post-partition rulers of newly formed Muslim state of Pakistan (Siddique, 2014). The only noticeable change is the role of this class. In pre-partitioned India, this segment of the Indian society functioned as the arbitrators between the British administration and the local population; whereas, in post-partitioned Pakistan, this segment becomes the new rulers of Pakistan. The rules of engagement, the perceptions around urban groups and rural populace still hold greater symbolic value in contemporary Pakistani society (Rahman, 1999, 2002). Those fluent in English have an upper hand over the rest of the population. This section of population is a minority but nevertheless enjoys greater power, both physical and symbolic, over others who do not possess this linguistic resource of knowing English (Tamim, 2014a; Mansoor, 2009). This distribution of pre-partition population towards English and regional language has its nuances in current day India and Pakistan. Even in India, the elite associate themselves more with English than Hindi or any other regional language. Chand (2011) reports that the elite community in New Delhi position themselves more emphatically with English than Hindi and other regional languages. This ―obsession with English” hat is costing a lot for regional languages and that this shapes the notions and perceptions around various languages: those who associate themselves with English are seen as elite and those associated with regional languages are rendered as non-elite (Brass, 2004; Vivashwan, 2017).

Moreover, my research feeds into the overall research happening on issues of language within the multilingual context of Pakistan. Considering the current situation, it looks like the

state of Pakistan is still indecisive about what shall be the official language of the state. On a rather micro-level, the remnants of colonial policy of making English the official language of Pakistan ended up dividing the society even further along linguistic lines. This begs the question then which language should become the official language if not English, and which language should be used as medium of instruction in the educational institutes if not English. Scholars and researchers, both in Pakistan and the world over, are divided over this issue. If not English, then Urdu might seem like a better choice for creating the level playing field. But the status of Urdu as the official language and medium of instruction is highly contested historically and many other ethnic groups, such as the Baloch, Saraiki, and Pashtun etc. feel discriminated if such move is to make way one day. If not Urdu, then the only option is regional languages. Many scholars argue for teaching children in their mother tongues as it improves their comprehension if the concept formation at an early stage is built in their own mother tongues (Rahman, 2009; Mustafa, 2015; Piller, 2016). This option finds opposition in government circles because this is perceived as a threat to the national integration model that successive governments have been bent at preserving on all grounds (Shafqat, 2016). These divisions culminate in the formation of a nation that is fragmented, among other factors, along linguistic lines. It is for this very reason that one must analyse the language-related problems within multilingual context where language serves more as a barrier and less as a form of communication among the members of a multilingual society; hence poses a peril to the social development of the Pakistani society as a whole.

As this research remained very much at the interpretative level, it did not go in the depths of language politics and the relationships between the dominant and peripheral languages. The scope of this research is limited to the socio-psychological dimension and does not include the

political economy of multilingualism. This research undertook one regional language (Punjabi), the national language (Urdu), and the official language (English) into consideration. It is, however, my assumption that the rules of engagement, sense of belongings, and resulting socio-psychological effects might or might not be the same if we only change the local language from Punjabi to any other regional language such as Pashto, Balochi or Saraiki etc., while keeping Urdu and English as constant. It is the task well-suited for future research to see if these relationships stay the same or differ when we take into the account various other regional languages of Pakistan.

In sum, I suggest that the whole question of being, of identity, be it ethnic, religious, linguistic, or social, is actually embedded in the narratives of becoming (Freire, 1996). What one wants to become is actually guided by what one is and what one aspires to become (Appadurai, 2013). Measured on socially held standards, one finds oneself negotiating among various identities and this constant struggle between being and becoming is embedded in the social milieu one is born in, which is something that relates to a certain habitus (Calhoun, Lipuma, & Postone, 1993). The aspirations to become something one is already not comes along with a set of markers that one tries to adopt or adapt in order to find social relatedness in one‘s social world. Education thus provides the basis, the needed toolkit that one can use in order to become what the externally set criteria demands. Thus the arena of becoming, i.e., university in this case, shapes and implicitly changes the sense of being for students of various universities of Pakistan.

Since many local languages are discriminated against in official and formal institutes like education and judiciary, it results in creating subjectivities for individuals who find themselves entrapped between a rock and a thick wall. At one end are the local aspirations of students that they learn the local languages in their immediate family environment; whereas, on the other

hand, are the demands of the official institutes that compel them toward learning and using a language that is not shared by their elders, family circles, or local environments. One can image what sort of psychological damage such division does to those who go through this drill. In the end, these individuals adapt to the demands and aspirations of each social field. The inner interest, however, is lost in the process of learning in the case of education, in order to meet the demands of the structures of the linguistic-scape of the university environment (Mustafa, 2015; Rahman, 2004; Tamim, 2014b). Since all of them come from varied educational backgrounds, the chances of succeeding in the university and subsequently in job market are not equal, hence the gate-keeping practice of crediting a certain language and discrediting others is manifested in the discourses, attitudes, perceptions, and practices of the members of a multilingual society (Shove, Pantzer, & Watson, 2012; Sökfeld, 1999). Therefore, this latent form of symbolic constraint, this hidden dimension of social conflict, eventually creates boundaries that distance the individuals of already bifurcated nation. It is for this very reason that the current research is relevant to the social research on Pakistan.

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APPENDICES

A: Percentage of students who passed in CSS exams from 2007-2016

Number of Candidates appeared in Central Superior Services and Percentages of candidates who passed the written test: 2007-2016

Year	Candidates appeared for written exams	Successful candidates	Success rate in percentages
2016	9642	202	2.09
2015	12,176	379	3.11
2014	13,169	439	3.33
2013	11,447	238	2.08
2012	10,066	799	7.94
2011	9063	883	9.74
2010	7759	642	8.3
2009	5707	905	15.85
2008	4247	689	16.22
2007	3505	194	5.53

B: Data Collection Approval Application from University of the Punjab (PU)

To,

Vice Chancellor

University of the Punjab,

Lahore

Subject: Approval for Data Collection for PhD research

Respected Sir,

I am an HEC/DAAD scholar and am currently working on my doctorate degree at Center for Development Research (ZEF), Universität Bonn, Germany. The topic of my PhD research is, **―Socio-Psychological Implications of Multilingualism in Pakistani Courts and Universities".** My work deals with the question of linguistic challenges faced by members of Pakistani society. In order to conduct an empirical research, I am investigating this question in different segments of our society, where interplay between different languages is very clear. This research is an interdisciplinary project that entails to address the question from a more inclusive and elaborative viewpoint.

For my research, I selected two sectors of the society, i.e., judicial sector and education sector. For my research, I am supposed to take opinions from learned members of both sectors on

this question. For the education part of my research, I have selected University of the Punjab, Lahore. The first and foremost reason for this selection, among others, is that no other educational institute is as diverse and versatile in its environment as Punjab University. I want to benefit from this diversity as my research is aimed at understanding such diversity in its most natural form. The research methods that are to be used for data collection include semi-structure interviews with both teachers and students of different departments, observations of students interaction in classes in order to identify those who are having trouble with language shift, and conducting workshops with students of different departments. It is here that I seek your help. It will be very considerate of you if you could grant me your approval for conducting this research in the below mentioned departments of the University of the Punjab.

Department of English Language and Literature

Department of Philosophy

Department of Sociology

Institute of Communication Studies

Faculty of Education

Faculty of Law

Institute of Applied Psychology

Institute of Business Administration

Department of Regional Languages

Department of Mathematics

Department of Chemistry

Will you be so kind to approve of this research as it will definitely be beneficial both for me and for the University as well? I am also attaching the official letter herein issued by my institute and duly authorized by HEC as well. Your kindness will always be cherished.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Aftab Nasir

PhD Fellow and Junior. Researcher

Center for Development Research/

Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung (ZEFa)

University of Bonn

Walter-Flex-Str. 3

53113 Bonn, Germany

C: Data Collection Approval Application from University of Sargodha (UOS)

To,

Dean

Faculty of Behavioral Sciences

University of Sargodha,

Sargodha

Subject: Approval for Data Collection for PhD research

Respected Sir,

I am an HEC/DAAD scholar and am currently working on my doctorate degree at Center for Development Research (ZEF), Universität Bonn, Germany. The topic of my PhD research is, **―Socio-Psychological Implications of Multilingualism in Pakistani Universities and Courts".** My work deals with the question of linguistic challenges faced by members of Pakistani society. In order to conduct an interdisciplinary and empirical research, I am investigating this question in different segments of our society.

For my research, I selected two sectors of the society, i.e., judicial sector and education sector. I am supposed to take opinions from learned members of both sectors on this question. For the education part of my research, I have selected two well-established universities of Punjab province, i.e., University of the Punjab, Lahore and University of Sargodha, Sargodha. The first and foremost reason for this selection of University of Sargodha is that it has established itself

among those universities of Pakistan that are producing quality education while being away from big cities like Lahore or Islamabad. I want to study the language problem while being very close to the society and I believe that the diverse environment at University of Sargodha will provide me with the opportunity to interact with students coming from all different segments of the society belonging to different areas of Punjab. The research methods that are to be used for data collection include semi-structure interviews with both teachers and students of different departments, observations of students interaction in classes in order to identify those who are having trouble with language shift, and conducting focus group discussions with students and teachers. It is here that I seek your help. It will be very considerate of you if you could grant me your approval for conducting this research in the below mentioned departments of the University of Sargodha.

____ H.O.D. Department of Psychology

_______________________________________ H.O.D. Department of Sociology

_______________________________________ Department of Social Work

____ Dean, Faculty of Behavioral Sciences

Thanking you in anticipation,

Aftab Nasir

PhD Fellow & Jr. Researcher

Center for Development Research/ Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung (ZEFa)University of Bonn

D: Survey Questionnaire for Students (translated from Urdu)

1. I express myself better in _________?

   a) Pashto b) Urdu c) English d) Balochi e) Punjabi f) Sindhi

   g) Others___________

2. When i explain a topic studied in a class to my friend, i use__________ language?

   a) Urdu b) English-Urdu mix c) English d) Punjabi e) other______

3. My mother tongue is_______?

   a) Pashto b) Urdu c) Saraiki d) Balochi e) Punjabi f) Sindhi

   g) Others___________

4. I understand better if the teachers deliver a lecture in the class in_______?

   a) English b) English-Urdu mix c) Urdu d) Punjabi e) others______

5. I completed my intermediate exams in__________ language?

   a) Urdu b) English c) Punjabi d) Balochi e) Pashto

   f) Sindhi g) Others_________

6. Those who do not know English are left behind in the society?

   a) Yes b) To some extent c) Not at all d) Don‘t know

6a. If yes, how? Please explain with examples.

____

____

____

7. I enjoy humour in__________?

a) Urdu b) Saraiki c) Balochi d) Punjabi e) Pashto f) Sindhi

g) Others_______

8. I give class presentations in_______?

a) English b) Englsih-Urdu mix c) Urdu d) Others_______

9. In my view, the medium of instruction in schools and colleges should be__________ language?

a) Pashto b) Urdu c) English d) Balochi e) Punjabi f) Sindhi

g) Others_______

10. Those who do not speak good enough English suffer from inferiority complex?

a) Yes b) To some extent c) Not at all d) Don't know

11. I talk to my friends in_________?

a) Pashto b) Urdu c) Saraiki d) Balochi e) Punjabi f) Sindhi

g) Others___________

12. In my view, English as the medium of instruction in the educational institutes is a hurdle for the development of cognitive skills of the students?

a) Yes b) To some extent c) Not at all d) Don't know

12a. If yes, how? Please explain with examples.

____

____

____

13. I feel that people speaking good English are given more importance in the society?

a) Yes b) To some extent c) Not at all d) Don't know

14. I completed my B.A/B.Sc exams in ________ language?

a) Urdu b) English c) Balochi d) Punjabi e) Pashto f) Sindhi

g) Others_______

15. I think students should have the option of expressing themselves in any language?

a) Yes c) Not at all d) Don't know

16. I converse with my family in __________ language?

a) Pashto b) Urdu c) Saraiki d) Balochi e) Punjabi f) Sindhi

g) Others_______

Name (optoinal): _________ Class: ________ Subject: ________

Gender: Male/Female Village/City: _______ District: ________

Matric/O-level medieum: Urdu medium/English medium

E: Questionnaire for Judges

Subject: Interview for PhD research

Dear sir/ma'am,

I am working on my doctorate studies at Center for Development Research (ZEF), University of Bonn, Germany. My work deals with the question of linguistic barriers in Pakistani society. In order to conduct an empirical research, I am investigating this question in different segments of our society, where interplay between different languages is very clear and plays a vital role in the development of society. I am a psychologist by training, but this research is an interdisciplinary project that entails to address the question from a more inclusive and elaborative viewpoint.

For my research, I selected two sectors of the society, i.e., judicial sector and education sector, where language is playing a rather vivid and direct role in shaping the day-to-day interactions. As part of my research, I am supposed to take opinions from learned members of both sectors on this question. As for judicial sector, I have taken interviews from different lawyers and the clients involved in different cases. This, however, does not make the whole picture clearer, and the provided data is insufficient to say anything about the system as the erudite opinions of the learned judicial officers are not included in it yet. It is for this purpose that I am writing this message. It will be very kind and considerate of you if you could give me time for face to face interview for my research. My interview is based on a semi-structured interview protocol that is attached herein. However, the research methodology being used in this research necessitates having a face to face interaction with the learned officer, therefore, please

let me know if you could give me some time to have an interview session with you at a time of your convenience.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Aftab Nasir

Semi-structured interview protocol

1. What kind of different languages are used in court proceedings?
2. Is court language different from everyday life?
3. What is the impact of use of different languages on the people involved?
4. What is the language of investigation and how does it correspond with the judicial system?
5. Are you satisfied with the police investigation?
    a. If not, what are the reasons?
6. Do you think that command over English affects one's practice in court proceedings?
7. What are the reasons for it?
8. How efficient is the judicial system?
    a. Reasons for efficiency or inefficiency.
9. Does language make is inefficient?
10. What problems do you face when communicating to the lawyers?
11. What problems do you face when communicating with the clients?
12. Can it be easier if the system is in native language or national language?
13. Do you see language gap? If yes, how it can be overcome?
14. Suggestions for improving the system!

Note: Please consider that this specimen protocol is simply designed to facilitate the interview session for the interviewer and the interviewee. It cannot be taken as a questionnaire with close-ended questions that can be answered in yes/no format. It is rather in-depth study that wants to understand the reasons of conducting the affairs as they are, hence I solemnly request for face to face interview with the learned officer.

F: Semi-structured interview protocol for lawyers and litigants

Questionnaire for lawyers

1. What kind of different languages are used in court proceedings?
2. Is court language different from everyday life?
3. What is the impact of use of different languages on the people involved?
4. What is the language of investigation and how does it correspond with the judicial system?
5. Are you satisfied with the police investigation?
    a. If not, what are the reasons?
6. Do you think that command over English affects one's position in court proceedings?
7. What are the reasons for it?
8. Do judges appreciate the use of any one language?
9. Are judges competent to do their job?
10. How efficient is the judicial system?
    a. Reasons for inefficiency
11. Does language make is inefficient?
12. What problems do you face when communicating to the clients?
    a. If language mentioned, ask what exactly?
13. What problems do you face when communicating with judges?
14. Can it be easier if the system is in native language or national language?
15. Do you see language gap? If yes, how it can be overcome?
16. Suggestions for improving the system!

Questionnaire for clients

1. Are you satisfied with the judicial system?

a. If not, reasons for dissatisfaction,

2. How judges talk to you? Do they listen to you?

3. Do you understand the court proceedings?

a. If not, why?

4. How lawyers talk to you?

5. What is the role of police in investigation?

6. Did you read FIR? Do you understand it?

7. Do you know what decisions are made in your case in lower court?

a. What were the reasons for this decision?

8. Would it be better if everything was in Urdu or Punjabi?

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