Negotiating a Hybrid Identity: A Discursive Analysis of Higher Education Muslim ESL Learners

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Abstract

The primary objective of this research study is to map out the nature of hybridity of ESL learners/speakers that results from their resistance and/or acceptance of Western cultural discourses that are embedded within English curriculum texts taught to Muslim ESL learners at higher educational institutes in Pakistan.

As the respondents are part of a society that has a postcolonial past, label themselves as Muslims and are exposed to Western value systems via curriculum texts and social media, the thesis examines the data using a conceptual and methodological framework, which comprises postcolonialism, Islamic anthropology and hybridity.

Using Parker's analytical toolkit informed by Foucauldian discourse analysis, the study focuses on: 1) identifying and highlighting the impact of cultural references and discourses that are embedded within the texts of ESL teaching materials that may confuse or alienate Muslim learners/speakers, 2) examining Muslim speakers' perceptions of teaching materials from Western countries and their responses, and 3) mapping out the nature of hybridity in the context of adult Muslim speakers. By doing so the research aims to construct not only an analysis of hybrid discursivity among Muslim ESL higher education learners in Pakistan, but to also map out their internalized hybrid space.

Data that generated the analysis resulted from case studies of two elitist Pakistani higher educational institutes, with one being the primary case study and the other, a supporting case study. Data collected included teaching materials, classroom and institutional observations, and interviews and surveys of students and lecturing staff.

By using a qualitative approach, the research findings present insights into the Pakistani Muslim ESL respondents' progressive and critical abilities to delineate their own hybrid identities. In addition, they lead to the proposal of a possible visual presentation of how the abstract notion of hybridity can be conceived. This research contributes to the ongoing discussion by offering a critique on existing debates on hybridity and identity, and suggesting the need for an

inclusive methodological framework that acknowledges the discursive paradigms of respondents, and their capacities for what is termed 'critical ontological discursivity'.

Student Declaration

I, Sameen Motahhir, declare that the PhD thesis entitled Negotiating a Hybrid Identity: A Discursive Analysis of Higher Education Muslim ESL Learners is no more than 100,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.

Signature_____

Date_____/_____/_____

Acknowledgements

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Acronyms/Abbreviations

AMES – Adult Multicultural Educational Services

BANA – Britain, America, New Zealand, Australia

CAL – Critical Applied Linguistics

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

EAP – English for Academic Purposes

EFL – English as a Foreign Language

EIL – English as an International Language

ELF – English as a Lingua Franca

ELT – English Language Teaching

ESB – English Speaking Background

ESL – English as a Second Language

GMAT – Graduate Management Admission Test

NESB – Non-English Speaking Background

SNCC – Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

TEML – Teaching English as a Missionary Language

TESOL – Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

WTO – World Trade Organization

Preface

This thesis is written with a view to embodying awareness that emerges when teaching English to a class of migrants. It is a venture that was begun when the conscious decision was made to research the idea that language and culture are not only intrinsically linked, but they hold the key to how mindsets are formulated when exposed to such binary elements.

This thesis is by no means just an exploration of how English language learners are impacted by their exposure to a foreign language that may be seen to have imperialist tendencies. Rather, it is a journey into hybridity, an embodiment of a synthesis of conflicting discursive environments and a repository of multiple value systems that co-exist within the individual. It is in many ways a personal journey as much as a research endeavour.

For this reason the thesis hints at personal elements alongside academic discourse.

Each chapter begins with a personal exposé of main themes. These exposés scaffold the researcher's hybrid consciousness. When combined, they provide insight into how hybridity may be perceived as streams of consciousness.

The 'he' in these exposés is used for antithetical purposes only, and further delineates the concept of hybrid awareness.

It is to profess and confess that I begin. But where do I begin and how do I begin? Such is this beginning that it may know no end. The question that asserts itself begins to find its way into the stirrings in my mind. How do I begin something that is to end controllably—creating the most perfect solution by wielding a result, only to satisfy the so many terms, formulations, conditions, rules, regulations—all so completely?

'Hmmm...' he thought aloud.

Suppose I escaped only to run into myself? Is the question that I pose already an answer to a question I know?

He carefully said, 'It may be so. A question posed is an answer in the making. Gradually you will see the limitations of what you ask, the problems you encounter, the opinions you will trample. But it is when you strain your eyes against the darkness that you see the shades that shy away from the light. It is the whispers in-between, subtle and deep, that thaw- reluctantly, overwhelmed with exposure. It is what you will find and what others will not and cannot. It is the idea so incessantly obvious to you that thoughts will begin to flow and the words will reveal what you want us to see...'

Yes I have the question and the quest. I have the stirrings within my head—the unravelling of my thoughts and the events that bear it all. It is at that instant that I begin, not pinned against the wall, but clear and precise in my suggestions. This is a beginning, one of the many that I wrote, aware of the need to posit my formulations without digression.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH

From Cratylus, defender of the exactness of text, to Lewis Carroll, creator of almost impenetrable logical nonsense[1], language has been the focus of dissected and deconstructed dialectic. It is not surprising then, that debate surrounding language would include the social, religious, political and even economic context of language. Bakhtin suggests that languages should be "taken as particular points of view on the world." The context in which a language is enshrouded is essentially a social one, where a "word tastes of the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life" (1981:293). Although when Carroll's Humpty Dumpty, a word connoisseur, declares, "when I use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more or less" (cited in Dodgson, 2010:95), he limits himself to the text and refuses to acknowledge the context. But as most English language teachers admit, teaching a language is more than that because it invariably includes context.

Social, political, economic, and religious functions of language are the context in which language operates; it is essentially the culture of language (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Kramsch, 1993, 1998, 1999). The term 'culture' is almost impossible to accurately define and encompasses more than just social paradigms. For example, it includes the political, economic, religious and historical paradigms of a community (Arabski, 2011; Holliday, 1994; Samovar, Porter & McDaniel, 2010; Steels, 2012). Hence the cultural context of any language is in essence its culture, thus teaching language would inevitably include teaching the culture that esconces the language.

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[1] Lewis Carroll is the author of *Alice in Wonderland* (1988) and *Through the Looking Glass* (1990).

In the case of English, the dynamics of language learning become considerably more complex as a lingua franca (ELF), thus its socioeconomic currency and potential for cultural domination are added to the mix (Fishman, Hornberger and Pultz, 2006). Despite this issue, English still has the advantage of helping its learners to communicate with more than one community, and lend greater accessibility to varied linguistic and cultural capital. In addition, English language learners are motivated by their desire to integrate with the target community, and gain self-esteem in their own communities (Melzi & Schick, 2012: 53-70 in Chiesa, Scott & Hinton, 2012).

Conversely, English can be seen as imparting linguistic and cultural imposition, which in turn exploits the English language learner. Modiano (2000:340) suggests that "learners who primarily want to acquire the language because it is a useful cross-cultural communicative tool" find themselves becoming "auxiliary members of the culture" and hence vulnerable to "avenues of cultural indoctrination." The possibility of any form of 'indoctrination' is made real when language learning is not just seen as "learning a new phonology or syntax" but, more importantly, about "how to work out or think things through in an unfamiliar way" as well as "coming to an understanding that there is more than one way of organizing experiences" (Kumar, 2000:87).

The impact of language learning can restrict how the learner can enforce the "kinds of information each language habitually obliges people to think about" (Deutscher, 2011:152). As Deutscher suggests, language helps the learner navigate their thought processes, forcing "speakers to pay attention to certain aspects of the world each time they open their mouth, or prick up their ears". As the learner uses the language and gains fluency, "such habits of speech can eventually settle into habits of mind with consequences for memory, or perception, or associations" (2011:152). Although Deutscher might be suggesting that language can permeate the learner's mind and consciousness, such that he or she becomes oblivious of the changes in perspective, it is possible that the learner is not the passive agent Deutscher makes them out to be.

When presented with a plausible alternative(s), the learner is not simply confronted with the notion of multiple ways of 'organizing experiences' (Kumar, 2000:87), but also with the suggestion that what was seen as normative is not a reliable reference point. An English language learner faced with such a situation may be forced into the margins and to gain control generates his own centre. The dynamics that detail how English language learners, specifically Muslims, create their own identity and centre is the primary focus of this thesis. The evidence indicates that Muslim ESL learners have to contend with cultural and religious paradigms that, in many ways, are foreign to Western values. Such learners have to contend with bringing together a diverse range of choices.

The situation regarding ESL learners in Pakistan is further complicated by their exposure to English, as a colonizer's language, in which they have had at least 60 years to acculturate. In researching such learners, Shah and Bilal (2012:662-679) view the impact of English on the former colonial state as a "subtle, cunning integration of colonizer's and colonized culture" and not a "progressive, positive, enriching and dynamic concept of cultures" (671). But whether Pakistani ESL learners are "deceptive people" that "willingly adapt themselves to opportunities of more or less oppressive culture imposition" (Shah and Bilal, 2012:671), or whether they are active agents that pursue an idealized version of a cosmopolitan identity, borne of a seamless amalgamation of discourses from both Western and Eastern paradigms, is yet to be determined. Such an identity can only be termed 'hybrid'.

Developed within the scientific field of biology and genetics (Hutnyk, 2005), a hybrid is, by definition, a merging of two or more disparate ideas, traits or values. It is a notion that is characteristically "boundary-subverting, unquestionably transgressive" (Kompridis, 2005:320) but in essence can provide a plausible explanation as to how Muslim ESL learners negotiate their identity. There may be variations of hybridity and function as a concept (Stockhammer, 2012); it can be seen as a bricolage, an amalgamation or strained assimilation, but research into how a tangible version of hybridity operates is "often undertaken in isolation from, and even blissful neglect of, sociopolitical contexts" (Hutnyk, 2005:85).

Using discourse analysis, this thesis focuses on the nature of hybridity, and aims to explore and construct a tangible version. This research achieves its aim by setting up contesting discursive paradigms drawing on the case study of Pakistani Muslim learners of ESL. The hybridity of these learners arises from the fact that they are faced with both the task of learning a new language and a new culture in which the language is embedded (Duranti, Ochs and Schieffelin, 2011). In order to attain a more comprehensive account, Muslim English language teachers and administrators, who shoulder the responsibility of teaching and building a foreign curriculum, were also asked to participate in the research.

This chapter introduces the aims, objectives and significance of the research. It also provides a brief overview of the conceptual framework that will be used in the thesis, the research methods and a brief outline of the thesis structure. More importantly, this chapter provides valuable insights into the unique vantage point of the researcher.

1.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPTS

1.2.1 Discourse, discursive formations and discursivity

By defining discourse, discursive formations and discursivity, it is possible to accurately articulate the research aim and hence contextualise the research. Discourse implies a communicative practice and although it is extensively used, discourse has implications for sociolinguistics that are different to a common dictionary definition (Flowerdew, 2000). For example, Sawyer (2002) explores and traces the connotations of 'discourse' and how it has risen to prominence, while gaining a host of new meanings. For Foucault, originally, discourse constituted "a group of sequence of signs, in so far as they are statements, that is, in so far as they can be assigned particular modalities of existence" (1972:107). And although Foucault admits to using discourse ambiguously, he later substitutes discourse for more precise terms including power-knowledge and genealogy. Quoting Foucault, Le Court argues that discursive formations

"reside in discourse itself" and their primary characteristic is "their ability to produce and define what will be counted as knowledge" (2004:55). Therefore discursive formations can be seen as architectonic systems that emerge from various discourses and they are a systematic referent identifiable by their regularity (Gumperz, 1982a).

In this research, the terms 'discourse' and 'discursive formations' will be used according to Foucault's original definitions. 'Discursivity' appeared as part of the "system of discursivity" (Foucault, 1972:129), but also emerged in the "field of discursivity" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001:111). Laclau and Mouffe have used this exclusionary term, which suggests discursivity constitutes a field of discourses that are not discourse specific, meaning they are outside the typical discourse for any given field (cited in Boucher, 2008: 105). Foucault's use of discursivity stems from the idea of authors of texts that contribute not only to what they have written, but what they have indirectly highlighted: their position and the society that existed at the time of writing. In his essay 'What is an Author?' (Foucault, 1998: 187), Foucault refers to the 'founders of discursivity' having produced and established "an endless possibility of discourse" (1998:217). For Foucault, the term implies possibilities disclosed by discourse. In essence Foucault takes a positive stance, not a reductionist notion, but one that engages in the plausibility that discourse itself is unbounded. This also suggests that more can be said. The Foucauldian approach to discourse is discussed in more detail in chapter four.

1.2.2 Linguistic imperialism

Strictly speaking, linguistic imperialism is a notion that gained impetus in the early 1990s, when it was coined by Phillipson (1992) in his book by the same name. Philipson produced a working definition of the term, defining it as a desire to intentionally dictate what he referred to as a "continous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages" (Philispon, 1992: 47).

At the time, the awareness of English as the most dominant international language, given the economic and political predominance of the US and the West in general, helped support the idea. In the early 1980s, the concept of linguistic imperialism was introduced when the idea of English as a powerful language was promoted by academics, including Ferguson, who fleetingly suggested that "the spread of English" would play an important role in "transforming existing patterns of international communication" (1983: ix). Furthering this idea, Phillipson, citing Ferguson, used the idea to present the notion of "linguistic imperialism" (1992: 6, 2009). As a result, the concept of 'linguistic imperialism' resounded among academics that focused on diasporic communities and migrant populations within the European Union (Bilgili & Weyel, 2012; Mulhauser, 1996; Ragazzi, 2008; Ricento, 2000), but also postcolonial analysts (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Canagarajah, 1999; Chaudhuri & Boehmer, 2011; Pennycook, 2001; Zein-Elabdin, 2009).

The notion of linguistic imperialism highlighted latent controversies surrounding political and cultural capital that the English language had begun to accrue, especially in postcolonial countries (Canagarajah, 1999; Pennycook, 2001). The impact of English and its acculturating effect gained pre-eminence as a complex hegemonic theory (Crystal, 2012; Paulston, Kiesling & Rangel, 2012; Seargeant, 2012). This flagged the economic and political ascendancy of the US and the inevitability of further global integration (Pennycook, 1994).

1.2.3 Postcolonialism, hybridity and Islamic anthropology

The term 'postcolonialism' has connotations that suggest historicity. Postcolonialism is most commonly affiliated with the aftermath of colonization (Young, 2001). Of course, postcolonialism can be written with or without a hyphen and the two spellings overlap in perspective. For example, according to Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989:2) postcolonial "cover[s] all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day". On the other hand, Boehmer's postcolonial writings suggest that "rather than simply being the writing that came after empire it…is that which critically

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scrutinizes the colonial relationship…it is writing that sets out in one way or another to resist colonialist perspectives" (1995:3). As Boehmer (2011:1) comments, the postcolonial:

> …has also been configured as an academic discourse that relocates that denotation and its attendant political urgency into an interdisciplinary and cross-border mode of reading often extending backwards in time, and finding practices of resistance and subversion in cultural production both before and after the moment of colonization, and in different regions of the once-colonial world.

'Postcolonial' conventionally focuses on the rebellious movement that originated from the colonies against Anglophone countries and was primarily aimed at England. 'Postcolonialism' however was and still is regarded (Lazarus, 2004) as a more inclusive term that included those who wrote for the colonies (Elabdin, 2004) and those who were colonized, writing from the colonizers' shores. 'Postcolonial' in this thesis assumes a coming together of diverse voices, both from within the liberated colonies and from the colonizer outside. Postcolonialism, in essence, problematizes the hegemonic discourses while simultaneously being self-reflexive (Lazarus, 2004, 2011). This concept is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

The coming together of colonizer and colonized affords the opportunity of being "caught up in a complex reciprocity" (Loomba, 1998:232). This negotiating tension forces an opening that can only be described as "not some happy, consensual mix of diverse [or opposing] cultures" but rather a "strategic translational transfer of tone, value, signification and position" (Li, 2008:189). This is the hybrid space, one of contestation, negotiation and mediation articulated by the colonized mind, as it attempts to survive a prevalent postcolonial hegemonic discursive paradigm. Hence, hybridity here is the concept where values and ideas jostle for domination.

Tracing the concept[2] Stockhammer (2012) associates hybridity with postcolonialism, while they are strategically positioned as a 'consensual mixture' (Loomba, 1998:232). Although there may be variations of how hybridity can function as a concept, this thesis focuses on the nature of hybridity, and aims to explore and construct a tangible vision. Hence the concept of hybridity here stems from the notion of a third space—an interstitial space characteristically amoeboid, articulating, defining and redefining identity through mediation, negotiation and acceptance/resistance.

The concept of Islamic anthropology is defined by Ahmed (1986:56) as "the study of Muslim groups by scholars committed to the universalistic principles of Islam." Ahmed's definition makes it clear that both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars are included. This departs from Wyn Davies (1985), who proposes that Islamic anthropological research should be conducted within its own frame of reference rather than a Western one. The concept in this thesis follows Ahmed's idea of researching Islamic societies, albeit with reference to basic Islamic tenets, and this concurs with what Tapper (1996:189) suggests as a study of "how Muslim (individuals, groups, societies, nations) present/construct themselves as Muslims (as a major constituent of their identity)".

1.3 THE RESEARCH AIM

The research is situated in Pakistan, which shoulders a postcolonial legacy (Jaffelot, 2004) with a Muslim populace—a country that has been in the political

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[2] According to Kenyon (1994), "The term 'concept' is used to describe a more well formed idea that a person creates in the cognitive processes while the term 'notion' is used to describe less well formed ideas that the person comes to know. In the scheme of general semantics we would also describe 'notions' as particular responses of persons, still subject to great variation and interpretation, perhaps at a lower level of abstraction-multi-meaning at the level of the same dictionary definition in the same context, but in different persons. 'Concepts', on the other hand, should be articulated with a high degree of commonality from person to person and be more in the realm of multi-meaning at the level of the same dictionary definition in the same context." (page updated 2009) accessed 27/12/12 http://www.xenodochy.org/gs/notion.html

limelight since 9/11. The rationale for situating the study in Pakistan was based on my Pakistani background plus a combined knowledge of Urdu and English; hence the ability to relate with staff and students at higher educational institutions and respond to nuanced understandings. As the study is also conducted in Pakistan, it is imperative that the context of the research is briefly detailed in this introductory chapter. Pakistan was formerly part of India before British colonial occupation, and English is one of two national languages. Therefore Pakistanis are technically ESL rather than EFL learners, and for the purposes of this thesis, they will be described as ESL learners. The colonization of the Indian subcontinent and the impact and influence of colonialism on the Pakistani collective consciousness is discussed in more detail in chapter two, but suffice to say here, the historical impact of colonization has had a considerable influence on Pakistani ESL learners' views.

The presence of English language curricula (Warsi, 2004) within postcolonial societies of the Indian subcontinent has been seen by some scholars as a source of contestation (Graddol, 2006; Kachru & Nelson, 2006). In considering how the English-medium Indian has evolved, Warsi outlines the changes in the way English has fared in postcolonial times. According to Warsi (2004), the direct result of local Indian linguistic and cultural influences has forced the English in India to accommodate local culture by including Hindi words. In Pakistan, the 'indigenization' of English has taken on a slightly different perspective (Rahman, 1988, 1991, 2001, 2002). The inclusion of local languages, culture and Islamic values has faced resistance. The extent of this indigenization does not seem significant when compared to the situation in India (Rahman, 2002). This does not imply however that the status of English in Pakistan is more or less than in India. In Pakistan, English has always been an official language, and all government documentation is carried out in both Urdu and English. This point will be further elaborated in chapter two.

In order to establish the notion that with language comes culture, a host of academic scholars have documented and debated the interrelation of language and culture (Halliday, 1978; Kramsch, 1993, 2002; Phillipson, 1992; Taylor, 2004). While it is now an established idea that cultural values are intrinsically

involved in language teaching (Liddicoat, 2000), a large body of scholarly work has evolved that specifically focuses on the consequences of such an idea in the aftermath of colonization. As a result, Bhabha (1994), Spivak (1988, 1993) and Jan-Mohammed (1995) among others have written extensively on the impact of colonialism, helping to generate a newfound interest in the postcolonial subject, whilst bringing the concept of hybridity to the forefront. But with such debate centred on the notion of Indian postcolonial legacy (Graddol, 2010), problems that have arisen from the imposition of foreign derived curricula in local indigenous communities, within a specific Pakistani context, have still not been sufficiently documented (Rahman, 2005). Within this debate there is currently a limited amount of research that deals specifically with Muslim ESL/EFL learners (Casewit, 1985; Maleki & Zangani, 2007; Ozog, 1990; Shah, 2009), let alone ESL learners in Pakistan. Research on the latter has been limited in scope and only recently has there been recognition that this research is vital. Kanwal and Khurshid (2012) recently researched Muslim ESL learners in Pakistan and the difficulties they faced in learning English. However, the questionnaires in their study focused on the skills and methodologies in English language teaching; the study did not delve into student responses in relation to the cultural impact of the English language on their lives and how they interpreted that impact (Fishman, 1971). A recent study, specifically on the attitudes of Pakistani ESL students, concluded that "40% [of] respondents favour the use of English in all contexts and domains…the other 60% of respondents do not like the widespread use of English [and] they are forced to accept it as a necessary evil" (Jabeen, Mahmood & Rasheed, 2011:116). Previous research into the use of English by Pakistani learners (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 1996) has either focused on elementary and high school ESL learners, but has not delved into the impact and influence of learning English.

In his 2005 keynote address, Professor Rahman surveyed the research on the impact and influence of English language education in the Pakistani school system and concluded that:

> The role of English in Pakistan has been studied by Anjum Riaz ul Haque (1983), Shemeem Abbas (1993), Sabiha Mansoor (1993)

and Tariq Rahman (1996: Chapter 13; 2002: Chapter 9). The first two writers merely touch upon the role of English in the country in survey articles. Sabiha Mansoor, however, has conducted two major surveys on the attitudes of students toward languages. The first survey, conducted in Lahore in 1992, suggests that students have a linguistic hierarchy in mind with English at the top followed by Urdu and with the mother tongue, in this case Punjabi, coming [sic] to the bottom. She also found out that English is associated with modernity and efficiency while Punjabi is associated with informality and intimacy (Rahman, 2006).

With a limited number of studies on ESL students in higher education institutions, Rahman (2005) points out that few studies were undertaken (Mansoor 2002:316), suggesting that "English as a medium of instruction was encouraged by Pakistani students, their teachers, parents and the administrators of universities." Consequently, Urdu schools are at a disadvantage when compared to English schools, succumbing to what Rahman terms 'linguistic apartheid'.

Limited research into the Pakistani Muslim ESL learner has highlighted the need for further exploration into the impact and influence of English language on the teaching curriculum (Mansoor, Meraj & Tahir, 2004). The importance of such research is reinforced by the belief that the notion of linguistic imperialism is at play. In a recent article (*Guardian Weekly* 13/03/2012:43), Phillipson revisits the idea of the influence and impact of linguistic imperialism in current international ELT practices.

> My worries were triggered by two shocking headlines ('Learning English', 13 January). One reports on the massive failure in Namibia of English as the main medium of education: "Language policy 'poisoning' children". This was the conclusion of a recent NGO study. The second was "Language myth cripples Pakistan's schools". The myth is the belief that studying English is all you need for success in life. Policies influenced by this myth prevent most children from accessing relevant education. I am also strongly concerned about a third story, "US launches global push to share ELT skills". The background is that in November 2011 the US state department and Tesol International Association (recently renamed) announced a partnership to meet the global demand for

English and to "Work in co-ordination with US companies, universities, publishers, and other ELT stakeholders to enhance their international outreach and operations". This drive is modelled on the success of the British Council in expanding British influence worldwide. There are examples in the 17 February issue of Learning English: Tony Blair promoting British ELT in Thailand; the UK taking a "role in Ukraine primary push."

Phillipson highlights a number of important aspects. Firstly, there is the suggestion of an apprehensive attitude among ESL learners and teaching staff (Kramsch, Cain & Murphy-Lejeune, 1996). Secondly, there is the belief that with a predominant focus on English language education in countries, such as Pakistan, learners are receiving an unbalanced education. And finally, the notion that American and British governments are making concerted efforts to market English in EFL and ESL countries with what can only be considered insidious designs. Although this is a recent media article and Phillipson refers to recent events, the idea of linguistic imperialism is one that the author has continued to draw attention to. Alderson (2009:25) agrees with Phillipson, detailing the plausibility of a conspiring agenda at play, and questioning the political motivation of hegemonic powers.

> Language education is an international business and activity. It is inevitable, therefore, that the influence of the culture of the society in which language education takes place will play a significant role in communication and miscommunication, in cooperation and sconflict; in short, in politics.

McKay (2010) has contributed to this debate by suggesting that the presence of irrelevant teaching materials is cause for some consternation within ESL and EFL classrooms, as many teachers, specifically NNS teaching staff, struggle to make sense of cultural content that is foreign to them. This is more pronounced in countries that have adopted Western curriculum materials in their entirety. As McKay points out (cited in Hornberger & McKay, 2010:113):

> In many instances, globalization has led to the introduction of materials and methods that are not in keeping with the local culture of learning. When this occurs, local teachers may be placed in a situation in which their credibility as competent

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teachers is challenged because they do not know about some aspect of Western culture that appears in a textbook or they are encouraged to use group work when this is not in keeping with typical student roles.

As a result, McKay suggests because "local teachers are the ones most familiar with local expectations regarding the roles of teachers and learners" therefore "they [teachers] are in a strong position to design materials that respect the local culture of learning" (Hornberger & McKay, 2010:113). In evaluating research by Fredricks (2007) and Shafaei and Nejati (2008), Jabeen and Shah (2011: 606) suggest, "any language teaching practice that excludes learners' culture will be ineffective and may have negative influences on language learning".

With researchers pointing out the bias and ineffectiveness of ELT curriculum texts (McKay, 2002), coupled with the lack of qualitative research among ESL learners in general, it is vital that research in this field is undertaken. Although there are research studies that primarily focus on the development of cultural awareness among ESL students (Auerbach, 1993; Pennycook, 1994), this research primarily sets out to analyse the opinions of Pakistani Muslim learners and staff on the cultural content of teaching materials in the curriculum at their respective educational institutions. By doing so, this thesis contributes to the debate on the extent and nature of embedded cultural values in ESL teaching materials, and explores the nature of hybridity that results from the cultural imposition of ELT in Muslim countries and specifically in Pakistan.

1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The current geopolitical atmosphere highlights the importance of revisiting the idea of the imposition of English curricula in local Pakistani educational institutions. In addition, the Indian subcontinent historically has been divided into two distinct nations (India and Pakistan) that have, in reality, opposing ideologies (Ahmed, 2011; Allen, 1992) including vastly different ways of negotiating their respective postcolonial identities. According to Pakistan's

Constitutional Resolution of 1949 in which "all Muslims would be able to build their life in accordance with the teachings and injunctions of Islam" (Ahmed, 2005: 289; Allen, 1992:99), Pakistan has been carved out of what was always known as India, into the only specifically created 'Islamic' nation in the world (Civitello, 2011; Weightman, 2011). This was the mantra on which the Pakistani constitution was drawn. The ideology of the state was contrived and became the basis for the education curriculum that has served the country for the past 60 years. Against this background, research undertaken within the Pakistani educational context provides a rich source of data, which can draw out the complex discursive practices central to the understanding of hybrid identities of ESL Muslim learners.

Furthermore, this research also takes into account the geo-political overtones of English (Mauranen, 2003), as the factors that surround the dominance of English as a lingua franca have taken on imperialist undertones (Mydans, 2007). This debate also hints at the contestation surrounding the 'intentional' impact/imposition of Western cultural values (Pennycook, 2010). Although it may seem that a vast range of conflicting factors (McPhail, 2006; Parakarma, 1995) determine the discursive paradigms in which these participants operate, it is also this complexity that generates an invaluable contribution to the mechanics of hybridity, and the mapping out of how it appears to operate in such communities.

1.5 METHODOLOGY

The research design employed is based on the need to explore the issue of hybridity within the Muslim ESL individual and therefore requires an exploration of a variety of discourses. As individuals, we all operate within a range of discourses constructed by society. We indulge in them as we find membership, and they modify our outlook on life and construct our behaviour/attitude/opinions and values. This research focuses on the belief that one of the most important approaches is "to get under the skin" of participants "to out what really happens—the informal reality which can only be perceived

from the inside" (Gillham, 2000:11). Such a research technique that affords a way to "understand people in real life" by studying "them in their context and in the way they operate" (Gillham, 2000:11) is reflected in the choice of the case study research method.

As Simons explains, the case study is "an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, programme or system in a 'real-life' context" such that its sole purpose "is to generate in-depth understanding of a specific topic" (Simons, 2009:21). It is precisely for this reason that the case study approach helps in revealing the discursive melange that surrounds communities exposed to myriad discursive paradigms (Glesne, 1999). Although this research strategy is "guided by the character of the research question" it is pivotal in being able to obtain a "descriptive and/or explanatory broad question about a social process" by targeting "several individuals and groups of stakeholders" that "interact with each other and interpret, watch other's behaviour and the ways in which they cope with problems" and help the researcher "clarify the intricate web of social relations, perceptions, opinions, attitudes and behaviour" (Swanborn, 2010:41). Hence the case study method was employed in this research in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the acculturative process that leads to the formation of a hybrid identity among Muslim speakers within the English language classroom. Since case studies are snapshots (Evans & Gruba, 2011), such that the "researcher is positioned as a learner who uses observation, interviews and documentary evidence" in order to "understand the shared and divergent patterns of meaning that are embedded in the symbolic actions that define the character of everyday organizational life" (Hough, 2002:73), the case study method was best suited to this research.

In order to 'clarify this intricate web', Foucauldian-based discourse analysis was considered a plausible approach that could adequately interpret the discursivity of respondents. Discourse analysis is essentially based on an "examination of language use—the assumptions that structure ways of talking and thinking about the topic" (Powers & Knapp, 1990:40) to determine "the cultural frameworks of meaning they reproduce" (Burman, 2003:5). Although discourse

analysis is a composite term (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) that includes wide and varying methods of analysis, it is a method that arms the researcher with the tools to conduct a critical in-depth evaluation of the dynamics that surround the concept of hybridity. It is a "recursive and interactive endeavour" that emanates from and involves "a process of reading from a position of curiosity" such that one can craft "coherent written analyses" (Harper, 2006: 49). As this method allows the use of "transcripts, collecting observational data, using documents and conducting interviews" such that they "do not rule out each other out," it highlights the need for discourse analysts to "combine a wide range of different materials" in order to build a composite picture (Nikander in Holstein & Gubrium, 2006). From a variety of discursive analytical techniques, Parker's method for discourse analysis (Parker, 1988, 1994) was chosen to work with this data. Although a detailed discussion of discourse analysis is presented in chapters four and five, a critical analysis of Parker's approach by Woffitt (2005) highlights the specific advantage of this approach, which is based on the idea that "language is structured to reflect power relations and inequalities in society" and discourses are "systems of meanings" that expose "ideological effects" (Woffitt, 2005:146). It also establishes "the link between discourse and wider social structure" (Parker, 1992:40) such that it systematically pinpoints identifiable discursive themes and encourages the researcher to "draw on other theoretical work which uncovers the material basis of oppression—capitalism, colonialism, patriarchy" (Parker, 1992:40). For Parker, Foucauldian notions of discourse analysis can be redrawn to create a more tangible approach. Parker lists tenets that he believes assist in formulating a discourse analytical method. More detail is presented in chapter four, but suffice to say, the tenets include the idea that discourses 'live in texts', they 'contain subjects', they constitute a 'system of meanings', they are 'historically located', reflect on the presence or absence of other discourses, exhibit hegemonic tendencies and can be shown to "have ideological effects" (1992:6-20). Although modelled on Foucault's conceptualization of discourse analysis, Parker's tenets incorporate the notions of postcolonialism ('historically located'), hybridity (presence and absence of other discourses) and assist in viewing discourses as having ideological effects (Islamic anthropological discourse).

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Chapter four also discusses alternative approaches to discourse analysis considered at the outset of the research study, but were dismissed in favour of Ian Parker's approach, because of the psychoanalytical dimension that his method afforded. Using Parker's tangible interpretation of Foucauldian discourse analysis to identify and critically evaluate discursive themes that emerged from the data, the research aim was met.

In the tradition of discourse analysts, it is important to view the researcher's presentation as a possible version, as there is no 'true' version. A paradox arises in discounting the researcher's subjectivity, as it is also clear that this factor may lend itself to the researcher's credibility and provide a vantage point.

1.6 BACKGROUND TO APEX AND RISE UNIVERSITIES

Two elite universities form the basis for the case studies for this research project. Both are located in a major city in Pakistan. The universities are co-educational English-medium institutions that offer undergraduate, postgraduate and doctoral degrees in a range of subjects.

The first institution, Apex University, is located in the central city. The university, with a student population of approximately 4000, was founded in the early 1980s primarily as a university of Business and Management providing undergraduate and postgraduate courses including the BSc (Bachelor of Sciences), BSc Honours, MBA (Masters in Business Administration), as well as doctorate degrees in Business, Management and Commerce. Today the university, built on a large site, has grown by adding departments such as Social Sciences, English Language, Education, Engineering, Law and Accounting. The university is a private institution affiliated with one of the top Ivy League Business Schools in the United States. Apex, originally conceived and functioned as a business university in the early 1980s, clearly declares itself as being funded by prominent corporations both from Pakistan and abroad. According to the information obtained from my conversations with staff members at the institution and on the university's website, Apex University is currently significantly funded by international multi-corporations and

international banking and financial conglomerates that have both a prominent global and domestic presence. Other contributors range from high-ranking prominent political figures in the current American administration to prominent Pakistani government officials. The international banking sector has shown interest in supporting the university by smaller financial contributions as well as by guaranteeing job placements to young graduates. The board of governors of the university consists of high profile local businessmen, as well as chief executive officers of global corporations.

With such strong financial support this elite university caters primarily to the upper middle class, who can afford to pay in excess of USD $20,000 per annum in a country where the per capita income[3] is USD $700-850 per year, with average salaries of USD $850-900/month. Scholarships are available, but are hotly contested. Admissions to the university are procured after results from an entrance examination and scores from the Graduate Management Admissions Test (GMAT) are compiled. It is interesting to note here that GMAT tests are standardized American tests that assess mathematical and English skills at an undergraduate level, administered by a prestigious US University. Apex University at the time the data was collected in 2004-2005, had 2400 undergraduate, 1600 postgraduate and 15+ doctoral students. The 143 full-time faculty staff included Rhodes scholars, and doctorate holders from international prestigious institutions such as Harvard, Oxford, Berkeley, MIT, and Stanford. Staff qualifications are referred to on the website, as the basis on which the institution prides itself. Recent data collected from the University's website, shows that graduates have all obtained (100% recruitment) jobs. The majority are overseas and employed by international corporations including those that contribute to or sit on the board of governors.

The university buildings include an Information Technology building, a cafeteria and student centre building, sponsored and funded entirely by an American corporation, a mosque (for 3000-5000 people), and a sports complex with international squash, basketball and tennis courts. The hostels are segregated into male and female blocks. The campus also houses an academic centre, a

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[3] Data sourced from the South Asian Media Net (www.southasianmedia.net).

world-class library, and residential luxury apartments for staff (who are offered free accommodation).

The courses offered by Apex are designed so that English Language, Composition Writing, Communication Skills, Creative Writing and Critical Thinking courses are compulsory. They are required to be taken by all undergraduate and postgraduate students who have not gone through the university's undergraduate system before. The research for this study was carried out in these English language classes. The majority of students involved in the research were undergraduates, although a few postgraduate students were also interviewed. The students were evenly mixed with regards to gender, and the staff within the faculties of social sciences and education was predominantly female. Almost all the staff were Muslim (some converts); although a few staff were Pakistani Christians and two were Buddhist. The students were mostly Muslims, although some postgraduate students, who were eager to informally share their views, were Hindus. Most students were in their late teens/early twenties to late twenties. Students in their late thirties or older were non-existent, even in the doctorate programs. The staff, in both universities, had been employed from American universities and the local public university. Hence they were all mature doctorate holders of 50+ years.

The second institution is also an elite business university; it competes with Apex University and has been given the pseudonym Rise University. This institution began in the late 1990s, has the support of a high profile British University, and is similar in its administrative structure to Apex. Rise University does not reveal its corporate sponsors and refuses to divulge any substantial information about them, although from various conversations with administrative staff on campus, it was clear that large corporate bodies that are not based in Pakistan contribute private funds. Among them, high profile American corporations were mentioned, although it is important to point out that no substantive evidence was given by anyone in the administration, and there is no mention of any such corporations on the University's website.

This co-educational business university includes two large buildings that house 2500 undergraduates and 170 postgraduates. Currently, Rise does not offer doctorate programs and detailed information on the demographics of the student body was not available. Despite all the reassurance, it seemed clear that there was an uneasiness within the University's administration as to how the information they provided would be used; and hence their reluctance in releasing it. The entrance examinations are strictly based on the university's own guidelines, but it is apparent from discussion with their staff that GMAT results and school results are usually taken into account when students are selected. Rise University does not house its staff on campus, and the land area of the university is significantly smaller than that of Apex. Rise University offers free transport facilities to students and staff.

When comparing the two institutions, it was clear that there were differences in their respective administrative approach. The administration at Apex was helpful and supplied much of the information requested. This was in stark contrast to the administration at Rise who refused to divulge any information. The information that was gathered on the organization, administrative policies and curriculum was primarily from students and staff who were willing to share such information. English language courses at Rise were very similar to the English language creative writing courses at Apex. Courses in academic English writing, research writing and creative writing at Rise and Apex were taught primarily to undergraduates. Administrative staff at both institutions were quick to point out that all postgraduate students who felt they needed help in academic writing were offered places within undergraduate courses. A detailed discussion will be presented in chapters four and five.

1.7 DATA COLLECTION

Apex University was approached and asked if they were able to participate in a research project. Before accepting they were clear that they needed information on the details of the research that was then provided to them. This private institute was renowned for its degrees and as it had international standing it was the obvious choice. Rise University was a rival institute that was only interested after it became aware of the research study that was to be carried out at Apex.

When other private universities were approached, Rise was the only one that immediately accepted and showed enthusiasm for the research. As a researcher, I have not had any contact with either institute. My father was invited to teach at Rise University in the past, as it was part of a lecturing circuit.

The research data that has been analysed and presented in this thesis is primarily the result of participants' willingness to discuss issues that are self-reflective. The frank discussions by many on the role and influence of culture and religion in their personal lives and the analysis of their own attitudes, behaviour and concerns as a result of such influences, are at the heart of this research. The participants volunteered to answer questions. There was no gender bias and both undergraduate and postgraduate students were approached. It is important to note that as the English language curriculum is primarily taught to undergraduate students, undergraduates are present in larger numbers in the data as compared to postgraduates. By using participants who were willing to voice their opinions, this thesis not only opens doorways into what these participants are feeling and doing, but attempts to discover new ways of speaking about issues such as identity construction (Howarth & Torfing, 2005) and cultural imposition/imperialism—issues that are controversial yet real.

The data collection or creation, as Evans & Gruba (2011) suggest, is dependent on assumptions and beliefs that are integral to the researcher's own discursive reality. In this study, the poststructuralist stance is taken up, as it claims that all kinds of knowledge are in essence a construct and we see our own versions of reality that are, in turn, a product of the discourses we employ and are a part of (Stubbs, 1983; Matsuda & Matsuda, 2001; Koch, 2009). This thesis constitutes the researcher's presentation of data gathered from institutions that hosted the research, and provided the researcher and participants with an opportunity to voice their opinions.

1.7.1 Data analysis and presentation

To analyze the data, which has briefly been introduced, a range of analytical approaches were examined. Critical linguistics was initially seen to be useful as it is "an attempt to show systematic links between texts, discourse practices,

and sociocultural practices" (Fairclough, 1995:16-17). Although critical linguistics is a technique that slowly developed (Fowler, 1996), it inadvertently accomplished "the 'silencing' of specific research objects, subjects or perspectives" (Farfan & Holzscheiter, 2011:140). As discussed earlier in this chapter, Parker's tenets informed by Foucauldian discourse analysis were best suited to be the theoretical backdrop for methodological perspectives such as discourse theory, postcolonialism and hybridity theory. These theoretical underpinnings were seen to be relevant to not only the data, but also to the sociopolitical context within Pakistani society. They were applied to analyze the data gathered from curriculum materials, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and observations. Since the background of the students, teachers and respective institutions draws heavily on the cultural milieu which, in turn, is informed by postcolonialism and hybrid discourses, the discursive and ideological struggle of the participants was significantly clearer and easier to capture than if the research had been conducted in a diasporic community.

In presenting the data, issues that were repeatedly alluded to or emerged as contentious and controversial by participants were highlighted. The stance that most participants displayed was supported by the large amounts of curriculum and course documentation that had been gathered during the research process.

The following questions, informed by the research aims, were constructed to analyse the data:

1. What are the different discourses?

   a. What are the opposing (contending) discourses?

   b. How do Muslim/Western discourses oppose or interact with each other?

2. How do the respondents negotiate, mediate and/or show awareness of their discursivity?

3. How can the resulting hybridity be mapped out in more tangible ways?

1.7.2 The vantage point

A detailed discussion of the vantage point is included because it highlights the researcher's subjectivity and accurately articulates the researcher's credibility. In any analysis, the researcher observes and records his/her observations. It is on the basis of these observations that the gathered evidence is analyzed. Searching for "regularities and causal relationship between its constituent elements" Burrell & Morgan (1978:5) claim that the positivist paradigm lends itself to a vantage point that the researcher claims to occupy while conducting research. It can be seen as an attempt to accurately present and validate the analysis. Of course, the interpretation of the evidence collected is entirely up to the researcher and the analysis is self-regulated. A subjective approach, such as in this research, suggesting a phenomological position, complicates the case for validation. What does the researcher do? Of course, if the researcher is foreign to the situation or culture that he/she is researching, then he/she will find it difficult to understand the foreign 'culture'. At best, he/she will gain a perspective from the position of the 'Other' (Said, 1978:207). This would possibly change if the researcher was of the same culture, although for the foreign researcher, discourses present the peoples of other cultures as "immobilized by their belonging to a place" (Appadurai, 1988:37). What happens to a researcher belonging to the culture he researches? Does he/she not face the same fate? Does having knowledge of the 'Other' make the researcher an amalgamation of myriad discourses? Does he/she not belong to many discursive communities? So what vantage point can the researcher claim to have when researching those sharing his/her own identity? If reality can be seen as a social construct, then the researcher operates within the same paradigm as the participants. This is supported by Mazrui's notion that "in order to understand fully some aspects of a society, it is not enough simply to observe it; you have to be a member of it" (2002:7).

This is precisely where my vantage point is located. To begin with, I have highly educated Pakistani parents, a father who had double Masters degrees and a doctorate from Washington State University in the 1970s and a mother who is a doctor specializing in paediatrics. Quite clearly, they both valued education

highly, but they were not religious. Their value systems were simple. They were based on honesty and sheer determination, and they were at pains to show how telling the truth was the greatest and most admirable characteristic in any individual. With my father working as an economist in the World Bank, our family was given the enviable lifestyle of being constant globetrotters. By 19, I had seen every continent and more countries than I could count: America, Canada, Chile, Russia, France, Germany, Holland, England, Austria, Bulgaria, Siberia, Kenya, South Africa, Sudan, Chad, Egypt, Tanzania, Mauritius, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Seychelles, Madagascar, Djibouti, Saudia Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, UAE and Japan, to name a few. Attending an American school, a missionary school in Sudan, and Malawian schools in quick succession, gave me the advantage of closely relating to different cultures, languages and educational systems.

In between all this, my links to Australia go as far back as September 1973. My father arrived in Bendigo, a town outside Melbourne, and became a lecturer in economics at the then Bendigo Institute of Technology (now La Trobe University Bendigo). My younger brother was born in Bendigo in 1974 and my parents were offered citizenship by the Australian Government. They accepted as they realized they would not be giving up their Pakistani citizenship. The family moved a year later to wherever the World Bank postings were, but returned every two years on a rest and recreation holiday to Melbourne, assisted by generous employment benefits.

In 1994, married with a son, I returned to live in Melbourne, completing a Masters in English Literature and a Masters in TESOL at the University of Melbourne. It was the TESOL degree that allowed me to teach at the government owned Adult Migrant Centre in the City of Melbourne, where I was faced with the prospect of teaching adults who were at pains to adapt to their foreign surroundings. It was my exposure to these adult migrant students that gave me insight into the trials and tribulations that people go through as they adapt to foreign surroundings. In my conversations with many of these students I realized that needing to negotiate between cultural values generated apprehension and anxiety. They constantly referred to their inadequacies in

understanding how and why they had to learn English, and the problems they faced in understanding the value systems espoused by their newfound country as a whole. This line of thought led me to the question: Would they learn English if they didn't have to?

Of the migrants in my classes who were Muslims, most were convinced of their failure to adapt to their new surroundings. This lack of self-confidence, coupled with a lack of adequate language skills, was apparent in their persistence to bond only with each other, and their refusal to open up and integrate with the rest of the class, except when they voiced opinions on the teaching materials being used. One of the students in the class was slightly different in her approach. She was a mature woman of 60+ years who had completed two doctorate degrees in genetic engineering and music from the University of Moscow. She lived in Caulfield with her only son, who she proudly said was a professor of mathematics. She divulged very little about her past life and only used her first name in application forms and in class. It was by accident that I discovered that she was a Muslim, who had repressed her religious beliefs, as was the norm in Russia. But despite all this, she forced herself to use the few English language skills she had to convey her feelings and her joy in being able to assimilate. She was a perfect example of an educated and well-informed individual who instantly adapted to a new life, but also questioned the curriculum materials that were being used and what she was being taught. Interestingly enough, her approach was different as she was accommodating, and suggesting ways that irrelevant topics could be side-stepped or changed. This raised other issues, for example, could curriculum materials acculturate learners, would they recognize this acculturative process, and what would the result be?

Throughout this teaching period, it was also apparent that students would confide in me about their personal problems and offer their opinions, and I realized the responsibility and importance of the teaching role. But what was unexpected was the preference they showed. They indicated that they felt they could not trust others and that other teachers would not understand how they felt or would betray them. My appearance and probably my hijab had begun to

play an integral part in how students perceived my teaching, and the comfort they felt in being taught by someone who was 'similar' to them. I was later told by the administrative staff that the progress that the students had made in my tenure was outstanding and yet they could not account for it.

The fact that students were aware of the cultural content of teaching materials, were more comfortable with what was familiar, and learned better with relevant material, prompted me to undertake a systematic empirical and theoretical enquiry into the subject of acculturation in ESL teaching. It was valuable to be able to map out how learners were affected by foreign cultural elements, and how they devised ways to assimilate and adapt. But more importantly it seemed essential to map out their hybrid identity and the nature of hybridity itself.

My own background, as an individual who was born in Pakistan, but left the country in infancy to live in a host of different countries and cultures, gave me a unique position to understand and investigate this problem. With Pakistani parents who had retained a healthy patriotism, I quickly realized the community within which I would be privy to an insider's view would be a Pakistani Muslim community. The various discourses that have been identified and classified in this thesis are those observed during the course of this research study, and supported by views expressed by the participants both in interviews and meetings at the two higher education institutions where case studies were conducted.

But what should be reiterated here is that this thesis is written from a vantage point. It is written from the point of the insider who has remained on the outside long enough to see the inside in a different light. Such a phenomologically contrived point of observation makes it easier for the Western academic to identify and empathize as the research is conducted with norms that are identifiable to Western academia. But even though it brings the inside out, this thesis is not written to claim any objectification or superiority; but instead it should be seen as an analytical research project that suggests the possibility of communication between discourses and, more importantly, between two diverse and different cultures. Bearing in mind the need for self-reflexivity and

the subject position of the researcher (Foucault 1980; Spivak, 1990), the research hopes to capture the dynamism of a culture, for a brief instant, by showing the discursive realities in which people have immersed themselves and to map out the nature of the hybridity that results.

1.8 OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

As the research study was being carried out, it was clear that the researcher's vantage point was increasingly becoming an integral part of the methodological process. As part of the ongoing debate (Clair, 2003; Clifford & Marcus, 1986; Okely & Callaway, 1992) over the researcher's role, it was necessary for this study to acknowledge and "supply…readers with some insights into the possible influence of the researcher's self" (Denscombe, 2007:69).

With the unmistakable influence of T.S. Eliot, Barthes and Blanchot, each chapter begins with a piece of poetic prose. Ironically, Eliot, who is a staunch critic of poetic prose (or prose poetry), attempted the genre himself but was dismissive of its impact. But it serves the purpose well in this thesis, as it is indicative of the breakaway from traditional and conventional stances of poetry and prose, is hybrid in nature and has the elusiveness of being almost objective. The pieces are deliberately a prologue to each chapter in that they focus on each stage of the research, incorporate the discursive paradigms of the researcher, and acknowledge the importance of self-reflexivity in qualitative research. Strung together, the eight pieces of poetic prose present a coherent personal narrative that problematizes the notion of hybridity. They are penned, as Baudelaire would have said, "musical though rhythmless and rhymeless, flexible yet rugged enough to identify with the lyrical impulses of the soul, the ebbs and flows of revery, the pangs of conscience."[4]

In addition to these eight written reflective pieces, the thesis consists of eight chapters including the introduction. Details of chapters are subsequently outlined below.

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[4] Baudelaire Poems 25

After a brief introduction in chapter one, chapter two includes a general and informative overview on Pakistan, where the research was carried out. This chapter introduces the country, its culture and the historical framework of what was once a British colony. It also assesses the changes in postcolonial mood in this developing country and the role it now plays on the world stage. The chapter concludes with an overview of Pakistan as a postcolonial Islamic state. The literature review in chapter three presents key areas of relevant theoretical research and analysis, including detailed reviews of discourse theory and postcolonialism, as well as the comparatively new field of linguistic imperialism, TEML (Teaching English as a Missionary Language), and hybridity.

Chapter four maps out the research design in greater detail, providing the methodological or archaeological structure of the thesis. It discusses in detail the type of discourse analysis that is used, discourse mapping using Parker's approach, and presents a detailed account of the research site as well as research participants.

Chapters five, six and seven present the data analysis, applying three discursive paradigms: the postcolonial, the Islamic anthropological and hybrid discursivity. These chapters essentially map out the cultural dynamics of all who participated in this research including the researcher. These chapters evaluate the data in relation to the research and the researcher and attempt to give voice to a researcher ensconced within a discursive reality that is as difficult to define as that of a participant.

Chapter five delineates and discusses the discourses used in classrooms. It maps out classroom dynamics that are evident from both personal observations and participants' accounts within a postcolonial paradigm. Chapter six discusses the data in light of the Islamic anthropological context. It highlights the themes that have emerged within this framework.

The final paradigm in chapter seven is that of hybrid discursivity, and within this theoretical framework the data is analysed and emergent themes discussed. This chapter begins with an in-depth analysis of how the nature of hybridity is being delineated by the participants. It introduces a reified view of what is

otherwise an amoeboid concept and examines the evolution of what has been labelled as 'critical ontological discursivity'. The conclusion, chapter eight, surveys the research project and brings together the results of the research and the conceptualized frameworks that have emerged. The chapter concludes with an overview of the research, as well as providing a critical survey of the issues that have arisen from the research, and the impact of the findings. The main issues are re-evaluated in light of the findings. The research and relevance of the findings are thus placed in a global context.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has given a brief summary of the research project and provided an outline for the entire thesis. It has sketched how the research project was conceived, the aims of the research, the contribution that it will make, the methodology and methods employed, and how the data will be gathered and presented. The chapter concluded with a brief overview of all chapters to follow.

As my life glides through time, it is pulled at the corners by those events that mean so much. The memories of lands forlorn float from my past. How do I describe this place, the place that I was born, the place that I left and the place where these events took shape?

Dusty and misty, the bowl of wilted flowers, it seems, has stood forever as nearby the fresh scent of liminal grass wafted into the room. There is nothing dismal in this place—just memories of a thousand years pressed against the walls, merging in the incense that the maid burns ritually in these long, narrow corridors. I have lived here for so little a time, but the essence of this place beckons. Do I feel it because of who I am or because of what I want to see?

Kipling and Forester saw through these passages, they knew of the stiff white sheets of the dhobi, and the knotted charpay resting against the doors. But that was many aeons ago and life was at a standstill then—now it is no more than a blur.

Standing silent at a still point in this turning world I can categorize and label my position, only to realize the thousand whisperings of doubtfulness that creep into the recesses of my mind. Am I right, am I in the right?

It is against this backdrop that all unfolds. The land is as land anywhere but my memories color the landscape. Coming back to it all seems different and yet the same, but here as the river sweats and the earth sinks deeper, the colours of the land come to life and tell their tale...

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present the historical, religious, socioeconomic, educational and political background to contextualize the research, with specific reference to the role that English has played. As Meinhof and Richardson (1994:18) suggest, it is by tracing the history of the English language during the colonization of this region and by contextualizing "part of their histories" it is possible to delineate the impact English has had on the psychological, political and educational sensibility of the Pakistani ESL learner.

2.2 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Pakistan as a nation was carved out on 14 August 1947 of what had always been known previously as India. Amidst the controversy of partition and the enmity towards the British Raj, the new government acknowledged the impact that English (Rahman, 1996, 2002) had had on the Indian subcontinent and decided to retain English as one of two official languages alongside Urdu.

Historically, the English language was introduced to the Indian subcontinent by the British Raj. Establishing a trading company with the intention of developing trade links (with what was then known as 'Indies', the East India Company, or interestingly the New English East India Company), laid the groundwork for the conquest of India and the subsequent colonization of the Indian subcontinent.

The need to establish English was important to British colonial powers, as it was the only way they could communicate with the masses. In order to establish this link the need for a group of locals who could transverse the linguistic divide on both sides was extremely vital, as Macaulay (1835) points out:

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. (as cited in Aggarwal, 1986, p. 12)

In order to attain the trust of this class, the colonial administrators had to investigate the current linguistic topography. At the time, the Islamic influence had introduced languages like Arabic and Persian, and the Hindu populace were content with Sanskrit and Urdu. In an already multilingual society the acceptance of English grew not only as the language of the rulers, ruling class and the British army, but as a channel to socioeconomic and even political privileges.

For the British rulers it was a challenge to transplant a new language into such a linguistically diverse populace. In order to achieve this aim they employed a strategic undermining of the local high-profile languages, focusing exclusively on languages that had gained political or strategic importance in the local communities (Khilnani, 1987; Hevia, 2003). The only language at the time with any political capital was Persian. Charles Trevelyan, brother-in-law of Lord Macaulay, wrote in a letter to Lord William Bentineck, Governor-General of India, about the need to abolish Persian and replace it with English:

> The abolition of the exclusive privileges which the Persian language has in the courts and affairs of court will form the crowning stroke which will shake Hinduism and Mohammedanism to their centre and firmly establish our language, our learning and ultimately our religion in India. (Bentineck (1827) as cited in Philips, 1977 p. 1239)

The belief that by inculcating English into the Indian populace, the British administrators could control not only the educational development, but the social and religious leadership, was evident when Lord Macaulay wrote condescendingly of all languages other than English:

> I have conversed, both here and at home, with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who would 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...How then stands the case? We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother-tongue. We must teach them some foreign language. The claims of our own language it is hardly necessary to recapitulate. It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West.... (Macaulay (1835), as cited in Sailaja, 2009, p.106).

The idea that a segment of the Indian population would serve as intermediaries, inculcated with a 'pre-eminent' language, one that would change their views, opinions and religious inclinations, was quite revolutionary. There are two clear implications to this train of thought. Firstly, it suggests that language has the potential to alter the taste, morals and intellect: in other words, an integral part of language is culture. Secondly, by creating this segment of 'interpreters', a class is automatically generated: one that is not only bilingual, but also more importantly bicultural. Differences in language can be overcome but differences in culture create at times impenetrable barriers (Gellner, 2006). Gauri Viswanathan (2004: 4-12) analyses the intentions of the British Raj by posing the possibility of using such "educational measures" as a result of "an uncontested position of superiority and strength" that can be read as "unalloyed expressions of ethnocentric sentiment" or, alternatively, as a ploy used to "fortify, given the challenge posed by historical contingency and confrontation." Whatever the intention, the discourse generated implies the populace as "morally and intellectually deficient" thereby shaping their character, critical thought and even the "formation of aesthetic judgement".

Within the Indian populace divisions began to appear between Muslim and Hindu communities (Jayapalan, 2001a). As the British Raj had initially taken power away from the Muslim ruling class, the Muslims felt betrayed and helpless. Not only was it a matter of pride, but any association with the British colonial power would be seen among their communities as collaboration and hence treason. The Hindus on the other hand felt it was only the rulers that had changed: initially Muslims and now British (Cady & Simon, 2007; Jayapalan,

2001b). Hence the attitude prevalent among Hindus was vastly different to the attitude among Muslims. During this tumultuous time there were two Muslim reformers, Abdul Latif and Sir Syed Ahamd Khan, who insisted Muslims should learn English in order to take their share of governance under British rule (Sinha, 2008). They were seen, not surprisingly, as traitors, not only to the Muslim community in general, but also as traitors to Islam. Nevertheless, they persevered in their cause. Abdul Latif (1828-1893) and Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1899) shouldered the burden of educating Muslim minorities and today they are seen as being responsible for launching the Pakistan independence movement.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Aligarh University in 1875, where English was seen as a prerequisite. It was the only English based university that was, and among many and is still considered to be, the marker of modernity and the means of acquiring power, social status and entrée to power circles. The British colonists opened exclusive clubs called 'gymkhanas' which represented the social and cultural elite (Snyder-Smith and Bauer, 2006:164). In order to be part of these circles of power it seemed membership would only be guaranteed for those who spoke English as gymkhanas were exclusively English speaking domains. Such discriminatory attitudes instigated an ardent desire among the power hungry and 'illiterate' masses to gain recognition and so the momentum to learn the English language increased (Mangan and Ritchie 2004:171). The English had successfully portrayed themselves not as subjugators, but educators (Mills and Sen, 2004). An example of a local citizen that had become 'educated' was the founding father of Pakistan, Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Along with Allama Iqbal, a poet-philosopher who wrote on the need for independence, Jinnah began to devise plans to carve out a Muslim homeland. This is a perfect example of the role that English played in the political struggle for independence. Jinnah was trained and educated in London, became a member of Lincoln's Inn and was called to the bar at nineteen years of age. He helped in the political campaign of Dadabhai Naoroji in his election as a British member of parliament. It was primarily because Jinnah was a fluent English-speaking barrister who had been educated and trained in London. He dabbled in British

politics and became powerful enough to challenge British colonial powers in India, demanding a separate Muslim homeland (Ahmed, 1997; Almeida, 2001).

2.3 EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

After independence from British rule in 1947, Pakistan incorporated the English language in all governmental documentation as well as the education system (Farooq, 2010). The linguistic apartheid that was evident in colonial times was still being enforced in the new nation state. Currently, the Pakistani public school system is Urdu-medium while the private school system is English-medium. The difference among students based on socioeconomic prosperity is translated at elementary school level. Such a divisive educational policy has been recently reinforced at a federal level. The Pakistani Government announced an education sector reform policy in 2006-2007 whereby:

> "English language has been made compulsory from Class-1 onwards" and " English as [the] medium of instruction for Science, Mathematics, Computer Science and other selected subjects like Economics and Geography [should be introduced] in all schools in a graduated manner." (Federal Minister of Education Mr. Shujaat Ali on the website www.moe.gov.pk)

In Figure 2.1 below, two current systems of education (public and private) are shown. Both public schools and universities and private educational institutions run similar curriculum courses as all students focus on state examinations (Farooq, 1994). Although both educational systems run parallel to each other, there are many students that begin in one system and move into the other. Even though figures show that the secular educational system, endorsed by the private educational institutions, is more popular it does not attract greater enrolments. This is because the lower socioeconomic classes (greater in number) favour the religious educational system. The difference is based primarily on socioeconomic status rather than on personal preferences (Carlin, Gelman, Rubin and Stern, 2004).

Urdu Medium Govt. Schools	• Arabic/Urdu/English • Rs.2264.50 /student/yr
Private English Medium Schools	• English • Rs.90,061.00/student/yr
Public University	• English • Rs. 68,00.00/student/yr
Elitest Private Uni/Institutions	• English • Rs. 340,200.00/student/yr
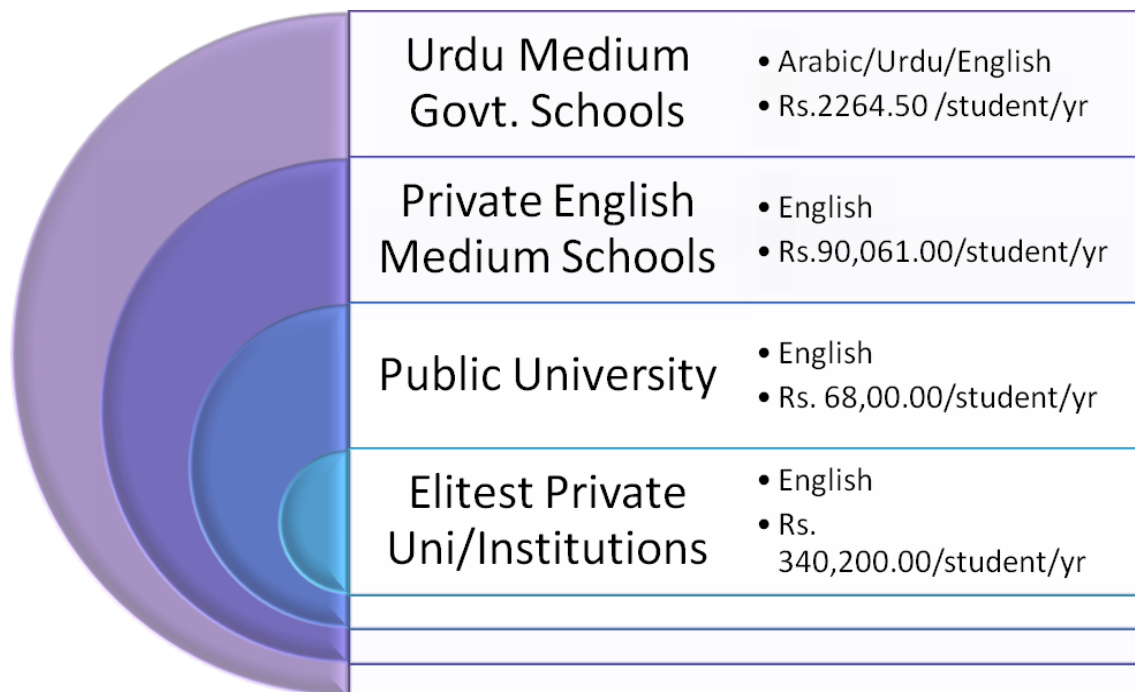
Figure 2.1 Cost of education at educational institutions in Pakistan

From these figures it is evident that socioeconomic factors contribute to constructing exclusivity within social class structures. Clearly, by viewing English as a prerequisite to job success and socioeconomic growth an inevitable drive to abandon one's cultural heritage increases to the extent that a society ultimately becomes a larger colonial collective (Gibbs, Habeshaw and Yorke, 2000). This is evident by the obvious increase in the demand for English medium schools, and as a result has caused the privatization of schools and the opening of an unprecedented number of private schools that cater for 'O', 'A' and Senior Cambridge degrees. This has given the British Council extraordinary powers to influence the local education system. Alistair Pennycook when interviewed by Karmani in 2003 (Karmani, 2005) stressed the belief in the concept of TEML (Teaching English as a Missionary Language) and highlighted the role that the British Council played in propagating English with an imperialist intent. Whether the British Council operating in postcolonial Pakistan has solely contributed to the popularity of English may remain unclear, what seems apparent is how the British Council helped to reinstate and reaffirm the status of

the English language within local Pakistani society. Today this status largely depends on the way it has been integrated: not only into the local education system, but also in the decisive way it has segregated the social class structure. Even though Pakistani society has evolved into a multicultural and multilingual society, the literacy rate in Pakistan is 56% (PSLM Survey 2004-5).[5] The issue of education is seen locally as a pre-requisite for a good job and socioeconomic prosperity. The only free public institution was Punjab University that, at the time of independence, catered to the social and political English-speaking elite. This university along with many other smaller educational institutions were originally British run (Glover, 2008). They had been inherited by the new Pakistan Government, and although they were all initially free to local citizens, privately owned and funded English medium educational institutions were slowly replacing them.

2.3.1 Higher Education Commission (HEC)

The Higher Education Commission of Pakistan is a governing body that was created by the Pakistani government to oversee curriculum establishment and the regulation of higher education institutions and to fund and develop guidelines for hiring academic staff at public universities. The HEC originally controlled and implemented the curricula for all public higher education institutions as well as those that were autonomous but still had students that prescribed to public exams (Khan, Yusuf, Kayani and Nawaz, 2014: 73-80). Since its inception, the HEC has struggled to implement its curricula (Khan, Muhammad and Mahmood, 2013) as many of the local institutes have set their own curriculum.

In addition, the HEC has been fighting criticism from local media and academics over its funding from USAID and the World Bank (Dawn News, 2015). Even though reports from the USAID Oversight Committee (USAID, 2010) and the speeches of the US ambassador to Pakistan (Patterson, 2010) have stressed

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[5] Pakistan Social and Living Standard Survey, or PSLM, is published by the Pakistan Government and is available on governmental websites.

that the commitment to fund the HEC is based on "the goal of USAID's work in higher education is to improve the human and institutional capacity of host country's higher education institutions (HEIs) (USAID, 2010)", the questions surrounding the political motivation, to inject $7.5 billion dollars in accordance with the Kerry-Lugar Bill (Pakistaniat, 2009), has continuously raised concerns in the Pakistani administration (Niazi, 2011).

2.3.2 HEC Curriculum

The HEC also publishes curricula that covers all subjects taught at higher education institute that fall under the HEC. It is clear from the published documents that the curricula is an imported one (HEC, 2011-2012) and subscribes to texts that are not intended for local Pakistani audiences (AWKUM, n.d.). In the 2012-2013 HEC online published curriculum for English language (HEC, 2011-2012) the course for Academic reading and Writing lists texts such as those by Goatly (2000); Hacker (1992) and ones such as those by Hamp-Lyons and Heasley (1987).

Although the HEC has survived the threat of being disbanded in 2011 by the 18th amendment bill floated in the Pakistani parliament, the growing critique of the HEC and suspicion of its donors has resulted in the Pakistani government finally conceding at the end of October 2014 (Daily Times, 2014) and directing the HEC to revise its curricula. It is apparent from the criticism that there is a need for texts that connect with the Pakistani audience and are easier to comprehend but currently they are not on any HEC lists.

Hence, the need for authentic localized texts that teach English to local students is necessary as the cultural values and norms that are an intrinsic part of the collective conscious are absent. The next section outlines the religious background of the country and by doing so implicitly showcases the deep religious roots of Pakistani society.

2.4 RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

With the introduction of Islam (Ahmed, 1969; Burki, 2005) into the Indian subcontinent from Arabia in the 7th century, languages such as Arabic and Persian gained political and social currency. The effect of continued exposure resulted in local Indian languages taking on a Persian script. The result was Urdu or 'camp' language. 'Urdu' was appropriate since the language was borne out of a random selection of local and foreign languages (Saksena, 1996). With the Islamic influence deeply entrenched in Urdu it was clear that language was seen in pre-colonial India as an embodiment of cultural, social and religious values (Ikram, 1965). This is evidenced in the dramatic uprising against Urdu in the Indian city Benares, and the animosity that the Muslim populace had towards English in colonial India (Osella and Soares, 2010). Hindu protesters in Benares in 1857 demanded an end to Urdu as a national language and Hindi in its place. The difference between the two languages lay not only in the morphology of many of the words and in the pronunciation, but more importantly, in the actual written script. Whereas Urdu is written with Arabic script and has its roots in Persian, Hindi is written in a Deonagri script and has its roots in traditional Sanskrit (Osella and Soares, 2010). The change of India's official language from Urdu to Hindi was endorsed by British colonial powers and from 1857 the official language became Hindi. As a result, Urdu was hastily abolished from all educational and governmental systems (Burqi, 1991).

Colonial support for the Hindu population became a source of resentment for Muslims in India. This led to open animosity, and the need for Muslims to rise up and take charge of their heritage, before they were overtaken by Hindus in greater numbers, and British colonial powers (Khan, 2007). In response Sir Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Aligarh University in the same year and adopted English, Arabic and Urdu as part of the curriculum.

The British were not only aware of the animosity within the Muslim populace to their open support for the Hindu majority, but they also realized that as past rulers of India (Ahmed, 1997), Muslims were experienced in controlling divisionary forces within India. Therefore they made concerted efforts to learn

the local languages and identified Urdu (or Hindustani) as politically significant. Fort William College was set up in Calcutta and Urdu was defined as the "literary language of the Musalman's and of Hindus educated on Musalman lines" (Rahman, 2000:35). But it took many years before Urdu was seen to be the language of Indian Muslims as it always took a back seat to Persian and Arabic (Rahman, 1990). After independence, Urdu and English became the official languages of Pakistan.

The madrassas felt the need to teach Arabic as their aim was primarily to teach the Qur'an in classical Arabic, but Urdu could not be ignored. Thus the madrassa system based its educational curriculum on Urdu and Arabic while making it clear that it would not endorse or teach English. The free education and board that the current madrassa system provides encourages those in lower socioeconomic classes, while other educational institutions that teach English or are English medium charge for educational services, hence catering to the social and political elite. This suggests that the educational choices that students are forced to make are largely dependent on their socioeconomic background, rather than their values, or free will.

Incorporation of religious material and/or religious ideologies within the educational curriculum is really only evident in the madrassa system (Rahman, 1997:177-207). That is not to say that 'Islamic studies' is not taught in government schools and universities. But the compulsory subject of Islamic studies is not as prominent as other subjects that are taught. Private institutions enforce religious rules and all private universities, whether foreign owned and funded or not, have built mosques within their campuses. Prayer time is integrated within the institutions' timetables and Friday is normally a half-working day.

Another noticeable trend is the increase in the publication of Islamic books in English, both within Pakistan and elsewhere. The role that English language has played in bringing an understanding of Islam to Muslims (in the West or who are English speaking) and non-Muslims cannot be underestimated. Nevertheless two important aspects emerge from the concept of an English text

ensconced within an Islamic context. First, there is the need to overcome the perception that the core motive for dissemination of the English language is a missionary one. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the idea of TEML (Teaching English as a Missionary Language) has been seen by Muslim communities worldwide as a verification of what had always been known but never proven (Gyasi and Hartford, 2008; Gu, 2009). And second, that the English language can house Islamic perspectives and/or terminologies accurately. In order to test this notion, the introduction of what was defined as IE or Islamic English was presented in the mid-1980s. Islamic English (IE) was conceptually introduced in 1986 by Al-Faruqi, who defined it as, "the English language modified to enable it to carry Islamic proper nouns and meanings without distortion." It therefore serves "the linguistic needs of Muslim users of the English language" (Al-Faruqi, 1986:7). In a research study undertaken in Malaysia, Che Dan, Haroon and Naysmith (1996), examined the incorporation of Islamic values and the English language in state-funded madrassa schools. The presence of what can only be referred to as a modified Islamic form of English has emerged, which students use in their everyday vernacular. More recent research studies (Al-Abed Al Haq & Al-Olaimat, 2003) point to what they highlight as 'Arabicization' of English in Jordan and government support for such policies. Such indirect modifications of English tailored to suit indigenous values, religion and culture can be seen in Malaysia, Indonesia and in parts of the Middle East, India and Pakistan, although such policies have never been explicitly labelled Islamic English (IE). In Pakistan the integration of IE with Pakistani English has grown with the support of the media, which have not only endorsed it, but have used it extensively, both in religious and non-religious programs (including news bulletins and public affairs broadcasts). IE along with Pakistani English has helped local Pakistanis to communicate globally with other Muslims.

2.5 SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT

The convergence of Pakistani English (Hathaway & Burki, 2005) and Islamic English has slowly shifted the perception of English in Pakistani society, especially in reference to employability. Tariq Rahman (2002) uses the idea of language being 'economic currency' and stresses that language, specifically English, has the power to help people attain jobs, even in rural areas in Pakistan. As Rahman suggests, language is materialistic and is weighted for its monetary value. What it 'buys' is power. For many English is a pre-requisite to achievement as employment is promised for those that can deliver and communicate in a global world (Rahman, 2002). What was once considered a remnant of a 'colonial legacy' is now viewed as 'global linguistic currency'. But it is necessary to point out that within this stratified society, based on educational accessibility, the English language has woven an aura of exclusivity (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 1996). Such status has interpreted the English language as being both a sign of progression and a destroyer of tradition (Stern, 2002).

This divisiveness has produced an educational system that mirrors dominant sociocultural values. Within private educational institutions, English is a pre-requisite for almost every discipline. For example, Islamic studies, Pakistan Studies and Pakistan History are taught in English. The presence of large corporate and foreign investors and shareholders in top educational institutions directly encourages the use of English, as they too openly view it as a lingua franca. And with a large number of students travelling overseas for further studies in Western universities, being competent in English is seen as vital.

Tariq Rahman, who has written numerous articles on the status of English in Pakistan, views English as the language within which rides liberal values, while he views Urdu as a language that scaffolds Islamic and nationalist paradigms (1996). Rahman does however note that a shift in how English is perceived has occurred in Pakistani society. The divisiveness that English once created is fast disappearing. This has been, replaced by those at the lower rung of the economic ladder (Rahman, 2002) as well as religious groups who have come to

the realization that English is not only a means of global communication but a language of empowerment.

2.6 POLITICAL CONTEXT

Although political domination (imperialism) has been the basis of English language propagation in the Indian subcontinent, for Pennycook (2003, 2009), the need for religious ascendancy is more likely the cause. The religious education system, as pointed out earlier, is one that initially has been seen to avoid any encouragement of the use of English language.

The political currency that can be siphoned from the use of English among the political elite has always been an integral part of any carefully calculated political global strategy. What is interesting is the status that English has gained among the Pakistani bureaucracy. For example, the CSS exam, which is a local Civil Service exam, is entirely in English and the English language paper focuses on English Literature including Shakespeare, Keats, Wordsworth and Fielding. Such dependency on the English language as the key to any kind of successful career (both local and international) is quite revealing.

In the current political crisis in which Pakistan has been immersed, it is clear that language plays a significant role in how Pakistan is perceived as playing a legitimate political role on the international stage (Dipesh, Majumdar and Sartori, 2007). In Orwellian terms, political language is essentially "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind" (Orwell, 1946 cited in Rozell, 2003:188). The use of English raises the legitimacy of the political speaker and the powerful political 'image' that is gained as a result is deemed necessary for success. Hence, the race to gain such political clout through the use of the English has given this language a political ascendancy that is unprecedented.

A recent example is the number of blogs that have exploded with the news (2008, September 26) of Pakistan's newly elected president misspelling his condolence note at the Mazar-e-Quaid in Karachi. The importance of the

Mazar-e-Quaid as a burial shrine of the founding father of Pakistan, and the political fallout from the gaffe, suggests the importance local Pakistani society attaches to political and high profile citizens' knowledge of English and their proficiency in using the language.

2.7 SUMMARY

As discussed in the earlier part of this chapter, Pakistan has been part of the colonized subcontinent, where the local populace has effectively been psychologically, socially and economically manipulated into highly regarding the English language. With the advent of the age of globalization and the internet, most socioeconomic benefits have effectively aligned themselves with the English language. As a result, the importance of English has increased exponentially. This chapter has outlined the role that English language has played and continues to play within the Pakistani context. It has shown that the English language which has political clout, economic currency and symbolic power can play a significant role in the eradication of local languages, the subjugation of age-old cultural practices and the redefinition of the cultural landscape of a country within 50 years. The discussion has presented how English is seen as a value-laden language that has the power to transform and translate a developing and dynamic society, irrespective of its consent.

Thoughts and opinions are conjured from the depths of souls that wait to be heard. How can I pluck them out with impunity?

He thought for a while. 'Literature Reviews are interesting; they are the surveying of the past in terms of the present, only to realize that they may or may not have a future. What this is, is but an absolving of all that has happened in the past and the recognition that it has. They are not always right but claim to be so and your job is to tell them where you see them stand.'

But I smiled. Words wield an uncanny power—they travel through time at once stroking and striking—plunging deep into frozen depths, only to drown away deafening silences that ricochet across icy floors. There never is a last utterance or an only utterance, only some utterance. But to weigh them all is an impossible balancing act.

He lashed out, 'Would you invent the wheel? Or reinvent it?

Riding on others, reaching for the heavens...that is how I see it' he replied.

No, I feel it is what lies below and sneaks into the recesses as we form words to color our reality. We weave alternatives to the same question, hoping that our version is real...but it is just another version after all.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter evaluates seminal works in the field, and provides an intellectual context to the study in relation to current research.

Research in World Englishes or the status of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has not been previously analysed alongside Islamic anthropology. This literature review will bring these two areas together as they both have a direct relation to the data and the social context that is being analysed. The reason for this approach is based on the pretext that the Pakistani context affords a unique opportunity to evaluate diverse research areas. These include the status of English in ESL countries, English as an International Language (EIL), postcolonialism, imperialism, hybridity, identity politics and Islamic anthropology. These research areas are surveyed and evaluated as they all have a direct influence on the interpretation of the data in this thesis (Giddens, 2006).

To begin with, simple terms such as language, culture and power, which have become areas of research in their own right and the basis of a constantly developing body of critical theory, are clearly defined and delineated. The theoretical and disciplinary traditions that have stemmed from them establish a theoretical basis for this investigation.

The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section defines the key terms of language, culture, and power. Linguistic and cultural imperialism are also discussed with a focus on the current status of the English language and the challenging concept of World Englishes (Smith & Forman, 1997).

The second section elaborates on the developing critical areas of Orientalism, identity politics and hybridity. This section deals with notions of postcolonialism,

subaltern studies, identity politics and hybridization in reference to the ESL speaker. It also presents the development of Islamic anthropology, especially as it relates to the Muslim learner from Pakistan. The conclusion summarizes the interdisciplinary research areas that have been touched on in the course of this chapter and highlights their relevance to this thesis.

3.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF LANGUAGE

Language is essentially a means of communication. Sapir defines language as "the auditory system of speech-symbolism, the flow of spoken words" (1921:24). It is clear then that 'language' denotes a necessary and vital part of human existence. The need for communication is not only dictated by our need to convey our feelings and our thoughts, but also by the need to belong to a particular group or community that shares our language. As Samovar and Porter (1982:17) suggest:

> Language gives people a means of interacting with other members of their culture and a means of thinking. Language thus serves both as a mechanism for communication and as a guide to social reality.

It is this 'guide to "social reality"' (Sapir, 1929:209 cited in Salzmann, 1998: 41) that is constructed by language and in turn constructs language. This idea is the basis of what is called linguistic determinism or relativism. Cassirer defined the approach as one where "language itself is what initiates such articulations, and develops them in its own sphere" (1946:12). Sapir took up the idea and suggested that the "'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group" (1929:209). Such approaches highlighted the (inter) dependency of language while diminishing the role of thought. On the other hand, critics such as Chomsky (1957, 1968, 1989, 2006, 2011) and Pinker (1992, 1994), proposed the presence of a universal grammar and meta-language (a thought process that was independent of language[6] and preceded

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[6] In this thesis language (human communication) is used as a concept that assumes the integration of both language and culture. This is because language is essentially social and requires human interaction (Canfield 1996, Wittgenstein 1953), therefore language and culture are interdependent. Even though language is viewed as a public and/or social phenomena, it is important to emphasize that language can be perceived as a private affair (Kripke 1982;

any language). Despite this ongoing debate on language and thought (Gumperz, 1996; Allen 1995), the presence of other influences on language, such as social reality, could not be discounted.

Drawing on Canguilhem's idea that an individual should be seen in his/her context (1988 trans. Goldhammer), Bourdieu proposed that language is not autonomous but determined by a social political reality. Within this social political realm lie the power struggles, social struggles and dynamics of community life (Bourdieu, 1990; Fairclough 1989). For Bourdieu, language is linguistic capital associated with class distinctions. It can be seen as linguistic codes that wield the power to dominate and demarcate among members of a society (Bourdieu, 1991:55). Language becomes a cultural and social institution such that it shapes human existence and in turn is shaped by human existence. It becomes much more than a 'language'; rather it is essentially "the outward manifestation of the spirit of people." In fact "their language is their spirit, and their spirit is their language; it is difficult to imagine any two things more identical" (Humboldt, 1907, cited in Salzmann, 1998: 39).

3.2.1 English as an international language

> English is now the dominant or official language in over 60 countries and is represented in every continent. …Most of the scientific, technological and academic information in the world is expressed in English and over 80% of all the information stored in electronic retrieval systems is in English. (Crystal, 1997:106).

As Crystal (1997:106) suggests, English as an international language has emerged as the most powerful language the world has ever known (Crystal, 1997; Fishman, 1996; Coulmas, 1992). The English language has attained phenomenal success in the last 100 years. It has become the most dominant world language with over 1.9 billion speakers worldwide by recent estimates (Puddingtion, et al. 2007). With such dominance any pedagogical practice would be likely, in Foucauldian terms, to manifest techniques of power play (Foucault, 1984).

Wittgenstein (1934-6) since it is by social interaction that we test our understanding and our ability to produce language.

The phrase 'Global English' officially emerged when the linguist David Graddol was commissioned by the British Council to write about the impact, influence and reach of the English language. But it was David Crystal (1997) who wrote of the power of the English language and its emergence as the lingua franca of our times through the rise of the US and global domination of Western culture. As terms such as linguistic and cultural imperialism began to circulate, Phillipson's book *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) broke new ground by proving the legitimate existence of these emerging issues.

According to McKay (2002: 13), the global dominance of the English language is such that "few would question that presently" English language "dominates a variety of economic and cultural arenas." Furthermore, the global impact of English can also be seen in governmental policies towards education that many countries in the developing world and Third World have (Dodd, 1991). One such example is China. With the beginning of an open-door policy in China, the need to promote English language education became one of the Chinese government's top priorities (Lam and Chow, 2001). As a result of their determination in continuing their English language policy,[7] China joined the World Trade Organization (WTO) and won the bid to host the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

Similarly in the Third World, measurement of economic progress is seen in terms of the number of English speaking academic institutions, higher education researchers and/or foreign scholarships obtained (Helleiner,1990). According to Skutnabb-Kangas, in African countries, such as Tanzania, Nigeria and Zambia, the English language "ranks highest because of its status as 'official' language" (1995: 344)

With this link between economic progress and English clearly established, it was evident to many (Smith, 1993; Pennycook, 1995, 1998; Elabdin, 2009) that an issue of power, domination and exploitation could certainly be drawn. The debate surrounding this impact and role of the English language (Jenkins, 2000) has been quite volatile with critics suggesting not only the global spread of

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[7] According to the Chinese educational policy adopted in 1978, the English language was incorporated into the national educational framework (Lam and Chow, 2001)

English as 'imperialism' (Phillipson, 1992) but as the root cause of linguistic genocide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995).

Extreme opinions aside, it would be naïve to assume that English is neutral. Ives points this out in his analysis of Gramsci's approach to political linguistics. For Ives, global English "is rife with politics and power" (2006:137). Similarly, Pennycook (1994) suggests, there is a set of values and norms that language carries. But this spread of English is seen by many to be ruled primarily by the spread of economic possibilities, trade and the growth of the media. In 1997, the Science Citation Index reported that 95% of its articles were written in English. Thus at the very least, it seems likely that on an international stage English needs to be understood by all English language speakers from both non-English (NESB) and English (ESB) speaking backgrounds. For this to occur, supporters of EIL (Honey: 1997) have had to fight to retain standard English, or what can be termed the 'standardization'[8] of English.

With the aim of standardizing English, pressure to 'canonize' or 'codify' the language has instead resulted in a debate on who owns the language. According to David Crystal (2003:2), "deeply held feelings of ownership begin to be questioned" when language is modified by non-native speakers of English. This fear has given rise to the concept of SE (Standard English) and to societies, such as the American 'Official English' or 'English-Only Movement', which began in 1980.

Controversy on the topic has also raised issues of the role of English and the sociopolitical context in which language can and should be viewed (Jenkins,

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[8]According to the *Longman Guide to English Usage* co-edited by *Greenbaum and Whitcut,* Standard English is, "… the type of English that is used by educated people throughout the English-speaking world. It is a variety with distinctive features of vocabulary and grammar, and not an accent (type of pronunciation); Standard English is therefore spoken by people with different accents ... It is the English that is taught in the education systems of English-speaking countries and is also taught to foreigners; it is the variety that appears in print and (for most serious purposes) is the spoken language of the mass media" (Greenbaum, 1989:676). Again Greenbaum with co-editor Randolph Quirk identifies 'Standard English' as the "Educated English which ... is codified in dictionaries, grammars, and guides to usage, and it is taught in the school system at all levels. It is almost exclusively the language of printed matter. Because Educated English is thus accorded implicit social and political sanction, it comes to be referred to as Standard English (Greenbaum, 1990:5).

2006, 2009). As English has been the language of British imperial powers, it has brought to the forefront the need to address issues of domination, postcolonialism and neo-colonialism (Krishnaswamy and Hawley, 2008). By examining such issues, concepts of power, exploitation and inequality are actually played out. This social dimension of language is in essence the cultural context in which the language operates.

3.3 THE NOTION OF CULTURE

In their explanation of the concept of culture, Nunan and Choi emphasize 'culture' as being a construct "outside the individual" while identity is "inside the individual" (2010:5). For Otwinowska-Kasztelanic, language is an integral component of culture and "acts as a transmitter of culture and as a main tool for the internationalization of the culture of the individual" (2011:36). The linking of language and culture and the need to define culture-using language is based on the idea that language learning is a communicative experience (Hall, Hewings, Breen and Candlin, 2001). Sapir believes that "language does not exist apart from culture, that is, from the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives" (1978: 207). And according to Samovar, Porter and Jain, "culture and communication are inseparable" because "culture… dictates who talks to whom, about what, and how the communication proceeds." Thus culture "is the foundation of communication." (1981: 24).

Matthew Arnold's neoplatonic views presented the idea of culture as being "the best that is thought and said" (Arnold, 1875:1). His idea of culture focused on the cultivation of characteristics such as absolute 'beauty', 'intelligence' and 'perfection'. Macionis and Plummer (2005) view the notion of culture as an amalgamation of societal beliefs that originate in part from traditions. Defining culture in an anthropological context gives weight to the idea that culture is a concentrated accumulation that is entrenched in and as a result may be seen as constituting "a peoples way of life" (2005: 106).

Trompenaars (1994) suggests a more diagrammatic approach. He defines culture as a three-layered concept. The outer layer is made up of apparent symbols, traditions and rituals of culture. These represent "symbols of a deeper level of culture" (1994:23). The second or middle layer is made up of values and social behaviours of members of the community. The core or inner layer is based on frames of reference including underlying assumptions about the world, life and human existence. Another model used to define culture is by Adaskou, Britten and Fahsi (1989), whose four dimensions of culture in English language teaching are:

1. The aesthetic sense: language and its association with literature, music and art. In this culture is seen as neo-platonic or Arnoldian.

2. The sociological sense: language and traditions.

3. The semantic sense: language and the vocabulary of the community and conceptual beliefs.

4. The pragmatic sense: practical and contextual use of language.

But a simpler definition of culture[9] would be "the ways of the people" (Lado, 1957: 110). This is the context within which our lives operate. We may or may not be cultured, but we do live and have a culture. The distinguishing feature between the use of Culture with an initial capital and culture without an initial capital was highlighted by Kramsch (1993). She points out that Culture is taken as being a sociological concept or the complete conceptual platform of culture in its entirety, whereas culture is taken to be the localized and/or particular brand of culture (Kramsch, 1993).

Further analysis reveals that culture can be seen as "the whole way of life of a people or group. In this context, culture (sic) includes all the social practices that bond a group of people together and distinguish them from others" (Montgomery and Reid-Thomas, 1994: 5). In other words, the concept of Culture suggests a powerful repertoire of values, traditions, ideas and opinions

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[9]In this definition I take a stand against Kramsch's proposed use (Adaskou and Britten 1990; Kramsch, 1993). The difference is based on the age-old practice of using capital letters to signify the term in its absolute state as compared to what is practically observable.

that can only be safeguarded in language. Wa Thiong'o (1986) sees the sanctified Culture as the one that needs to be protected. For him, "language as communication and culture are products of each other..." and culture is "the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world" (Wa Thiong'o, 1972: 290). For Wa Thiong'o, the once colonized mind now free to express in a postcolonial society acutely realizes that,

> ...specific culture is not transmitted through language in its universality, but in its particularity as the language of a specific community with a specific history. Written literature and orature are the main means by which a particular language transmits the images of the world contained in the culture it carries. (1986:15-16)

However it is also the repertoire that is transmitted to the colonized mind and presents itself as a replacement. This link between language and culture or the 'energia' of language and the 'ergon' of communal structure (Humboldt, 1988; Jabeen and Shah, 2011) is one that has been explored by anthropologists, socio-linguists and those who specialise in educational and cultural politics. As this research explores the dynamics of the acculturative processes within which ESL speakers are continually confronting a cultural via linguistic imposition, the need to explore the inextricable link between language and culture is vital. The next section explores this inextricable link.

3.3.1 Language and culture

> When we use the word "culture" in its anthropological sense, we mean to say that culture is any of the customs, worldview, language, kinship system, social organization, and other taken for granted day-to-day practices of a people which set that group apart as a distinctive group. By using the anthropological sense of the word "culture" we mean to consider any aspect of the ideas, communication, or behavior of a group of people which gives to them a distinctive identity and which is used to organize their internal sense of cohesion and membership. (Scollon, 1995:26)

Even though Scollon may rely only on an anthropological definition of 'culture'[10], using terms such as, "customs, worldview, language, kinship system, social organization," culture is undoubtedly a very complex and complicated term that can be defined in more ways than one as discussed in the previous section. And as Williams suggests, culture can also denote "a general process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development…" while at the same time culture, "indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, or humanity in general..." (1983: 92; Ellis, 1999). Generally, language and culture would seem to have an obvious link[11], but it is the actual nature of the connection that needs to be analysed. In defining the term 'linguistic relativity" Sapir and Whorf delineated the link between language and culture:

> Language is a guide to "social reality"...it powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society. ... No two languages are ever similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live in distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached...We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation. (Sapir, 1929 cited in Mandelbaum, 1949:162)

Linguistic determinism or the idea that language shapes thought has been fiercely criticised (Pinker, 1994), but with advances in linguistic anthropology and the opportunity to access translated works by Vygotsky and Bakhtin, it has become possible to see linguistic determinism in a new light (Holquist, 1990).

Halliday also lays the groundwork for the connection between culture and language, tracing it to early childhood. According to Halliday, during a child's early development, "he is socialized into the value systems and behaviour patterns of the culture through the use of language at the same time as he is

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[10] It should be noted that Scollon defines the word 'culture' not 'Culture'. What this may suggest is the commonality of the use of the term, i.e. 'culture' as in covering all cultures but not the abstract notion of 'Culture'.
[11] By 'obvious' I simply mean that it 'reasonably follows'; language which is the basis of communication has a role to play in establishing Culture.

learning it" (1978: 23). Hence language learning is an integral part of intellectual development. But what a child learns is knowledge acquired by communicating with others; therefore, as Halliday comments, the child's "linguistic system" is "evolved in social contexts" (1978: 141). Along with Vgotsky, Halliday argues that "language" is the "means whereby, in the course of everyday activity and interaction, the culture is simultaneously enacted and socially 'transmitted' to succeeding generations" (Wells 1994: 59). From Halliday's analysis of the relationship between language and culture, it becomes apparent that at the heart of the definition of culture is the need for communication. In other words, the existence of a community or a society is wholly dependent on culture and therefore on language (Ellis, 2005). This line of thought is readily endorsed by Ferdinand de Saussure, who describes it as langue—only a part of linguistic expression. In other words it is the sign that signifies. Hence only within a system or langue can signs be used to construct meanings (Saussure, 1959: 9). But if culture is seen as an integral part of culture, then along with the death or extinction of language comes the death or extinction of society, which is a natural occurrence. Skutnabb-Kangas's notion of linguistic genocide (2000: 311-365) can be seen as being played out in Aboriginal communities and outback towns in Australia, where the extinction of Aboriginal languages has caused the demise of many small communities that once survived for thousands of years before white settlement (Spolsky and Hult, 2010: 299).

It should be noted that communication within culture is by language, both verbal and non-verbal.[12] If language is the primary means of simplifying, categorizing and communicating experience (Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch, 2002), then what and how it is being communicated makes up culture. The link between culture and language is such that both are entirely interdependent, that would simply mean that language could not exist without a cultural implication of some sort, and culture could not be conveyed without language (Abercombie and Warde, 1988). An example of the interdependency of language and culture can be seen in the term 'appropriation' defined as "the process by which the language is

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[12] Non-verbal features of language are not discussed here at length, simply due to the limited scope of this thesis. But it is important to note that paraverbal features of communication make a significant contribution to culture, and by not acknowledging their existence has led to misunderstandings between Western and Eastern cultures.

made to 'bear the burden' of one's own cultural experience…" As a result "language is adopted as a tool and utilized to express widely differing cultural experiences" (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989: 38-39). Carbaugh (1996, 2007) also makes the connection of language and culture in the exploration of social identities, albeit in a wholly American context, when he investigates the engagement of the American self with its public life (Chakrabarty, 2000a), media influence and local cultural discourses. But Crabaugh overlooks the importance of sociocultural influences and historical influences on identity construction. This line of research is significant in that it is informed by both the view that language communicates cultural experiences as well as the view that language is a tool used for exploitation, domination and obliteration of differences resulting in imperialism—the subordination of those in vulnerable and powerless positions.

3.4 IMPERIALISM

The notion of imperialism has been at best an accusatory concept. The negative connotations, such as domination, censorship, and even genocide, have conjured up images of forcefulness and a blatant disregard for everything local. By using 'imperialism' in association with terms such as language and culture, the concepts of linguistic imperialism and cultural imperialism take on a political dimension. Although the concepts of linguistic imperialism (Edge 2006; Pennycook 1994, 2001; Phillipson, 1992, 2003) and cultural imperialism (Tomlinson 1990, 1999; Said 1993, Geertz, 2000) are discussed in detail in the following subsections, suffice to say they have been successful in delineating possible socioculturally embedded invisible ideologies. It is these invisible ideologies that need to be addressed in any inquiry into the nature and purpose of educational strategies in postcolonial countries.

3.4.1 Linguistic imperialism

> You taught me language; and my profit on't is, I know how to curse; the red plague rid you, for learning me your language! (Shakespeare, The Tempest, I, ii)

In his discussions on concepts of linguistic ecology and linguistic imperialism Mulhauser laments the "manifestation of European linguistic imperialism" as "not the reduction of the quantity of indigenous languages but the destruction of the region's linguistic ecology" (1996: 77). For Mulhauser, linguistic imperialism is a historical construct which "has its own language" and is supported by "economic, moral and political" discourses (1996: 20). Although Mulhauser's focus is anthropological, he concedes the possibility of what can be described as 'killer languages' (1996:20; Pinker, 1991) and categorizes English as being but one example. For Phillipson, English is a 'killer-language' (Phillipson, 1992), which has carved out a unique position in history. English is poised to become a global language—one that dominates every country, culture and language on the globe. This unprecedented expansion means "when English spreads it is not merely the substitution or displacement of one language by another but the imposition of new 'mental structures' through English" (Phillippson, 1992:166). Critics have also suggested that it "has been British and American government policy since the mid-1950s to establish English" such that English becomes "a universal 'second language', so as to protect and promote capitalist interests" (Skutnabb-Kangas & Philippson, 1989: 63).

Linguistic imperialism is an overt form of cultural invasion and stratification, but it can also be seen as an integral part of globalization, and a new "complex, overlapping, disjunctive order, which cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing centre-periphery models" (Appadurai, 1996: 32). Therefore, it is possible to see the expansion of the English language as contributing to the concept of a global culture that is beneficial. In other words, one that is "less in terms of alleged homogenizing processes (e.g., theories which present cultural imperialism, Americanization and mass consumer culture as a proto-universal culture riding on the back of Western economic and political domination)" but instead one that promotes "diversity, variety and richness of popular and local

discourses, codes and practices which resist and play-back systematicity and order" (Featherstone, 1990:2). Although this may be the view of all those that support globalization as well as those that view imperialism as being misunderstood and misrepresented, it is an established fact that language is primarily influenced by and also influences class, power and knowledge within societal constructs. This is especially true of a postcolonial country where the dynamics within a society create new social classes unaware of hegemonic struggles of power and class. The result, according to Abu-Lughod, is the "marginalization of their languages and cultures" (cited in Dua, 1994:133).

This, as Skutnabb-Kangas has suggested leads to linguistic genocide. But even if such dire predictions by critics are not taken into account, it is apparent, as Widdowson suggests (2003), that the teaching of language is a moral as well as a political issue. The teacher does dominate the exchange of information in a classroom so it is virtually impossible to distinguish between "benevolent intervention from malevolent interference; and even if your intervention is well-intentioned, how do you know what negative consequences might follow?" (Widdowson, 2003:2). In highlighting the issue Phillipson's 1992 treatise on linguistic imperialism makes it quite clear that there was and remains an agenda behind the spread of English. According to Phillipson, the concept of imperialism, although not restricted to language, was a dominating influence. For him, linguistic imperialism should be seen as a field of inquiry that views the dissemination of the English language as not being borne out of history but being exploited in its colonial capacity. Phillipson defines the concept:

> It [LI] looks at the spread of English historically, in order to ascertain whether the language has been actively promoted as an instrument of the foreign policy of the major English-speaking states, and, if so, in what ways. It looks at the language policies that Third World countries inherited from colonial times, 'and considers how well 'aid', in the form of support for educational development and English learning in particular, has served the interests of the receiving countries and the donors, and assesses whether it has contributed to perpetuating North-South inequalities and exploitation. It looks specifically at the ideology transmitted with, in and through the English language, and the role of language specialists in the cultural export of English. (1992: 1)

Phillipson finds support from Gramsci, Italian Communist leader and Marxist theoretician, who detailed the hegemonic characteristics of domination by foreign powers using sociocultural, economical and linguistic methods rather than only political ones (Gramsci, 1971; Juan, 2009). According to Gramsci the dominant socioeconomic system can hold its profitable position only by "persuading the other classes to accept the system of beliefs of the ruling class and share their social, moral and cultural values" (Bullock and Woodings, 1983:285). But many, such as Featherstone, see the spread of English as a positive result of globalization; it is the success story that brings diverse nations onto one platform and increases the possibility of intercultural communication. Crystal (1998) makes it clear that the English language has no hidden agenda and the political dominance that Phillipson asserts is fictitious (Chew, 1999:42). But many, such as Featherstone, see the spread of English as a positive result of globalization; it is the success story that brings diverse nations onto one platform and increases the possibility of intercultural communication. Crystal (1998) makes it clear that the English language has no hidden agenda and the political dominance that Phillipson asserts is fictitious (Chew, 1999:42). Crystal justifies his position by suggesting that the English language "presents us with unprecedented possibilities for mutual understanding" (1997:viii) whilst admitting that native English speakers are automatically in control when compared non-native speakers. Although the idea of sublaternity is duly ignored by critics such as Featherstone and Crystal, Anderson critiques the dynamics amongst native and non-native language speakers

> Much the most important thing about language is its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect particular solidarities. After all imperial languages are still vernaculars and thus particular vernaculars anyway. If radical Mozambique speaks Portuguese, the significance of this is that Portuguese is the medium through which Mozambique is imagined (and at the same time limits its stretch into Tanzania and Zambia). Seen from this perspective the use of Portuguese in Mozambique (and English in India) is basically no different than the use of English in Australia or Portuguese in Brazil. Language is not an instrument of exclusion: in principle anyone can learn any language. On the

contrary, it is fundamentally inclusive, limited only by the fatality of Babel: no one lives long enough to learn all languages. Print-language is what invents nationalisms, not a particular language per se. (1991:133-134)

For Anderson, the ability of any vernacular to house socio-cultural and religious beliefs of any community is clear, yet by doing so it imposes on its members the burden of generating an 'imagined community'. These communities that are bound by multiple languages are creating a reality that is accessible to members of other communities and essentially are rewriting their community in other languages. As Anderson suggests, "no one lives long enough to learn all languages" (1991:134), yet being members of multiple communities will ultimately have power to control and morph the beliefs and values of communities that are linguistically accessible. Although this may not be clearly defined as an Orientalist approach, others have been influenced by Anderson's views and have reconsidered the idea of the power that the English language holds over global communities.

Pennycook takes a milder approach but his view on the power of the English language stems from his belief that there are not only socio-economic forces that have acted to instigate the spread of English but religious ones as well. Pennycook and Coutard-Marin have uncovered what they suggest is a religious imperialism motive, a concept they term as TEML, Teaching English as a Missionary Language (Pennycook and Coutard-Marin, 2003: 337-54). Pennycook and Coutand-Marin write of how the current geo-political situation is being translated into the field of TESOL.

> The recent shift in global relations, with the rampant ascendancy of an aggressively conservative, capitalist and Christian United States (supported particularly by Anglophone allies against Islamic states), alongside the ever-increasing global clamor for English and its changing role in the world, has led to a set of new and troubling relations between English language teaching and Christian missionary activity (Pennycook and Coutard-Marin, 2003: 337-54).

This issue brings to the forefront the idea that English is being used as a Trojan horse—housing invisible ideologies that are transported and preached to unassuming recipients. However, the 'unassuming recipients', it seems, have been awakened to this possibility (Littlewood, 2001). Studies by Ozog (1989) and Shafi (1983) have called for the need to make "English language teaching truly Islamic" (Shafi, 1983:37). How this can possibly be achieved is still an open question. As Yoneka (2003:1) suggests, English is not, "actually spoken by any single person" therefore it is not "claimed, created, controlled or dominated by any particular person or group". The language learners en masse have "the authority to prescribe what it should be, or the omnipotence to describe what it might be under every possible circumstance" (Yoneka, 2003:1). Ignorance of the possibility of inherent hidden agendas in language, especially one as powerful as English, and what Pennycook declares as 'liberal ostrichism'[13], (Pennycook, 2001) is ultimately supportive of linguistic and cultural genocide.

Bearing in mind that the need to transport, preach or encroach upon others with the alternative and invisible ideologies is not through language alone, it is vital to describe what role culture plays specifically in educational institutions such as Apex and Rise Universities. If theories of imperialism are to be accepted, then the issue of culture transmitted through language should be seen as the logical next stop in this review.

3.4.2 Cultural imperialism

The ideological apparatus of cultural imperialism was borne out of the interdependency of language and culture. The notion of cultural imperialism is therefore not without its share of debate and controversy (Kachru, 1986; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998, 2001, 2006; Karmani, 2005). The need for English as a tool to escape harsh economic realities has propelled ESL/EFL learners of the Third World to "adopt English and use it alongside their own culture" in order to "possibly escape from the poverty-trap and catch up with

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[13] An extremely interesting and informative insight into teaching ESL, possibility of hidden agendas and linking it with the world outside is Pennycook's reflective piece-
http://www.educ.ubc.ca/faculty/norton/Pennycook%202004%20draft.pdf

developed countries rapidly" (Jeffrey, 2002:67). Such is the economic reality that encourages the growth of English along with its ideological apparatus. Cultural domination becomes a plausible possibility and the adaptation to a foreign culture can lead to awareness, exploitation and/or resistance (Harvey, 2005; Pennycook, 2010).

It is easy to turn to governmental educational practices in EFL countries in the Third World in order to investigate the origins of any imperialistic trends inculcated in educational policies (Herriman and Burnaby, 1996). But before turning to governmental educational policies in EFL countries, it is important to stress that the need for economic independence is a global phenomenon. The hunger by individual learners for economic independence has caused many educational practices to respond to demand within their own constituencies. Economic motivation is seen by many as the main driving force behind the spread of English and the sociocultural practices embedded therein (Mair 2003; Romaine 1994). However, for the ESL countries the situation is slightly different. The factor of economic motivation is still present but the higher degree of realization and self-reflexivity of the ESL learner has helped to generate resistance. This resistance, according to some, takes the form of localized versions of English (Kachru 1983, 1986, 2008; Kachru and Nelson, 2009; Rampton 1996). As Lowenberg observes,

> ...[i]n these countries, English is used by non-native speakers in the absence of native speakers, in non-Western sociocultural contexts and in constant contact with other languages in multilingual speech communities. As a result, it often undergoes systematic changes at all linguistic levels, from phonology and morphology, to syntax and semantics, to discourse and style. (2000:67-68)

The change manifests not only in localized versions of the English language but in culture as well. While some have termed this acculturating effect 'resistance' others simply believe that ESL learners develop a hybrid culture (Bhabha 1984, 2000; Spivak 1995, 2003). This resistance at both micro and macro levels, and within speakers placed in a non-Western sociocultural context, has generated a fierce debate in educational and cultural politics.

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3.5 VIEWING THE CONTEXT

Returning to the central idea, it is important to state that the aim of this research was to wade into this ongoing debate and test the plausibility of this so-called 'resistance', as well as obtain a snapshot of the dynamism that underlies the sociocultural context of the ESL speaker. As the inquiry into resistance and/or acceptance of Pakistani ESL speakers of English and its cultural connotations was the main focus, the research is positioned within ongoing debates in Orientalism, subaltern studies, hybridity, postcolonialism, identity politics and Islamic anthropology. Due to the complexity and fluidity of these debates, the theoretical undercurrents relevant to this thesis will be presented in the next section.

3.5.1 The Hall of Mirrors: Foucault, Fairclough and Parker

This section introduces notions of discourse analysis informed by Foucault, Fairclough and Parker that are relevant to this research. Critical discourse analysis will be discussed and the reasons for not using this analytical technique will be detailed. Foucault and Fairclough's approach will be discussed, followed by Parker's contribution to discourse analysis. The justification for using Parker's psychoanalytical mode will be presented.

In an attempt to analyse social reality, Hollway (1989) offers a psychoanalytical version borrowing heavily from Lacan and Foucault. Fairclough (1992) however applies social theory with linguistics to create a more tangible and measurable approach. The term 'discourse' is open to many interpretations. Hollway defines discourse as "a particular network of meanings, their heterogeneity and their effects" (1989: 38). Davies and Harre describe discourse as "a multi-faceted public process through which meanings are progressively and dynamically achieved" (1990:47). Dreyfus and Rainbow view discourse as "a group of statements that belong to a single system of formation." (1982:107). With Parker using discourse as a "system of statements which constructs an object"

(1990:91), it seems clear that discourses are socially generated language systems that are not only produced by the individual but ensconce the individual. As a result they construct our version of reality and give us identity (Holborrrow, 2006), help us build and maintain social relationships, and provide us with a system of knowledge and/or an ideologically based belief (Foucault 1982). It should be clarified at this point that Parker uses 'ideology' instead of Foucault's 'regimes of truth'. Foucault makes no qualms about notions of 'ideology' as he finds the term to be "in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth" (Foucault, 1980:118). It remains that discourses are essentially regarded as being subjective, and conceptually the term 'ideology' maintains a truth, a kernel of what may be considered as essentially false, hence in Foucault's view, unacceptable.

Discourses can be recognized by the clusters they form around a topic. These clusters are culturally shared assumptions that depend on power and historicity, and hence they are characteristically dynamic and in constant flux. Potter and Wetherell (1988:171-172) use the term 'interpretive repertoire' as being synonymous with discourse. Although Parker does not agree with this term, he acknowledges that "it is crucial that we hold to some conception of the difference between discourses." (1992, 33) But if discourses are to be viewed as interpretations of our version of reality as well as constructions of that reality, they become an 'interpretive repertoire.' Therefore any analysis aims to delineate the outer perimeters of these discourses such that they become available as realistic versions of how a community visualizes its reality.

With this possibility comes the issue of the duality of discourse as both a constructive medium and a restrictive one, albeit ever expanding. For Foucault, this fragile duality was one that enabled discourse to produce and undermine power (1980; Farrell, 2005). For others, such a social conceptualisation of discourse helps to identify a balancing act or a struggle (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982). This attempt to retain/maintain is one that is defensive while at the same time being exploratory. Such a duality characterizes hybridity as much as the duality of discourses.

What this research aims to achieve is the mapping of this hybrid space in lieu of delineating the perimeters of these discursive practices. In order to define discursive practice, Fairclough's interpretation of discourse as both text production and social practice is used simultaneously. In other words, discourses are seen as objects that are subjective to their social context as they are essentially a product of institutional and organizational structures in society (Fairclough 1992).

Another possible approach could have been that of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Although CDA is derived from post-structuralism (Fairclough, 1992; Foucault, 1986), sociology (Bourdieu, 1991; Williams, 1992) and neo-Marxist cultural theory (Hall, 1996), its focus on textual analysis digresses from the aim of this research. This is because CDA primarily targets textual structure (Dijk, 1977) rather than context. This analysis presents talk and text, anticipating the actual context and revealing ideological underpinnings. Although there are many shifts in what was once a distinct research tradition, the methodology of critical discourse analysis (CDA) still involves a close analysis of textual techniques (Luke, 1996) with the help of systemic functional linguistics and semiotics (sometimes known as textual microanalysis). With Fairclough and Wodak incorporating a Hallidayan[14] approach (Fairclough, 2001; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001:66), critical discourse analysts, such as Gee and van Dijk, have subtly shifted their analysis to incorporate a social context alongside their textual analytical framework. But this has still led to criticism of CDA as a technique that has a "biased interpretation" (Widdowson, 1995:169), which uses textual analysis to support an assumed ideological context.

The approach to critical discourse analysis varies considerably among discourse analysts. Potter and Wetherell take an ethnomethodological approach and Fairclough threads a social context alongside a grammatical approach. Parker, whose background in psychoanalysis weighs heavily on his reading of

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[14] A Hallidayan approach refers to one that is based on systemic functional linguistics. This field was pioneered by M.A.K. Halliday and later supported by his wife, Ruqaiya Hasan. Although Hasan refers to a Hallidayan approach in her article on sociolinguistic theory (Bolton and Kwok, 1992:90), she subtly shifts the paradigm from strictly semantic to one that focuses on "meaning potential" such that discourse "functions as a resource of meaning".

texts, formulates a methodology that is different from what would appeal to "fervent foucauldians or derisive derridieans" (1989:4). His ideological stance helps him see a discursive reality that is constructed by subjects whilst constructing objects (Parker, 1990). In order to examine the discourse as text, Parker's perspective on discourse as "delimited tissues of meaning reproduced in any form that can be given interpretive gloss" (1990:193) helps to focus on the discursive clusters that constitute discursive practice. This conceptualization of the text supports the need to see discourse as socially constructed and to both "be inside and outside of texts" (Parker, 1992:34).

Parker uses both oral and written texts. Although his method of discursive analysis will be outlined in more detail in the methodology chapter, Parker bases his analysis on discourse taken from "places where what is said and what is done, rules imposed and reasons given, the planned and the taken for granted, meet and interconnect" (Foucault 1991, p.75).

The decision to use Parker's technique to 'psychoanalyse' discourses has the added advantage of reconstructing the meaning of the text, and documenting informal and unspoken ideas behind what the text represents.

Such discourse analysis enables a more accurate reconstruction/translation of the interviewees' feelings and ideas. The discourse analysis employed in this research psychoanalyses the text to reconstruct the sociological context from the point of view of interviewees. Thus it is how the interviewees see this sociological context and the impact it has on them; in other words, it is a snapshot of the dynamic acculturating effect on people.

The context in itself can be seen through numerous ideological perspectives. Bearing in mind that the social context of the research demands a discussion of a postcolonial Muslim society, the next section will survey important critical bodies of work which evaluate social discursive practices that govern such a community.

3.5.2 Postcolonialism

As the research was carried out in a postcolonial society, founded originally on Islamic principles, it is important in this literature review to evaluate critical work that reflects current social practices in Pakistan. As the research inadvertently examines resistance to the acculturating experience of English language learning, it is essential to trace the source. The basis for any resistance within the Indian subcontinent can be traced back to colonial rule or to the concept of postcolonialization (Bhabha, 1994).

Theories on postcolonialism have raised awareness as well as generated subalternity, hybridity and Orientalism. In other words, what postcolonial theories have managed to accomplish is the need for equality in thought and respect as well as the need for self-identity, especially for those that have, through history, been robbed of freedom of self-rule (Hogan, 2002). Postcolonialism can be viewed as a discourse that has helped to create an infrastructure which hosts the ideas generated from the need to resist, and to speak out and be heard. Such a discourse draws on a post-structuralist framework, as essentially postcolonialism deconstructs and critiques power relationships that are integral to political domination, both in the past and in the current age of globalization. Hence, postcolonial theory is relevant to the analytical framework used here for three main reasons:

- The learners who took part in this research constitute a postcolonial context.

- Postcolonial theory helps articulate the cultural and historical complexity of the discourses as it opens up the possibility to explore as well as critique the learner's assumptions.

- Postcolonial theory helps to navigate the extent of critical awareness of neo-colonialism.

Postcolonial discourses are both discourses of resistance and awareness because they retain as well as maintain the rights of those that were once under imperialist rule. Such a duality is clearly present in postcolonial literature.

Examples of such a duality are postcolonial writers, from the Indian and African subcontinents, Chinua Achebe (1969), Sara Suleri (1992) and Akbar Ahmed (egs. 1994, 1995) to name a few, who have continuously tried to retain their once lost cultural identity as well as maintain their identity shaped by imperialist rule. In order to analyse such a duality, it was necessary to maintain a continuous engagement with the social and political discourses of these former colonies. Critics such as Fanon (1967), Said (1973, 1993, 1994), Bhabha (1990, 1994, 2000, 2004) and Spivak (1995, 1996, 1999) have revealed the impact of colonization on societies such as those of the subcontinent. Pakistan has a unique position. It is part of a former colony that originally governed the colony. The Muslims in India reigned for almost one thousand years before the British arrived. For colonizers to face the same fate of their subordinates provides the researcher with a unique opportunity to analyse the effects. This resistance is slightly different to discourse termed the 'duality of resistance' in the earlier section of this chapter. This resistance is tinged with nostalgia and an acute awareness of what it is like to be in power.

More common is the resistance that embodies speaking out and talking back to those in power, as well as defending all that is traditional. This has been touted in studies as a 'declared resistance' (Kachru, 1986; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998, 2001, 2006; Karmani, 2005). It is not borne out of tensions between that which discourse constructs and limits; rather it is a resistance produced by awareness of the individual or the community and one that becomes a determined aim. This resistance needs in part to express identity. As identity and its expression are dependent on domination and power (as much as the right to view oneself as one chooses to be viewed), this takes on a political dimension (Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1998). The power that accompanies knowledge and the need to artificially mirror the dominating force (Bhabha's concept of mimicry) leads us to a body of work termed 'identity politics', which has managed to generate critical debate and can be traced back to critics such as Kauffman.

3.5.3 Postcolonialism and identity politics

Kauffman (1990:67-80) traced "identity politics" to the 1960 civil rights organization, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), describing this term as a phenomenon, which gave voice to the silent minority in society. But there has been controversy over what the term actually implies. Critics (Hobsbawm 1994; Mangan & Ritchie, 2004) have debated the phenomena to be either a banner for human rights or an isolationist movement that fractures society, producing ultimately an 'us-and-them' scenario (Kontra, 1999). It is important to point out here that how we see ourselves is directly influenced by how others see us. Our need to identify with social, political or culturally based groups that have similar ideas is apparent in the large number of organizations and clubs we all eventually become members of. For example, politically we identify ourselves as citizens of a country, and we partake in its social and political history (Fina, 2006). The postcolonial context and its burden is one that all citizens of a postcolonial nation have to bear. It becomes a part of their consciousness and their views and opinions are colored by it.

Our attempt to acquire any identity is aimed at 'grouping with a purpose' and our conception of the world is as a result directly influenced by it. As Gramsci points out:

> In acquiring one's conception of the world one always belongs to a particular grouping which is that of all the social elements which share the same mode of thinking and acting. We are all conformists of some conformism or other, always man-in-the-mass or collective man. (1975:324)

Gramsci's (1975) idea of identity is similar to Foucault's 'field of presence' in which "all statements formulated elsewhere and taken up in a discourse are acknowledged to be truthful, involving exact description..." (1972:57) and where identity is formulated. This relation of elements to one another is a network of discursive formations, in which self-identity is produced, such that members of like-minded discursive formations can claim similar opinions. It is clear then that identity politics suggests membership and the power of numbers—the power of community and society as an agency of change.

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979) group membership is dependent on the need to identify, to compare with other competitive groups, to be unique, and to categorize others and associate with those that are favourable.[15] In the sphere of postcolonialism, identity or more specifically the search-for-an-identity-after-colonialism, has been according to some "pathological obsession" (Ali, 2001:148) and for others identity is a quest realized with the help of postcolonial institutions. Postcolonialism is embedded within a sphere of social identity as it is reactionary, responsible for an identity crisis, while also mirroring the dilemmas of cultural, social and linguistic identity. Although many find the need to define postcolonialism pointless, it is clear that it can be seen as a "contestation of colonialism's discourses, power structures and social hierarchies." Therefore it is "more than the merely chronological construction of post-independence, and more than just the discursive experience of imperialism" (Gilbert and Tompkins, 1996: 2). By defining postcolonialism as a contestation of the power structures and social hierarchy within a historical colonial context, it is possible to highlight the presence of a continuous struggle for recognition, a need for an articulation of a schism. It is also possible to view the role of postcolonialism as a search for identity which can be seen in two distinct ways.

Firstly, the schism between what a postcolonial sensibility is and what is perceived by the 'Other', and the subject's recognition and admission as to this 'alternative being' (Satre, 1958:623; Manser, 1967). Secondly, the search for an identity through an investigation of a discursive realm that is "a site of ambivalence and contradiction: it is a space of arbitrary closure as identities are made, as well as a "cultural space for opening up new forms of identification" (Bhabha, 2004: 257).

This discussion has outlined current debates in identity politics and shown the conceptual workings of notions such as power, knowledge and ideology within the framework of postcolonialism and identity politics. This discussion is presented against a backdrop of the dynamic and free-flowing communal need

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[15] Three variables quoted from the University of Twente webpage on Social Identity Theory. www.tcw.utwente.nl

for expressivity in the context of the search for a postcolonial identity. From here it is possible to begin an effective dialectic between postcolonial sensibility of the subject and the 'Other'.

3.5.4 Orientalism and Said

Searching for identity is ultimately a slow construction of intellectual representation. It entails the past in the context of the present to ensure the future. For Edward Said the search for identity was the search for a homeland and a need to belong. Said, who had left Palestine to settle in the US, highlighted what was seen as a biased and Eurocentric approach to everything Eastern in his treatise on 'Orientalism'. In so doing, the concept of seeing the Other gained prominence. Inspired by Foucault, Said dwelled on the complexity of imperialist discourse and revealed the skewed frame of reference that a Eurocentric/Western position afforded. Although Said made it clear that he believed in the role of the author, he ventured to decentralise the way in which the Other was viewed and questioned, which he called "the structurality of the structure" (Derrida, 1991:517). From Said's perspective, the Orient had been misrepresented and mistreated and the assumptions on which postcolonial views rested were in need of revitalisation. Said differed dramatically from Fanon, who in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961/2004) analysed the impact of colonization on the colonised mind, but not the colonizer's. Said's perspective was based on what he considered to be the negative stereotyping of the Oriental or the Other as slavishly inferior. He characterizes the Orient as seen by occidental academics as being,

> ...regarded as backward, degenerate, uncivilised and retarded, the Orientals were viewed in a framework constructed out of biological determinism and moral-political admonishment. The Oriental was linked thus to elements in Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) having in common an identity best described as lamentably alien. Orientals were rarely seen or looked at: they were seen through, analysed not as citizens, or even people, but as problems to be solved or confined, or—as the

colonial powers openly coveted their territory—taken over. (Said, 1978:207)

With such accusatory language, Said had laid down the gauntlet to the academic establishment, forcing them to prove their objectivity and neutrality of their Orientalist views. Even though Said had argued the absolute necessity of a realignment of how the Orient was seen, he stopped short of creating adversaries by suggesting that the current Orientalist approach was an unintentional one. He presented his work as a way to alter the "political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')" (Said, 1978:43), and to prove that by categorizing or stereotyping the differences are so pronounced that they inevitably lead to polarization. He maintains that "when one uses categories like Oriental and Western as both the starting and the end points of analysis, research, public policy" it directly leads one "to polarise the distinction [so] the Oriental becomes more Oriental, the Westerner more Western and limits the human encounter between different cultures, traditions and societies" (Said, 1978:45-46).

Said's call for repositioning, re-evaluating and re-awakening to the impact of polarization and binary opposition also revealed how it had affected societies. With Said's notion of Orientalism, it became clear that an in-depth analysis of the colonial and postcolonial phenomena was essential. Said had begun an important academic debate presenting the idea of viewing a community, society or even an individual within its correct frame of reference, not within the comfort of the analyser's reference. Turning the notion of social dissecting and analysing non-western communities (from a Western perspective) upside down is of crucial importance to this research. Not only has Said shown it to be possible to comfortably critique the colonized society from the subordinate's point of view but he also recognized the false concept of the homogenized 'Other'. Clearly Said argued for the dismantling of notions of universality in academia—what applies to one society applies to all. This is a reality based approach and one that can be seen in the voices of those who were interviewed. Siding with Levinas, Said's approach to respecting the 'Other' and

the diversity that it represents is vital to understanding the research in this thesis.

Two important figures to emerge, Homi K. Bhabha and Gaytari Spivak, took Said's contribution a step further. As both initially hailed from the Indian subcontinent, they applied the academic framework to the postcolonial societies from which they had come. The next section introduces and discusses these two postcolonial writers, who inspired a renewed debate on the impact of post-colonization on the citizens of postcolonial societies such as Pakistan.

3.5.5 Bhabha and the notion of hybridity

With his initial focus on the Indian subcontinent, Bhabha like Fanon, described the colonized mind and the adjustments and abandonment during pre and post colonization. For Bhabha the prime aim of the colonized should always be the need for "asserting their indigenous cultural traditions and retrieving their repressed histories" (2004:13) It is important to note that although Said's influence on Bhabha is undeniable, it is with great intensity that Bhabha carves out an "in-between space" (2004:2) seen as an amalgamation of conflicting values and cultural traditions, within the context of the colonized mind, rather than that of the colonizer. Bhabha makes it clear that his focus is the result of the impact of colonization. It is this discursive space that is the site of an "enunciation of cultural difference" (2004:50) which "problematizes the binary division of past, present, tradition and modernity" (2004:51). But this space according to Bhabha is not only a site but a "liberatory discursive strategy" from which "emergent identifications are articulated" (2004:256). Hybridity essentially describes the cultural conflict: the tension that is generated when two opposing ideas, values or ideologies are brought into the same arena. These spaces are mediating and negotiating grounds that are wary of social agreement, as they have newness about them, and conformity to any current social practice is not yet possible. And although 'hybridity' is the identifiable space of cultural tension/negotiation (Laer, 2010), it is also a diffusion of ideas and symbols that translate through time and space. Bhabha's view of the hybrid space is

essentially post-structuralist with no referential frame; there is a marked distinction between signified and signifier and meaning derived from the difference is embedded and informed by its cultural ideological context (Loomba, 1998). It is essential to bear in mind that Bhabha's post-structuralist stance is intentionally highlighted here as it has implications when the discussion on Islamic anthropology is presented in section 3.6.

No signifier or signified can stand alone; both are in effect the product of discursivity and therefore Bhabha stresses that hybridity cannot be a fixed construct, but rather an "unstable" one, where "coloniser and colonised are both caught up in a complex reciprocity" (Loomba, 1998:232). In his analysis of the contextual framework, Bhabha alights upon the role of culture and transforms any complacent definition into one which is reflective of the impact of colonization. Bhabha uses culture as a "strategy of survival" (cited in Souza, 2004:125) that is "an uneven, incomplete production of meaning and value often composed of incommensurable demands and practices" (Bhabha, 2004:247). In defining the cultural context, Bhabha highlights the 'in-between' position, characterizing it as a positive one. This anti-Hegelian approach that Bhabha takes gives the notion of hybridity a slightly non-poststructuralist stance (Huddart, 2006:126). This approach is based on Hegel's professing belief in the universality of the "Absolute" in stark contrast to Bhabha's idea of hybridity. Where Bhabha's idea embodies the cultural amalgamation of ideas and values that create, rather than contaminate and transcend all boundaries, Hegel finds refuge in the 'Absolute' or 'singular' reflected in what Levinas suggests is a clear bias towards 'ontological imperialism' (1969:44). As this is essentially a contentious issue, the details cannot be discussed in any detail due to the limitations of this thesis, but suffice to say Bhabha's portrayal of the inclusive characteristic of hybridity positions it firmly as a positive one.

Also characterizing this emergent third space are the roles of mimicry and translation, as previously mentioned. Mimicry of the colonizer reveals a double compromised position of the colonized—an adaptation that smacks of servility and acquiescence while simultaneously incorporating the idea of 'Otherness'.

Lacan suggests that "mimicry reveals something in so far as it is distinct from what might be called an *itself* that is behind" and the impact is "camouflage" such that "it is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background" (1981, cited in Cazeaux 2000: 532). In specifically quoting Lacan's thoughts on mimicry, Bhabha insists that the colonizer wishes the mimicry into existence, hoping to transform the colonized into a recognizable 'Other'. Although not limited to mimicry or translation, and as pointed out earlier, Bhabha's concept of the third space is essentially inclusive. And while it is a dynamic state in constant flux with "new signs of identity and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation" (Bhabha, 1994: 2) it is ultimately a space that affords the opportunity for re-articulation/re-evaluation of hegemonic practices. This space creates the possibility for individuals to negotiate, mediate and transcend differences in order to create similarities in what would otherwise be a disparate landscape. Bhabha carefully details hybridization. For this thesis, it is essential that this emerging third space is defined:

> Hybridization is not some happy, consensual mix of diverse cultures; it is the strategic translational transfer of tone, value, signification, and position—a transfer of power—from an authoritative system of cultural hegemony to an emergent process of cultural relocation and reiteration that changes the very terms of interpretation and institutionalization, opening up contesting, opposing and innovative, 'other' grounds of subject and object formation. It is this double consciousness that produces what I call the vernacular cosmopolitanism of the postcolonial or minoritarian subject. It is a mode of living, and a habit of mind that seeks cultural translation, not to recover the norms of universality, autonomy, and sovereignty, but to assert that there is a positive, agential value in the whole process of surviving domination that can add an edge, a cutting edge, to the critiques—contra neo-liberalism or retro-Marxist—that come from those who have been displaced or marginalized on the grounds of their cultural, civilizational, or, as it is often described, moral and spiritual backwardness. (2000:370)

Whether the colonized mind actually exhibits symptoms of a third space and whether the possibility of re-articulation is really present are questions that Gaytari Spivak addresses in her quest to see the subaltern speak.

3.5.6 Spivak's subalternity

Initially known for the term 'strategic essentialism', Spivak's need to give 'voice to the voiceless' was the basis for launching the postcolonial theory of subalternity. Using a deconstructive approach, Spivak generated a corpus of critical literature that aimed at exposing essentialist structures within society by questioning and critically examining them. Even though Spivak made it clear that deconstruction (Culler, 1982) was addictive and a technique that she was not keen to practice, deconstruction for Spivak was "the exposure of error". Deconstruction is "constantly and persistently how truths are produced" but Spivak qualifies this statement with "although I make specific use of deconstruction, I'm not a deconstructivist" (1990:44-45)

In her famous article on subalternity, Spivak (1985: 120-130) describes the case of Sati, a Hindu practice that forces the burning of widows immediately after the death of their husbands. Women are forced to jump into the burning fire along with the dead husband's body. Although this religious ritual was outlawed by the government in India recently, it is still practiced in the south of India. Cases of widow survivors are few, but because of their badly burnt bodies, many do not come into the media spotlight. Such atrocities are continuously silenced by Hindu religious authorities and it is this voicelessness on which Spivak bases her theory of subalternity. For Spivak, subalternity is defined as "the space out of any serious touch with the logic of capitalism or socialism" (Spivak 1995:115).

> ...no subaltern claims subalternity. The subaltern thinks either that this is normal to have no access to lines of mobility (I see enough of them feeling that), it is really frightening, or they want to get the hell out of subalternity. Whenever you hear someone claiming subalternity you know that this is all that it is—that they are speaking softly because somewhere they are carrying a big stick (Spivak Interview 2003).

As Sati is a typically Hinduistic ritual there is no possibility that Sati would be carried out in a dominantly Muslim country, but that does not necessarily suggest that the notion of subalternity would not be present. Although Spivak makes it clear that her definition of subalternity is not meant for the "oppressed, for Other, for somebody who's not getting a piece of the pie" (Spivak in de Kock,

1992:45), the argument can be made for both, as a result of their position in society, and for those who perceive themselves as subalterns and hence create the notion of subalternity (Chakrabarty, 2002)—intentionally remaining voiceless.

It is these notions of subalternity that are examined in the data collected from Apex and Rise Universities:

i The English language has created a stratified subalternate environment that creates an artificial state of subalternity.

ii Those that are subalterns view themselves as being placed within the context of subalternity and hence are forced to remain voiceless.

iii They are "structurally written out of the capitalist bourgeois narrative" while having "no access to cultural imperialism" (Spivak cited in de Kock,1992: 29-47).

3.5.7 Contexualizing communities

Bhabha, Said and Spivak, sometimes alluded to as the "The Holy Trinity of Post-colonialism" (Young, 1995; McLeod, 2000:29), have been seen as representing the suppressed voices of the colonies. Even though they may strategically position themselves as being able to assess those in the colonies, they have all relocated to the US and in privileged positions. One of the criticisms levelled against them is their distance from the 'voiceless' and the 'subaltern' and thus the impossibility that they would be able to represent a community of people with which they could not possibly share any empathy. The underlying attitude is that in order to view the colonized, the subaltern and to be able to represent the voiceless, those that were representative should be located within the postcolonial communities. Of course, the argument can be made that only from afar can the postcolonial community be properly viewed and issues that are generated be taken within the postcolonial context. But critics of Bhabha, Said and Spivak stress that the colonized should be seen

within the context of the postcolonial environment. Bhabha, for instance, describes the need for a "way of looking that restores a third dimension to hard-set profiles" (1998:21-23). This view reveals "a way of talking, of moving back and forth along the tongue, to bring language to a space of community and conversation that is never simply white and never singly black" (Bhabha, 1998:21-23).

The following section presents a relatively new branch of anthropological work that can be seen as viewing postcolonial society within its context. Pakistani society, which is predominantly Muslim and essentially based on Islamic tenets, should be seen within the Islamic context. Even though this may be theoretically correct, practical factors such as time, geographical location, proximity to other cultures, religions and ethnic loyalties have changed the complexion of Pakistani society. Thus the dynamics of resistance and acceptance that Pakistani students show when exposed to Western culture through the English language (Malak, 2004) incorporates a referential basis on which this Muslim society is to be analysed, bearing in mind the changing attitudes towards Islam (Thobani, 2011).

The next section introduces, presents and discusses in detail the work of Islamic anthropology and three key figures in the field.

3.6 INTRODUCING ISLAMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

Islamic anthropology is essentially the study of Muslim societies from the basis of Islamic values and beliefs. The need for Islamic anthropology rose as conventional anthropology began to shift to a more secular version of society (McGee, 2012). The link between conventional anthropology and Islamic anthropology lies in the common goal of researching societies including their culture, behaviour and history. Where conventional anthropology focuses on a social and scientific study of any society, Islamic anthropology is confined to Islamic societies. Influenced by Said and Bhabha, Talal Asad writes about the change in conventional anthropology and traces the development of bias that needed to be rectified:

But we need to see anthropology as a holistic discipline nurtured within bourgeois society, having as its object of study a variety of non-European societies which have come under its economic, political and intellectual domination and therefore as merely one such discipline among several (orientalism, indology, sinology, etc.). All these disciplines are rooted in that complex historical encounter between the West and the Third World which commenced about the 16th century: when capitalist Europe began to emerge out of feudal Christendom; when the conquistadors who expelled the last of the Arabs from Christian Spain went on to colonise the New World and also to bring about the direct confrontation of 'civilised' Europe with 'savage' and 'barbaric' peoples; when the Atlantic maritime states, by dominating the world's major seaways, inaugurated 'the Vasco Da Gama epoch of Asian history'; when the conceptual revolution of modern science and technology helped to consolidate Europe's world hegemony. The bourgeois disciplines which study non-European societies reflect the deep contradictions articulating this unequal historical encounter, for ever since the Renaissance the West has sought both to subordinate and devalue other societies, and at the same time to find in them clues to its own humanity. (Asad, 1973: 103-104)

When Asad outlines, as quoted above, the historical influences on how academia perceived behaviours, customs, and cultures outside its norm, it is made clear that the secularization of anthropology would ultimately denigrate any ideologically based analytical approach in the field. This would suggest that Islamic anthropology is based on a rejection of Western anthropology and can only function if "purified from the subversive material, methods and terminology of the missionaries and colonial administrators" (Elkholy 1984:12). Ahmed defines the field as purely Islamic in focus and not an alternative paradigm. He sees it as "the study of Muslim groups by scholars committed to the universalistic principles of Islam" (Ahmed, 1986:56) being an answer to Orientalism and an attempt to set the record straight. Hence it is not a field that undermines Western anthropology, but one that contextualizes social phenomena, with its own set of ideologically based assumptions.

According to Merryl Wyn Davies, the difference between conventional and Islamic anthropology lies in the fact that Islamic anthropology "accepts that

culture and society are inherent...Relativism exists in Islamic anthropology because culture and society are diverse; but what they are relative to is open to debate by all: the conceptual base of Islamic values" (1988:8). This is different from conventional anthropology, which bases itself on secular science, since Islamic anthropology (Elkholy, 1984) distinguishes itself by incorporating and explicitly having an ideological perspective.

The emergence of Islamic anthropology can be seen to be a result of the belief of Muslim scholars that any anthropological study of Muslim societies carried out by Western academics would be prone to bias, prejudice and hence a distorted Western approach. In order to rectify the distortion, anthropologists, specifically Muslim anthropologists, suggested that Islamic anthropology based on Islamic principles would be a better position from which to study Muslim societies (Faruqi, 1986, 1992). That is not to say that Islamic anthropology is a 20th century concept. It can be traced back to Islamic sociological studies by Muslim scholars such as Al Beruni and Ibn Khaldun. Abu Rayhan Muhammed ibn Ahmed al-Beruni (or Al-Beruni as he is more commonly known) was a Persian scholar born in Khwarezm in what was Iran (now part of Uzbekistan) in 973 AD (Ahmed 2002:98). He was an extraordinary scholar, physicist, mathematician, father of geodesy, chemist, father of experimental psychology, physician and the first anthropologist. He studied the Brahmin order of Hindu society and his treatise remains one of the most extensive anthropological works to date (Ahmed 2002:99).

Ibn Khaldun, a Tunisian, was born 400 years later. He was a highly regarded historian, theologian and considered the father of modern economics, sociology and philosophical history. But his contribution to anthropology is more pertinent, as his works focus on Muslim civilizations and they are considered to be the first Islamic anthropological accounts (Fromherz 2010:119).

Current scholars, such as Ahmed, Asad, Abu-Lughod and Momin, are discussed in detail in the next section. For Ahmed, the field of Islamic anthropology is defined as "the study of Muslim groups by scholars committed to the universalistic principles of Islam—humanity, knowledge, tolerance—

relating micro village tribal studies in particular to the larger historical and ideological frameworks of Islam" (Ahmed, 1987:56). However, A.R. Momin views Ahmed as harbouring a "superficial, ahistorical and uncritical view of Western anthropology" (1989:146).

According to Momin, Islamic anthropology should be based on three principles:

(1) An authentic anthropology of Islam as a living faith and culture.

(2) The contribution of Muslim scholars to anthropological research.

(3) The relevance and utility of Islamic insights and perspectives

to a universal science of man. (1989: 148)

Momin goes on to say that by incorporating these principles, anthropologists (both Muslim and non-Muslim) can counter distortions that would otherwise appear in anthropological studies of Muslim societies.

In this debate clearly the tenets of Islam that have been determined and laid down for 1500 years should be the basis for any anthropological analysis of Muslim society. Notably, these tenets, thought to have been the same for 1500 years, have varied interpretations on key issues which have caused differences among Islamic scholars. Therefore, the situation for Islamic anthropologists is made more difficult as the criteria or reference point has shifted.

With Momin and Ahmed debating fundamental referential principles, it is clear to anthropologists such as Abu-Lughod that Islamic societies, like every other society, are an amalgamation of historical, cultural, traditional and geographical influences. In an interview on March 20 2002, Abu-Lughod stressed that it was important not to ask "... how Muslim societies are distinguished from 'our own', but how intertwined they are, historically and in the present, economically, politically, and culturally."

Such an approach, reminiscent of Bourdieu (1984) who drew from Marx and Geertz (1973), emphasizes the need to mediate between an 'insiders' and 'objectivist' approach (Geertz, 1973:3). Abu-Lughod sees this approach as unworkable if the fieldwork is undertaken in a heterogeneous community—one

where there are differences in discourses. Conventionally, research using Foucauldian approaches emphasizing discourse as manufacturing social construction, rather than a result of such construction, is seen to be a snapshot of a particular period in history. In such a research context, Foucault stresses that language is a medium which silences, deceives and manipulates versions of reality that communities believe mirror their reality, while Chomsky (2011) articulates the possibility that language is innate and that man makes language. This is markedly different from Abu-Lughod's approach that questions the need to view culture through the eyes of theory, especially theory based on Western perceptions of self. Thus there seems to be a genuine desire to build research tools with the ability to capture the complexity of "transnational flows of culture, capital, political power, and military force" which "have shaped ordinary life in the Arab world for centuries" (Abu-Lughod 1989:299-301). For Abu-Lughod it is clear that research tools should fit the context and that Western theorizing and conceptual frameworks should be re-evaluated when applied to non-Western settings.

3.6.1 Asad, Ahmed, and Abu- Lughod

This section will discuss the work of Talal Asad, Akbar Ahmed and Lila Abu-lughod. The reason for opening this section of the literature review with Talal Asad's work in Islamic anthropology is because it provides the raison d'etre behind the use of an Islamic anthropological stance in examining Muslim communities. The second anthropologist reviewed in this section is Akbar Ahmed, a Pakistani born anthropologist, currently living in the UK/US. He is also a Professor of Islamic Studies, a Pakistani ambassador to the UK, and one time film director. The third anthropologist is Lila Abu-Lughod whose Jewish mother and Palestinian father give her an inherent understanding of cultural conflict. Her stance on Islamic anthropology— specifically on the suppression of women in patriarchal societies—is important in understanding subalternity in Muslim communities.

3.6.1.1 Talal Asad

Another important reason for choosing Talal Asad is his father, Mohammed Asad. Mohammed Asad was born Leopold Weiss, a Jewish journalist whose lineage can be traced to generations of prominent rabbis. Weiss decided he would become a journalist, having trained in Hebrew, Aramaic and the Talmud, Mishna and Gemara texts. His interview with Maxim Gorky's wife launched his career as a journalist and he was sent to Palestine. He discovered Islam and converted in 1926. He relocated to Pakistan and became Pakistan's first ambassador to the UN. His son Talal Asad has since taken up the same line of questioning as his father. The reason behind introducing Talal Asad's biography is to position him as a commentator. He is the son of an 'outsider' who eventually became an 'insider', living and dying in Pakistan, hence giving him the enviable position to evaluate and critique Pakistani society.

Talal Asad stresses that "ethnographers and others ought to limit themselves to description, reserving critique to those who participate firsthand in the language and culture under discussion: that is, people who offer their criticism on the basis of shared values and are prepared to engage in a sustained conversation of give-and-take" (cited in Lincoln, 1995:83-86). For those ethnographers who have no claim to the society being scrutinized, it is clear that any discussion they undertake can only be placed within the strict limits of their personal understanding of how that society operates.

Another aspect that Asad points out, which is alluded to in the discussion chapter of this thesis, is the use of the word 'religion'. Religion (specifically Islam) is commonly used as denoting a set of values and beliefs isolated from geographical, political, and traditional roots. Asad clarifies this in an interview with Saba Mahmood, by maintaining that "people who use abstract definitions of religion are missing a very important point: that religion is a social and historical *fact*, which has legal dimensions, domestic and political dimensions, economic dimensions, and so on" (Asad interview with Nermeen Sheikh, 1996).

While raising the issue of how the concept of religion is seen, Asad presents the notion that Islam is seen through Western ideologies based on individualism

and that Islam, or for that matter Muslim communities, should not painfully conform to Western or Orientalist notions but present an alternative paradigm. In an online interview (posted on May 29, 2009) with *Asia Source,* Asad suggests that,

> …the Islamic tradition ought to lead us to question many of the liberal categories themselves. Rather than saying, "Well yes we can also be like you," why not ask what the liberal categories themselves mean, and what they have represented historically? The question of individualism, for example, is fraught with all sorts of problems, as people who have looked carefully at the tradition of individualism in the West know very well. The same is true of the question of equality. We know that the equality that is offered in liberal democracies is a purely legal equality, not economic equality. And the two forms of equality can't be kept in water-tight compartments. Even political equality doesn't necessarily give equal opportunity to all citizens to engage in or contribute to the formulation of policy. What do Islamic ideas about the individual, equality, etc., tell us about Western liberal ideas? (Asad, December 16, 2002 uploaded 2009)

Talal Asad's ideas are relevant to this thesis because they allude to Muslim societies and offer a repositioning of Foucauldian discursivity with respect to Muslim communities. His re-evaluation of Muslim societies also highlights how we view the issues of ideology, power and societal structures.

According to Asad, "when Foucault talks about modernity, he is speaking quite specifically about a development in Western history. He is not interested in the history of the non-Western world, or the West's encounter with that heterogeneous world" (Asad 2002 interview). When Asad talks about this "heterogeneous world" he is making the point that Islam bases itself on heterogeneity rather than homogeneity. This Islamic belief rests on the idea that it is an obligation (not a right) for Muslim citizens to be able to criticize/re-evaluate their governing political regime. This idea is consistent with the Islamic concept of *nasiha*, which is "different from liberal notions of public criticism. For example, *nasiha* does not constitute a right to criticize the monarch and/or political regime, but an obligation" (Asad 2002 interview).

The obligatory practice to criticize, both positively and negatively, generates a society that internalizes diversity. When a religious order gives the freedom to debate, discuss and mutually come to a reasonable agreement on any issue, the Islamic notion of *Ijtihad* comes into being. This concept is based on "the principle of original reasoning from within the tradition" (Asad 2002 interview). The principle of *Ijtihad* lays the foundation for developing and internalizing diversity in the healthiest way possible. It puts the onus on individuals to come up with rules, regulations and ideas that are best suited to any given situation, and to make a ruling using public consensus. A well-known dictum that Asad refers to in his interviews with Saba Mahmood is "shari'a ikhtalaf al-umma rahma" which translates as "difference within Islamic tradition is a blessing" (Asad 2008 interview). Such notions are the foundation of Islamic principles of *Ijtihad* and *Ijm'a* (public consensus) and they strenuously emphasize the need for heterogeneity as opposed to homogeneity. Currently such an Islamic tradition is non-existent. Remnants of the system can be found in practices such as those of the *loya jirga* (council of elders). But such practices are flawed since the foundations of such societies are not built on Islamic principles to begin with.

From Asad it can be surmised that Islamic social principles based on Islamic fundamentalism are to be taken as a referential point for any Muslim society, even though it is clear that the current observable social reality portrays a different picture. Asad does not deny the observable reality but as Bhabha suggests, finds a third dimension, "trying to pull away from established anthropological positions" by "move[ing] in interdisciplinary directions" (Asad, 2006: 274).

3.6.1.2 Akbar Ahmed

Where Asad discusses the need to reposition the way Muslim societal structures are critiqued, Akbar Ahmed sees the reactivity of societal structures and key players to the intervention of a global culture that inevitably streams via the media. Ahmed describes what he sees as the reality of the situation:

The outside world now reaches into even the most guarded Muslim home, most obviously through television and the VCR. The processes of globalization have influenced traditional culture and in such a dramatic way that they have raised issues for Muslims which can no longer be ignored. Muslims are forced to engage with these issues and to formulate a response to them. ...This has also resulted in the populist response of Muslims to the world. It is a response formed and fed by the emotions of the bazaar. (1994:17)

With the assumption that exposure to globalization is essentially negative, Akbar highlights the dynamism of the Muslim populace, especially its response to external cultural and ideological influences. But Akbar proves the prevalence of *ijitad* and *ijm'a* within a Muslim society when he presupposes the characteristics of public consensus embedded within Muslim societies. Akbar's reference to the bazaar conjures up images of the languid air of public debate, a space that invites a humdrum of voices on street corners, or in cafes or in fruit and fish markets. This dynamism in Muslim societies is prevalent, from the streets of Casa Blanca to the alleys in Jakarta and all those places in between, which produces a cultural buzz that is generated from a characteristically languorous atmosphere. In defining the actual reality of a society, Akbar recognises that Islam has only been examined for its religiosity and not for the cultural values that are necessarily associated with Islam. He points out that currently "...the cultural function of religion in society is recognized in anthropology" but that "the study of religion remains largely confined to holistic analysis of systems, beliefs, and rituals" (Ahmed, 1978:141)

Like Asad, Akbar emphasizes the urgent need to analyse and critique Muslim societies within the Muslim context. He lays out a clear strategy,

We should consider examining ongoing social drama through the life of the main actors at a dynamic and critical level of political life. First, we should make extensive use of contemporary extended case-study material; second, we should examine events through the eyes of the actors; and third we should select case studies of the basis of the interaction in society of the key actors... We may then arrive at a coherent and accurate picture of the structure and organization of contemporary Muslim society. (Ahmed, 2004:113)

This research has benefited from Akbar's approach, as the case study is based on a major private educational institution in Pakistan. Apex University is not only a key player in local administrative, political and social circles but the university has been comprehensively exposed to global influences. Therefore key participants in this research are not the sellers on the city's backstreets but the students and teachers that inhabit the halls of the institution and generate debate on issues pertaining to Muslim ESL learners.

For Akbar, the idea of examining the conversational texture of society within its relevant context is essential if an accurate depiction of any Muslim society is to be carried out. Akbar takes Asad's approach a step further. For Lila Abu-Lughod, another Islamic anthropologist that is introduced in the next section, the issue of heterogeneity is not only pivotal to the recognition of an Islamic society, but to any society.

3.6.1.3 Lila Abu-Lughod

Lila Abu-Lughod's perceptions gained from her studies in Islamic anthropology are presented as key to understanding all societies, and the need for tolerance and diversity are at the core of her belief. She attacks the basic proponents of cultural theories and stresses that their underlying notion is based on a forceful attempt by theorists to yoke diversity such that it reflects a wholesome and unified category. According to Abu-Lughod, "cultural theories...tend to overemphasize coherence" (cited in Sarat and Kearns, 2000: 30) even though ethnography "is a form of culture collecting (like art collecting)" in which "diverse experiences and facts are selected, gathered, detached from their original temporal occasions, and given enduring value in a new arrangement" (Abu-Lughod cited in Lewin, 2006:178).

Since the research was carried out in a Muslim society, the presentation should at least be guided by the basic principles of Islamic anthropology. Abu-Lughod lays out her strategy that focuses on the need to celebrate diversity and discourage the urge to homogenize social experiences:

First refusing to generalize would highlight the constructed quality of that typicality so regularly produced in conventional social scientific accounts. Second showing the actual circumstances and detailed histories of individuals and their relationships would suggest that such particulars, which are always present (as we know from our own personal experiences), are also always crucial to the constitution of experience. Third, reconstructing people's arguments about, justifications for and interpretations of what they and others are doing would explain how social life proceeds. It would also show that although the terms of their discourse may be set (and, as in any society, include several sometimes contradictory and often historically changing discourse), within these limits, people contest interpretations of what is happening, strategize, feel pain, and live their lives. (cited in Moore and Sanders, 2006:475-476)

This research sets out to map out precisely the internalized hybrid space in which is ensconced "sometimes contradictory and often historically changing discourse[s]", which provides an opening where "people contest interpretations of what is happening, strategize, feel pain, and live their lives". The solution to capturing this diversity in any ethnographic study can only be accomplished "by focusing closely on particular individuals and their changing relationships" (Abu-Lughod, 2006:162). The possibility of capturing the dynamism of a community by micro-analysis, in other words, capturing the dynamism of individuals rather than large sections of society, can generate a vibrant snapshot (Heller, 2007). By exploring the transformations, revealing the mechanics of thought that underlie social behaviour and translating (Kuortti and Nyman, 2007) the values of individuals, it is easy to highlight the problems, but almost impossible to suggest solutions. Abu-Lughod's awareness of the responsibility of revealing Muslim societies, not only to Western anthropology, but to Islamic anthropologists and Muslim communities is paramount. Abu-Lughod, like Akbar and Asad, makes clear that Islam is a 'religion' that is entrenched in Muslim societies, and is in its very essence a social, cultural and psychological phenomenon (Geertz, 1973).

3.7 SUMMARY

This chapter has identified and evaluated seminal works in the areas of postcolonialism, English as an International Language (EIL), imperialism, hybridity, identity politics and Islamic anthropology. It has also been made clear in this review that because of the paradoxical nature of post-structuralism being both "indispensable and inadequate" (Chakrabarty, 2000), the need for a postcolonial dimension presents the possibility of "sustained attention to the imperial processes in colonial and neo-colonial societies, and an examination of the strategies to subvert the actual material and discursive effects of those processes" (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2000:118).

The concepts of imperialism, linguistic and cultural postcolonialism and the role of English as a global lingua franca were discussed in the first section of this chapter. This initial section presented the case that occidental approaches to understanding those in the East are both one of "dominance and superiority" (Clegg 1982:315) and therefore the need for re-evaluation of such approaches was vital. Such a need has sparked debates within the academic community, which has taken the unprecedented step to open up the field of imperialism and expand to include voices from the centre (the BANA nations including Britain, America, New Zealand and Australia) in line with those from the periphery. Such a balanced debate has unknowingly generated and encouraged a breed of critics that find it difficult to align with Marxist or essentialist viewpoints.

As a result Said, Bhabha and Spivak have launched a sustained effort to re-evaluate the notion of colonialism, imperialism and the impact on the colonial mind from the perspective of the colonized, rather than the colonizer. The integration of language and culture has highlighted the need to re-evaluate the politics of language expansion and the impact that it may have as a tool of domination. As a reaction to colonization and the occidental readings of the Orient, scholars like Said launched a movement that strove to recognize the need for an Orientalist point of view. This call for a more objective approach has led to the possibility of generating debate and discussion in fields such as Orientalism, hybridity and subaltern studies.

The aim of the second section of the literature review was to present ongoing academic discussions and debates on more specified fields, such as imperialism, hybridity and subalternity as well as include a detailed review of Islamic anthropology, which as an emerging field has a direct bearing on this research. Asad, Akbar and Abu-Lughod have been seen as having informed and nurtured this anthropological field in the hope of plurality and the acceptance of alternative paradigms, specifically in the discussion of Islamic communities. With an added anthropological dimension this literature review has presented a unique insight into the theoretical underpinnings required to evaluate and analyse any ESL Muslim community, while outlining the rationale for taking up such a methodological position.

Pale, white, transparent curved glass positioned within the tunnel. He asked if I could see through the telescope. Stars, planets, black fabric with holes cut through?

I saw nothing that I didn't want to see. The rows of points that merged into each other… Translucent soft lights edgelessly illuminated my universe. They all seemed eventless, each was a point in memory, a passing, a thought that persisted for a fleeting moment and then left in a blaze.

How else could I explain the effortless gliding from one point to another, no breaks, no cracks, just a thoughtless shifting motion cushioned within the two.

'Can you see something, anything?'

No. I see myself in this universe as this telescope seems to peer within me. I know that my identity lies in the paradigm of constellations, one illuminating the other, randomly studded within my being. I am the hybrid and these stars that I have collected, however near and far, make my universe special. I attract those that share these constellations, these galaxies, and those that want to venture beyond theirs into mine.

'I don't see.'

But I do.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter is called research design rather than research methods (or research methodology) because the research questions (see section 1.7.1) generated the need to customize a research methodology and research methods specific to context (Walliman, 2011). Therefore, the research was designed in such a way that the question regarding the impact and influence of western values on Muslim ESL students could be adequately mapped out and analysed.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section introduces the research methodology including the theoretical underpinnings of the study. It contextualizes the research and provides a rationale for designing the study in a particular way (Garfinkel, 1967). Since the focus of the research is exploration of discourses present in the Pakistani context, the research methodology incorporates theories of postcolonialism, hybridity and Islamic anthropology in its approach to analysing the research data.

The second section introduces the research methods that have been adopted to apply the research methodology. This particular section focuses on the method of discourse mapping, based on Parker's techniques, as well as the conceptual framing matrix by which the data has been analysed in chapters five, six and seven. It gives a detailed account of the research site, the research participants, and considers the possible limitations and weaknesses of the research project.

4.2 BASIC CONSIDERATIONS: OBJECTIVES AND FOCUS

The research objectives referred to in chapter one are:

- uncover and explore the dynamism of acculturation that occurs within Muslim E

- SL learners

- identify and analyse the types of opposing/contending discourses that were being used as well as the discursive contradictions and convergences that were present among such learners

- map out the internalized hybrid space where "people contest interpretations of what is happening, strategize, feel pain, and live their lives" (Abu-Lughod, 2006:162).

In order to achieve these objectives, the research methodology was designed in such a way that it incorporated the relevant analytical tools in an overarching conceptual framework that is an amalgamation of discursive notions underlying the particular situation (Walliman, 2011). In other words, the text should be analysed with the context.

The analytical tools used to explore the discursive strategies that these ESL learners employ are informed by Foucauldian discourse analysis, which constitute the backdrop for Parker's discursive analytical techniques. The contextual framework, or matrix, used in this methodology is underpinned by three interrelated theoretical undercurrents: postcolonialism, hybridity and Islamic anthropology.

The next section explores the conceptual framework and analytical tools used in the research methodology.

4.3 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

4.3.1 Discourse

Discourse can be defined as communication that goes back and forth. In the words of du Gay (1996:43), discourse refers to:

> … a group of statements which provide a language for talking about a topic and a way of producing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Thus the term refers both to the production of knowledge through language and representation and the way that knowledge is institutionalized, shaping social
>
> practices and setting new practices into play.

With its origins in Latin, discourse or *discourses* literally means 'running to and from' (Halliday, 1985; Dobbin, 1998). In this formulation, discourse is essentially dialogue relayed between two or more people as ideas, opinions and views. For sociolinguists, discourse is an ideologically inspired system of words, phrases, terms, or statements (Meinhof & Richardson, 1994; Yule and Brown, 1983; Fina, 2006). It is dialogical language which conforms to set rules, mandated by those in which the discourse operates and explains an equally complex mesh of tangible social relations.

At an institutional level, the concept of *discourse* has additional meanings as it refers to the circulation of ideas, concepts and sociocultural meanings within a societal context (Fischer, 2003:90). The prominence of certain discourses suggests their hegemonic status and their recurrent use as a "specific ensemble of ideas and concepts" which give "meaning to physical and social relations" (Hajer 1995 cited in Fischer, 2003:73).

Foucault's (1980) conceptualization of discourse embodies both the institution as well as the personal. In other words, it characterizes the social discursivity, taking into account the public policy domain in which the discourses operate. This is why the notion of discourse applied in this thesis is based on Foucault's social theories of discourse that link discourse, institutional structures and social

practice as well as sociohistorical background (Foucault, 1982, Margolin, 1989; Teubert, 2010). In the context of this thesis, the notion of *discourse* is used to unpack the underlying meanings and cultural assumptions of both the ESL curriculum materials used at Apex and Rise as well as the opinions of staff and students from these institutions.

4.3.2 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is essentially an approach to thinking about a current situation. It does not produce a tangible answer, but rather questions the epistemological assumptions that underlie the scenario. In other words, it helps to lay bare the conditions that have initially served to create the scenario. And this enables the researcher to provide a comprehensive view of any social context under observation. There are two advantages in using discourse analysis as a research framework: the ability to be self-reflexive and the possibility of probing the epistemological basis of one's own discursivity (Canagarajah, 2005a; Jones, Holmes, Macrae and Maclure, 2010). It is precisely these advantages that support the poststructuralist notion of presenting data which "demystifies the realities", but also one that is "capable of helping us tell a better story" (Lather 1991:15).

Discourse analysis gives us the opportunity to peer into the dynamics of what motivates others and thus forces the researcher to ask ontological questions rather than suggest an unequivocal solution. Such a self-reflexive approach cannot and should not conform to set methods. According to Parker, Levett, Kottler and Burman (1997), "even though researchers, students and teachers of discursive approaches have to set out a method, there is really no method as such and no one thing is called discourse analysis..." (Parker, Levett, Kottler & Burman, 1997:198). As the "spirit of discourse-analytic research is inductive" (Wood, Kroger, 2000:34), Foucault's insight into this area of discursivity is a starting point. The next section will present Foucault's conceptualization of discourse relevant to this research study.

4.3.3 Foucault's theory of discourse

According to some critics (Jager, 2001, Kendall & Wickham, 1999), Foucault's notion of discourse focuses on groups of individuals rather than the individual. However others (Johnstone, 1996; Butler, 2003; Tate 2007; Brugnoli 2007) have suggested that the Foucauldian concept of discourse impacts at both micro and individual levels. The theoretical framework that Foucault sets up is based on the discourse or systems of statements. This system is described as one that is regulated. This system is built on sociohistorical processes that have been diachronically put into place by the discourse itself, such that evaluations are integrated. Such a discursive system seems natural and not a manufactured construct. Arguably, this naturally occurring discursive system is a snapshot of social reality.

Although a detailed discussion on the decision to use Foucauldian notions of discourse (Foucault, 1972) was given in chapter one, it is important to reiterate here that a Foucauldian discursive paradigm not only "provides useful and widely used tools for research in communication, culture and language" (Jorgensen & Philips 2002:106), but more importantly it helps in delineating the underlying role that hegemonic and imperialist notions play within local discursive paradigms.

Alternative notions of discourse suggest that "the concept of ideology" is integral and that, in essence, discourses are "ideological because they appear as objectivity" (Pedersen, 2009: 5). Such an approach would give undue weight to assumed notions. Further, this approach would not see discourse as an evolutionary construct and as being a product of archived 'knowledges' that have woven a discursive network (Bell, 2011).

Critical discourse analysis, with proponents such as Fairclough (2001), van Dijk (1997) and Wodak (2001, 2008) is "in contrast to the theory of discourse" which essentially "distinguishes between discourse and institutions as two different types of social phenomena" (Pedersen, 2009:6). Hence the comprehensive approach of the Foucauldian discursive theory is absent. This is not to say that critical discourse analysts do not acknowledge the role of "how language works

within power relations" (Taylor, 2004:436), but the approach bases itself on "close attention to the linguistic features of texts" (Wetherall, 2001:391-393). The Foucauldian notion of discursivity lends itself to a qualitative and interpretive approach that endeavours to tease out the epistemological notions of the discursive paradigm. This notion is based on "theorising that rests upon complexity, uncertainty and doubt and upon a reflexivity" such that it questions "its own productions and its claims about the social" (Ball, 1995:269).

In a detailed discussion on the conceptual meaning of Foucauldian discourse analysis, Arribas-Allyon & Walkerdine strongly contend that Foucauldian discourse refers to the "positioning of knowledge" and the "practices through which certain objects, concepts and strategies are formed" (2008:99). For Foucault, the assumption is that "in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organized and redistributed" (1972: 216). Thus the objective of Foucauldian discourse analysis is to ask: "Under what circumstances and by whom?" "Are discourses being rendered problematic?" and "According to what moral domains or judgement are those concerns allowed to circulate?" (Arribas-Allyon & Walkerdin, 2008:101). Hence the overarching concern that underlies any Foucauldian discourse analysis is that the lens through which the discursive paradigms are observed should be clearly identified. The lenses in this case are those which determine the 'moral domains' or 'judgements', and through which the discourses are being observed. It is through these constructs that discourses are 'enacted'.

In order to clearly establish Foucault's idea of how discourses function, the following sections briefly introduce the main tenets of Foucault's notion of discourse as discussed in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1972). The sections are divided into three subsections: the 'formation of enunciative modalities', the 'formation of concepts' and the 'formation of strategies'.

4.3.4 Formation of enunciative modalities

In describing discourse, Foucault points out the importance of the person uttering the discourse. The position of the subject is vital as it creates a context in which to view that particular discourse.

> Who is speaking? Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language? Who is qualified to do so? Who derives from it his own special quality, his prestige, and from whom, in return, does he receive if not the assurance, at least the presumption that what he says is true? What is the status of the individuals who–alone-have the right, sanctioned by law or tradition, juridically defined or spontaneously accepted to proffer such a discourse? Foucault (1972:50)

The status of the speaker, his/her role, his/her intention, and what rights he/she has in uttering any particular discourse should be taken into account when discourses are being analysed. As Foucault further argues (1972:52):

> The positions of the subject are also defined by the situation that is possible for him to occupy in relation to the various domains or groups of objects...His "perceptual situations should be added the positions that the subject can occupy in the information networks.

But the speaker and the discourse have to be analysed within a sociohistorical context. Foucault further defines this context where he views discourse as,

> ...a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation; it does not form a rhetorical or formal unity, endlessly repeatable, whose appearance or use in history might be indicated (and, if necessary, explained); it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined. (1972: 116-117)

It is clear that Foucault's views on discourse are not confined to "a system of statements that construct...an object" (Parker, 1992:5) or as "forms of spoken interaction...and written texts" (Potter & Wetherell, 1988). Rather, his ideas are closer to Fairclough's (2003) understanding of discourse as terms of "social action and interaction" that define the discursive action among the dynamism of interaction. This interaction is the context in which the discourse is placed. In other words, no discourse is realized through words alone, but rather discourse

is what Foucault calls 'a process of eventualization'. Foucault defines eventualization as "rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which...count...as being self-evident, universal and necessary" (1981:6).

4.3.5 Formation of concepts

Foucault clarifies his notion of how discourses emerge by delineating his idea of discursive formation (cited in McNay, 1996). The characteristics of a discursive formation can highlight the "order of inferences, successive implications, and demonstrative reasonings; or the order of descriptions, the schema of generalization" (Foucault, 1972: 56). In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* Foucault's method with which to identify the formation of concepts in discourse is based on:

- logical validation
- mere repetition
- acceptance justified by tradition and authority
- commentary
- a search for hidden meanings
- the analysis for error (1972:57).

As Foucault (1972: 57) further suggests,

> …these relations may be explicit (and sometimes formulated in types of specialized statements: references, critical discussions) or implicit and present in ordinary statements.

The discourse resides in the formation of concepts. The first section dealt with the subject of discourse, this section outlined the interactive situation of the discourse and the next section will introduce Foucault's final concept, the formation of strategies.

4.3.6 Formation of strategies

Foucault's notion of formation of strategies focuses on what he calls the 'diffraction of discourse' (1972: 68). This is characterized by discourse that encompasses the following:

- *Points of incompatibility* -- two diverse concepts.
- *Points of equivalence* -- concepts are equal and present an alternative meaning.
- *Points of systematization* -- on these two points a systematic build-up of ideas/ concepts has occurred.

Bearing in mind these strategies and the formation of enunciative modalities and concepts, it is easier to generate a discourse 'mapping' method. Mindful of the danger of reifying Foucault's notion (Marchetti, Salomoni, Ewald and Fontana, 1975), the discursive analytical framework developed and used in this thesis will be based on theoretical insights informed primarily by Foucault, while encompassing a more tangible unit of analysis as outlined by Parker.

4.4 MATERIALIZING DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: FOUCAULT TO PARKER

As previously discussed, discourses "are not innocent explanations of the world"; they are studied "in their sociohistorical development, which is not theorized as a continuous unfolding of an a priori existing 'logic'" (Diaz-bone, Buhrmann, Rodriguez, Schneider, Kendall & Tirado, 2008:13). Rather discourses are a "process that is characterized by continuous discontinuities and ruptures" (Diaz-bone, Buhrmann, Rodriguez, Schneider, Kendall & Tirado, 2008:13). Tracing the evolution of different strands within what can be labelled Foucauldian discourse analysis, Diaz-bone et al, highlight the contribution of a Discourse Unit formed within Manchester Metropolitan University (MMU) that specifically supports a "variety of qualitative and theoretical research projects contributing to the development of radical theory and practice" (2007).[16] This organizational unit, headed by Ian Parker and Erica Burman, has taken steps to

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[16] http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/234/517 retrieved 22/12/2007.

apply a methodical construct to Foucauldian notions of discourse analysis that include support for "critical perspectives in action research" and "(re)production of radical academic theory" (Diaz-bone et al. 2008). Similar approaches to a more tangible form of discourse analysis, such as the simple three-step method by Blanche and Durheim (1999:154-167), do not allow for a detailed analysis of the social and cultural discursive paradigm, as they focus on textual analysis. At Manchester Metropolitan University's Discourse Unit, Parker's approach is distinguished by a resolve to identify and evaluate the strains of discourses as they arise, while taking into account the discourse lens. The next section introduces Parker's approach in more detail and outlines the tenets on which it is based.

4.4.1 Parker's approach

Parker takes a more formalized approach to discourse analysis that attempts to maintain the flavour of Foucauldian notions of discursivity. Quoting directly from Parker (1992:6-8), discourse analysis is based on the following tenets:

> 1. Discourse lives in texts: Consider everything to be text and explore the connotations, allusions and implications that the text evokes.
>
> 2. A discourse is about objects: Discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. A discourse is about objects, and discourse analysis is about discourses as objects. Ask the question: "what objects are referred to?", and describe them. Talk about the talk as if it were an object, a discourse.
>
> 3. A discourse contains subjects: Specify what types of persons are talked about and speculate what rights they have to speak.
>
> 4. A discourse is a system of meanings: 'Map' a picture of the world this discourse represents. Work out how a text using this discourse would deal with objections.
>
> 5. A discourse refers to other discourses: Set different discourses against each other and see what objects they form. Identify points where they overlap.

6. A discourse reflects on its own way of speaking: Refer to other texts to elaborate the discourse. Reflect on the term used to describe the discourse.

7. Discourses are historically located: Look at how and where the discourses emerged and describe how they have changed.

8. Discourses support institutions: Identify institutions that are reinforced when this discourse is used, and identify the institutions that are subverted when this discourse appears.

9. Discourses reproduce power relations: Identify which categories of persons gain and lose from implying the discourse. Identify who would want to promote or dissolve the discourse.

10. Discourses have ideological effects: Show how a discourse connects with other discourses, which sanction oppression and how dominant groups prevent those who use subjugated discourses from 'making history (Parker, 1992:6-8).

As Parker further points out in tenet one, the written text contains within it a discursive melange that closely resembles the discursive paradigm in which the text is situated. In other words, texts that are written specifically for a particular audience will imbibe certain assumptions and "explore the connotations" of the particular sociocultural paradigm in which they are produced. Tenet two, three and four present the agencies that contribute to the discourse and the discursive mapping that can be done in order to identify them. Tenet five and six points to the presence of multiple discourses and the role they play when linked with other discourses.

It is tenet seven that introduces the need to position the discursive paradigm within the historic context, thereby recognizing the origin and influence of the past on the present discursivity. Tenet eight suggests that the overarching institutions that participate, contribute, influence, are negated or impose on discourses are to be noted and acknowledged. Tenet nine and ten highlight the ideological motivations that reinforce certain discourses at the expense of others, both at personal and institutional levels.

All of Parker's tenets combine to lay out a tangible framework of discourse analysis. By incorporating Parker's approach, informed by Foucault, this thesis uses the method of discourse mapping, by which the ideological positioning and

the historicity of the discursive paradigms are taken into account. The overarching conceptual framework, within which the analytical methods of discourse operate, is discussed in the next section.

4.5. THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In line with Parker's tenets, the conceptual framework is designed as an amalgamation of three already integrated concepts, namely postcolonialism, hybridity and Islamic anthropology. Postcolonialism has been employed not only in uncovering the discursivity of those that were subdued by past colonial rulers, but also in exposing perceptions about those that have become subalterns in their own right. Postcolonialism provides a lens that can assist in understanding the views of those that have remained hostage to a persisting colonial mindset, while at the same time creating analogies with people and communities that have been forced into servility. This discourse accounts for a typical discursivity used by members of a postcolonial community, in this case Pakistan, as well as helping to delineate the mindset of those that are accepting/rejecting/resisting or adjusting to a postcolonial environment.

Conceptually, hybridity is similar to postcolonial discourse as it too provides contextualization for a range of discourses that have evolved from what can be seen as hybrid spaces. The notion of hybridity helps to give support to the idea that members of a community are in constant need to negotiate the ideas/values they imbibe.

As this research takes place in a Pakistani city, the need for Islamic anthropology is apparent. With the Islamic ethical and moral code embedded within Pakistani society, it would be remiss for the Islamic anthropological lens not to be included in the conceptual framework.

The next three subsections, after a brief introduction, will present the underpinning concepts that form the conceptual framework for analysing discourses.

4.5.1 The postcolonial lens

> Postcolonial scholarship constitutes one of the most central critical lenses through which to name and theorize cultural conditions of contemporary society. This is because postcolonial scholarship theorizes the geographical, geopolitical and historical specificities of modernities within which other forms of power...are located." (Shome & Hedge, 2002: 249)

For critics, such as Harris (1996), postcolonialism is derivative of anthropological and imperialist notions and has evolved into a hegemonic critique, which highlights the inequality in power relations among colonial and postcolonial communities. However, the postcolonial context in this thesis is somewhat different to that envisioned by Harris. Shome and Hedge's definition of postcolonialism is intentionally quoted to present postcoloniality as a theoretical construct informed by "geographical, geopolitical and historical" (2002:249) discourses. This definition also suggests that the anthropological foundations of postcolonialism are, along with cultural imperialism, linguistic imperialism, identity politics and social inequality, based on hegemonic and social practices. Drawing from Shome and Hedge, this thesis brings the concept of postcolonialism into the framework by focusing on the following themes:

1. Historical nostalgia, pre-colonial or postcolonial literary, historical, or geopolitical discourses such as postcolonial literature, or geopolitical and historical events.
2. References to an imperial past.
3. References to global hegemonic practices by institutions such as educational institutions or corporate institutions.
4. Discourses that suggest a critical awareness of individual/institution/community positions in the global environment or neo-imperialism. (Shome and Hedge, 2002:249).

Using the postcolonial lens it should be possible to identify the frequency and intent of the learners' affiliation for the past, their awareness of how they see themselves in today's society as well as mapping out identity awareness that learners possess.

4.5.2 Hybridity

Hybridity is a concept that has evolved primarily from the biological notion of genetic fusion of physical characteristics displayed by offspring. This notion has been adopted and adjusted by sociologists in order to identify the presence of individuals/communities, even nations that display an array of diverse cultural and social values.

While elaborating on hybridity, Bhabha (1994) points to the characteristic of rearticulation and the possibility that hybridity affords in being able to re-evaluate conformity. Bhabha also claims that hybridity is "displacement of value from symbol to sign that causes the dominant discourse to split along the axis of its power to be representative, authoritative" (1994:162). But in outlining his ideas, Bhabha emphasises that the concept of hybridity cannot be seen as a "third term that resolves the tension between two cultures" (1994:162). Instead, it is an amalgamation of past, present and future. Using a more systematic approach, the notion is succinctly captured by Yao (2003: 358-378):

- **mimicry** is the creation of a new element within an entity, mirroring an element evident in another entity. The context of the original element is not carried over, or is subordinated to the patterns of the entity into which the element is absorbed;
- **grafting** is the relatively superficial employment of an element from one entity in conjunction with another entity, with change to the element and/or the host only to the extent necessary to enable the connection to be achieved;
- **transplantation** involves incorporation of a new element within a host entity, with greater attention to changes needed in order to ensure effective interaction between them;
- **cross-fertilization** requires that an element from one entity be comprehensively integrated into the new host in such a way as to generate new possibilities;
- **mutation** requires that the host be re-defined as a result of the integration into it of the previously foreign element. (Yao, 2003:358-378)

In short, hybridity is identified by an element of one culture mimicking the element of another, an apparent borrowing from another culture, absorbing foreign cultural ideas or values in a recognizable but acceptable format, and realigning/modifying to integrate with one's own culture. Yao's taxonomy of

hybridity was used to identify the presence of hybridity among learners and their own self-reflection about hybridity.

4.5.3 Islamic anthropology

The Islamic anthropological framework recognizes Islamic influences and their impact within participants' discourses. In outlining this discursive paradigm, three Islamic anthropologists highlighted one common issue pertaining to the functioning of Islamic societies. It was clear for them that even though Islamic societies were functioning on the pretext of an Islamic conceptual framework they were not seen within that paradigm. An Islamic framework that outlines social values and underlies core cultural beliefs is essential to how members of these communities identify themselves. As such, this framework should be integral to these communities (Banu, 1992; Nanji, 1997; Akbar 2002). One Egyptian academic went to great lengths to identify the variety of discourses present within typical Muslim[17] societies. According to Elmessiri (1997)[18] the Islamic conceptual framework can be identified using the following characteristic discourses:

- **Populist messianic discourse**: The Muslim masses have instinctively realized the processes of modernization. Secularization and globalization do not help the Muslim community and bring no real reform. These Muslims have observed that in essence these processes are nothing but Westernization, which robs the Muslim community of its religious and cultural heritage, gives nothing in return, and leads to further colonization and class polarization. Adhering and clinging to Islam…the masses encapsulate themselves within their Islamic heritage…But they are incapable of contributing new ideas or organizing political movements. Such a discourse frequently expresses itself in the form of spontaneous and, at times, violent

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[17] I make a distinction between Islamic and Muslim. In this thesis Islamic will refer to communities that adhere to Islamic principles. This is vastly different from Muslim societies that have integrated Islamic principles into their cultural and social lives. Such Muslim societies have with time modified/altered or adjusted their allegiance to Islamic principles and, as a result, are Muslim but not truly Islamic. In some cases, such as in Pakistan, a number of rituals and festivals are totally un-Islamic and even banned in certain Middle Eastern countries.

[18] Dr. Abdul-Wahab Elmessiri was a professor emeritus of English Literature and a founder of the Islam online website. He continually contributed articles on themes of interfaith, Islamic social values and intercultural politics. His essay is one of the very few attempts to identify and categorize Islamic discourses.

acts of protest against all forms of radical Westernization and colonial invasion. This populist discourse is mainly the discourse of the poor and the rich who are mindful of the religious and cultural heritage and who recognize that its loss would mean a loss of everything [identity].

- **Political discourse**: Some middle class professionals, academicians, students and traders perceive the need for Islamic action to protect the Muslim community. Having realized that political action is the means of achieving their objectives, they have set up or joined political organizations that do not respect violence, and out of which youth and educational organizations may branch.
- **Intellectual discourse**: This discourse deals with more theoretical and intellectual values.

Islamic Philosophy Online. (1997).
Elmessiri: The West and Islam: Clash Points and Dialogues.
http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/21-cen.htm

Elmessiri points out not only the most identifiable discourses but the most prominent ones. His populist or messianic discourse sees Islam in its religiosity, and identifies Islam within the context of its historical and cultural roots. Elmessiri points out that this is the most common discourse followed by the masses. The middle class view this discourse as the only route to revitalizing their faith and returning to the origins of Islam.

Elmessiri's political discourse sees Islam as a political force primarily and one that presents itself as an alternative. It is this discourse which has given rise to expansionist notions and political and para-military movements. Although intellectual discourse is not detailed in this section of his paper, Elmessiri later

proposes this category as a more critical and reflective form of Islamic discourse that is more common among academia. This discourse generates discussion and debate, reintroducing the Islamic concept of Tad'afu (constructive interaction/discussion) and Tadawul (God's permanence in contrast to humans and inevitable change). Although few academics have analysed Islamic discursivity (e.g. El Fadl 1997; Goldziher & Stern, 2006; Hunter, 2009), analysis of Islamic discourse has been a product of specific Islamic communities, rather than a generalized construct derived from a range

of Islamic societies and, hence, one that could be useful to the purposes of this research.

4.6 GENERATING A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As the focus of this research is on defining the dynamics of a discursive reality that is embedded within the social constructs (Brugnoli, 2007; Leache, 2007; Tate, 2007), a conceptual framework that incorporates all three notions was generated. In the previous sections, postcolonialism, hybridity and Islamic anthropology were discussed. A synthesis of these conceptual areas creates the overarching conceptual framework used in this thesis. This framework houses the analytical tools, which are drawn from Parker's technique of discourse analysis. The research methodological framework can be tabulated as follows:

Hybridity
-mimcry
-grafting
-transplantation
-cross-fertilization
-mutation

Post-colonialism
-nostalgia
-linguistic imperialism
-cultural imperialism

Islamic anthropological framework
-messianic
-political
-academic

Parker's Discursive Analysis
-textual discourse
-discourse as object/subject
-discourse as mapping
-self-reflexive discourses
-discourses on power
-ideological discourses

Figure 4.1 Diagrammatic representation of the research methodological framework

The data analysis is carried out by using three conceptual lenses as shown in the above figure along with Ian Parker's discursive techniques. Such a synthesis provides a new multi-dimensional cognitive lens that has the power to examine the discursivity of a community by reflecting on the contextual

dynamics of the educational organization. The next section describes the research method employed, which begins with a return to the research questions that initially prompted the research.

4.7 RESEARCH AIMS

As outlined in the introductory chapter, this research study aims to explore the opposing/contending discourses that emerge when Muslim ESL learners/speakers are exposed to Western teaching materials in higher educational institutes in Pakistan. Such an examination would not only include an analysis of cultural discourses understood by teachers and students and respondents resistance/negotiation to such discourses, but also the mapping out of hybridity in more tangible ways.

4.7.1 Research questions

Bearing in mind that "methods need to be generative of significant reflection, not just equipment for producing conclusions" (Freebody, 2003:10), the research method needed to be flexible enough to allow for in-depth exploration of the issues surrounding Muslim ESL learners' responses to Western teaching texts. Hence the data that emerged would be analysed by identifying and highlighting cultural references and discourses that are embedded within the texts of ESL teaching materials that may confuse or alienate Muslim ESL learners/speakers and by doing so would examine Muslim ESL speakers' perceptions of teaching materials from Western countries and their responses. As a result, the data would help to develop and construct a tangible representation of the nature of hybridity in the context of adult Muslim ESL learners. The research questions were based on the following objectives:

- Identify/highlight the impact of cultural references and discourses that are embedded within the texts of ESL teaching materials that may confuse or alienate Muslim learners/speakers.

- Examine Muslim speakers' perceptions of teaching materials from Western countries and their responses.
- Map out the nature of hybridity in the context of adult Muslim speakers.

Table 4.1 Identifying research themes represented in the research questions

Research aims	Emerging themes	Reorientation of research questions	Emerging themes
Western bias in curriculum texts	Cultural bias	Handling of cultural bias	Awareness of sociopolitical bias
Resistance/rejection of foreign, cultural laden content in classrooms	Evidence of negotiation of cultural content	Impact on religious/cultural values	Need to recognize Islamic cultural content
Acculturation among ESL learners	Awareness of acculturative process	Reassessing/readjusting conflicting value systems	Hybridity

The research themes that initially emerged during an exploration of acculturative practices were later modified as data that was gathered suggested different ways of how participants assimilated and adjusted to both foreign and their own cultural values. Themes of Islamic awareness and the recognition that participants were very much aware of the sociopolitical impact of acculturative practices pointed to the emergence of Islamic anthropological and postcolonial discursivity themes. As a result, questions were continually modified and this allowed interviewees to express their opinions on research issues.

Hence questions in many interviews were follow-up questions, generated from the material that was being gathered. For example, students were asked about some of the courses they were studying (of which the researcher had prior knowledge). This enabled students and in some cases staff to reveal more detailed information about classroom dynamics and conflicts/tensions within the classroom. As a result the research questions were modified, so they met the objectives while simultaneously taking a snapshot of the dynamics of acculturation among Muslim ESL learners.

4.7.2 Situating the research: text and context

For interview questions to reveal relevant research data, it was necessary to examine the educational and administrative context within which the research was carried out. As Said suggests, in relation to power wielding institutions, discourse is "to some degree a jargon...a language of control and a set of institutions within the culture over what it constitutes as its special domain" (1983:219). For the purpose of this thesis, Parker's discursive strategies (grounded in Foucault's notion of discourse) are used to analyse statements, terms and idiomatic expressions by participants (indicative of their resistance to or acceptance of various discourses that are part of their knowledge formation). Teaching materials are also taken into account plus institutional and historical circumstances in which the discourse takes place.

4.7.3 Rationale for a qualitative case study approach

Government institutions regularly carry out research in language policy and educational standards (Tollefson, 1991; Eggington and Wren, 1997; Wodak and Carson, 1997; Jalal, 2004). These and other studies by academic communities and/or government institutions are easy to access. These studies are primarily quantitative. It is on the basis of such reports that academics criticize or highlight issues or even suggest improvements, but very few qualitative studies are undertaken (Creswell, 2003; Holliday, 2007). The main focus of this research was to delineate and map out the dynamics of acceptance/rejection of Western cultural values among ESL learners. There have been very few research studies into the Pakistani educational system, specifically higher educational institutions (Abbas, 1993; Malik 1996; Rahman 2001), and those that have are predominantly quantitative studies (Mansoor, 1993, 2005; Rahman, 1993, 1996; Kazim and Bilal, 2012).

Bearing in mind that the subject matter and scope of the research involved "an interpretive, naturalistic approach" (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 3), a qualitative case study method was deemed most appropriate. Glesne (1999:5-6) suggests that reality is socially constructed and the variables interwoven, thus the focus of the qualitative paradigm should be in-depth and interpretive rather than statistical.

According to Yin (1994:13), the case study method is best suited to "investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" such that "the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". Merriam also points out that a case study approach is employed,

> ....when description and explanation (rather than prediction based
> on cause and effect) are sought, when it is not possible or feasible
> to manipulate the potential causes of behaviour, and when
> variables are not easily identified or are too embedded in the
> phenomenon to be extracted. (1988:7)

Given the research focus and context, a revelatory case study approach (Yin, 1994:40), drawn from a qualitative research paradigm, was chosen. Furthermore, this approach was reinforced during the design of the theoretical

framework. It was clearly evident that the fundamental components (people, things, events, context and relationships) essential to the presentation of the case study (Tripp, 1994:20-28) were central to the research methodology.

As mentioned previously, this research draws on material collected from two universities (Apex and Rise) as case studies. Apex constituted an in-depth case study, whereas Rise was a complementary case study. The latter research was undertaken on the basis that it would assist in triangulating the findings and validating the results, hence confirming or negating the findings of the Apex case study. This is in line with Marshall and Rossman, who state that qualitative research methods should have "flexibilities in the overall research design, so that site and sample selection can respond to increasingly refined research questions" (1989:26). And as case studies are in-depth explorations, with intensive "concentration on a particular case…studied in its own right", the "importance of the context or setting is also worth highlighting" (Robson, 2002:179).

These case studies focus on higher educational institutions that are privately owned, teach similar courses, use similar texts, and are seen to be catering to an ever-growing local demand for higher degrees that are pathways to economic freedom. The similarity seems to end here, as both institutions are vastly different in how they are administered.

Below is a comparison between the two universities. It can be seen from the data that Apex has much higher fees, more than double those of Rise.[19] Information gained from informal interviews with administrative staff from both universities suggests that the actual fees are much higher than the fees posted on the websites of these educational institutions. Nevertheless, the fees posted on respective websites suggest that students enrolled in these institutions have a specific socioeconomic background, which has a direct impact on not only the type of institution and quality of the courses offered, but also the data collected from the participants in this research. The table below presents information on

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[19] The information in the table and annual fee figures have been taken from Strategic Changes in Graduate Business Schools of X, Pakistan: A complete makeover by Saba Rana, presented at the 8th Global Conference on Business and Economics in Florence, Italy, October 2008 as well as verbal exchanges with Rise University administrators.

both institutions obtained in 2004-2005. Since then, the two institutions have significantly grown, both in student numbers and degrees offered across a larger range of disciplines. At the time this research was undertaken, Arts and Social Studies departments were merged and very few English language courses were taught at Apex University. Rise University had an Arts department, and English language courses were taught as optional subjects.

Table 4.2 Comparison of research sites

UNIVERSITY	Total degree programs offered	Total depart ments	Total full-time English/E SL staff	Total students on-campus	Semester fees in (Rs.) & AUD 2004-2005
Apex	9	8	28	4000	Rs.785,000 (A$ 13,000)
Rise	5	2	26	2670	Rs.356, 000 (A$ 5900)

According to Tripp (1994:34), data is not gathered, but created. Hence the data for this research was created by collecting a range of documentary evidence such as course materials, observations, journal and semi-structured interviews with staff and students. The case study method helped focus on the responses and opinions of both teachers and learners on the process of acculturation. The participants were selected from a cross-section of both undergraduate and postgraduate students and staff who were teaching them, as well as executive members of the university management and even visiting professors from other universities.

The table below shows the types of data collected from both institutions. Apex University was the primary case study. From this study, the following was obtained: teaching materials, interviews with students and staff, non-participatory classroom observations and group interviews. The problems that arose during fieldwork motivated a second case study at Rise University that triangulated emerging themes.

Table 4.3 Comparisons of Apex and Rise Universities

TYPE OF DATA COLLECTED	APEX UNIVERSITY		RISE UNIVERSITY	
	Number collected		Number collected	
CURRICULUM MATERIALS	▯▮▮▮▮ ✓▯			
OBSERVATIONS OF INSTITUTION	✓		✓	
CLASSROOM OBSERVATIONS	✓	7		
INTERVIEWS – STAFF	✓	8		
INTERVIEWS – STUDENTS	✓	25		
GROUP INTERVIEWS – STAFF	✓	1 x 4 staff		

GROUP INTERVIEWS – STUDENTS	✓	3 x 3 students		
RESEARCH JOURNAL	✓		✓	
QUESTIONNAIRES			✓	27
INFORMAL INTERVIEWS	✓	21	✓	5

The second case study included data collection from two classes comprising 25 students in total. Human Research Ethics approval was obtained for both case studies and all data included in the analysis was subject to a process of obtaining informed consent. The next two sections introduce the research sites, their participants and the data collected.

4.8 THE RESEARCH SITES

Although a brief introduction was given in the background chapter, suffice to say that English language teaching in Pakistan has a long colonial past with great ambivalence in how English is viewed as the language of the colonizer. These deep-rooted suspicions however have done little to deter one from seeing English as a key to economic and social prosperity. English language teaching has always been seen as a luxury that only elite schools could afford to offer. Currently all government schools, public non-elitist schools and even coaching academies offer English language courses and, in some cases, the complete curriculum in English. The most obvious advantage of English language teaching is the enormous support for social and economic equality among the

masses. Even though English language teaching may have caused resentment, the socioeconomic outlook for the profession looks brighter than ever (Rahman, 2003).

4.8.1 Apex University

This Pakistani educational institution in a major city and exclusively teaches in English. It was founded in 1984 and incorporated in 1985. The government of Pakistan granted the legal right to the institution to confer degrees in 1985. The administrative board includes leading members of international and national corporations, academia, and notable members of the public sector. The chancellor is one of the most influential political figures in Pakistan. The affiliations of this university are with Ivy League Universities in the US and the curriculum and course structures are very similar and in some cases identical. Students are given the option of completing or doing part of their degree at Ivy League Universities in the US or elite institutions in the UK.

The university has three schools: Business,[20] Arts and Social Sciences and the Science and Engineering. They offer MBA, BSc (Hons), MS, and one PhD program. The university also offers undergraduate courses in English, Philosophy, Ethics and Sociology. The research was undertaken with the permission of board members and interviews took place at the School of Arts and Sciences under which the compulsory English courses are taught. The majority are female staff although the head of school is male.

According to the website the university has links with American educational institutions. Its courses are 'imported' from these US affiliated institutions. This link has not only been clearly identified and referred to in my conversations with members of the Academic Board, but the institution in its foyer displays a plaque that recognizes the US government's financial contribution when Apex University opened in the 1980s. On its website Apex introduces its associations specifically with a reference to what is called the 'Foundation of Corporate Governance':

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[20] Pseudonym used for this school.

…research and educational initiative on corporate governance in Pakistan started by Apex University and supported by a grant from an American Foundation ....

Apex University recognizes its role as a player in the global educational market and declares its intention to harness the commercialization of education by launching itself as a research partner with both corporate and public sectors. For public information the website states:

> Following the market's current interest in corporate governance, Apex University has steadily become involved in building a knowledge base in this area. Apex University is well positioned to play a pivotal role in furthering research on corporate governance and raising public debate to a national level. The multi-disciplinary faculties in the areas of economics, public policy, finance and accounting and law give Apex University a strong base for bringing together the interesting themes in corporate governance. (accessed 25-03-06)

The University has made it patently clear that its curriculum is aligned with knowledge creation. The documents that promote the university's educational policies stress that one of the key developments that the university foresees is that of cutting edge academic research in the field of international CG (corporate governance) by touting local CG initiatives. Such knowledge creation and capacity building are outlined on the website:

> **Knowledge creation:** Unlike many other countries, no rigorous research has as yet been conducted on developing and improving CG quality in Pakistan. The proposed program will aim to analyse key features of Pakistan's CG landscape, highlight strengths/weaknesses and pioneer empirical research via case studies. Research will be presented through a series of publications, which will publicize Pakistan's efforts with the hope of attracting foreign investors, and aiding other developing economies in initiating their CG processes.

> **Capacity building:** Through the development of a core group of academics dedicated to CG activities, research derived from this program will be integrated into mainstream curricula in the areas of management, economics and law, thereby embedding the value of corporate governance in students, the country's emerging leadership. (accessed 13-05-05)

It is clear that Apex aims to generate curriculum that is best suited to a corporate atmosphere as the educational institution is geared towards a business enterprise rather than an educational one. Choosing Apex University as a research site was based on the premise that an elite and influential educational institution with strong Western links would afford a more globally minded and critically aware set of ESL Muslim learners. The next section introduces the participants, both staff and students, who took part in the research project.

4.8.1.2 The Research Participants- Apex University

Participants	Description	Data collection	Total requests	Actual participants	Successful participants (%)
Staff	Administrative	Semi-structured interview	9	Nil	0%
		Focus group	5	1 (x4)	20%
	Teaching	Semi-structured interview	21	11	52%
		Focus group	11	Nil	0%
Students	Undergraduate	Semi-structured interview	31	10	32%
		Focus groups	7	2 (x3)	28%
	Postgraduate	Semi-structured interview	17	5	29%
		Focus group	7	1 (x3)	14%

Table 4.4 Participants at Apex University: staff and students

It is important to point out that the reluctance to be interviewed played a significant role in the ability to collect data. This was one of the reasons for including the second case study. Table 4.4 shows that many requests for interviews and invitations for focus and/or discussion groups were turned down. Semi-structured interviews with administrative staff were not possible as many were not comfortable in sharing information about curriculum and administrative policies at their institution. It was evident that they were more interested in group discussion as they felt more comfortable in revealing information in each other's presence. For teaching staff the reverse was true, as they felt more comfortable in semi-structured interviews and were quite outspoken at times. Focus groups with teaching staff were impossible to organize because the timing was never acceptable to most, and my organization was constantly thwarted by a staff member pulling out at the last minute to teach. The students were more co-operative once they were convinced of the significance of the research and many consented to be interviewed, although comparatively few turned up for interviews or discussion groups. The postgraduate students who attended a focus group were very supportive of the research. Their shared attitudes and experiences, both during interview recording and informal discussions that followed were very revealing, and helped to formulate themes that emerged in the research data.

A more detailed account of staff and student participants at Apex University is presented in the next two sections.

4.8.1.3 Apex University- Staff

Although it is essential to understand that interviewees "demonstrate their own unique way of looking at the world" (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000:121), those who participate in the interview process bring to the fore opinions and concerns they harbour as well as gaps and silences that punctuate their thought processes.

The interviews at Apex University were conducted during the winter semester from December 2004 through to January 2005. The administration was approached and the Dean of Social Sciences and Arts was specifically asked about the best way to approach staff. He recommended emails requesting interviews be circulated, to include information on the aim of the interview and the nature of research undertaken. In addition he offered to talk to some of the senior staff and ask them to take part in the research.

Although the opportunity to participate in the study was presented to the entire English Language teaching staff at Apex University, only one staff member replied to the email and agreed. It was clear that convincing staff members about the significance of the research was the only way to obtain their consent for interviews. It took one week to obtain consent, tracking down staff members during lunch breaks and outside cafeterias. Among them, seven staff members also agreed to non-participant classroom observations.

Prior to interview staff signed a consent form and were fully aware that their interview would be recorded. Interviews were 10-15 minutes in duration. They took place in offices/staff rooms and these varied due to busy schedules and, in some instances, staff avoided answering questions in detail. Nine staff members were initially asked to describe their experiences and teaching backgrounds. Only one withdrew from the interviews all together. Data collected was from eight staff members, 6 male members and 2 female members. Semi-structured interview questions explored the categories and sub-categories of resistance/acceptance to teaching materials, description of Western bias within teaching materials and curriculum, views on culturally loaded curriculums and how English language teaching could be modified for Muslim students. Interviews were recorded using two digital tape recorders with minimal note taking. Due to confidentiality clauses in the consent forms, the lecturers, assistant professors and professors are referred to in this thesis as 'teachers' defined as those that teach. For the sake of confidentiality, the names of staff and students are fictitious.

Table 4.4a Interviewed Staff profiles at Apex University

Staff profile: 24

Age	25-65 yrs
Gender	
Male	6
Female	2
Religion	
Muslim	8
Other	0
Degree Taught	
Undergraduate	8
Postgraduate	8

The first teacher recruited is a doctorate holder, Muslim, approximately 60+ years old and teaches philosophy and English composition. Her name is Mariya and she has been teaching at Apex University since 2001 but she has been a member of the adjunct faculty since the 1990s. She is a prominent American scholar who sits on the board of international committees in the US, Southeast Asia and Pakistan. She has also taught in the largest government university in the city. She graduated from an elitist college in a major city, which is also my alma mater, and hence she was easier to approach.

Naheed is in her mid 30s, Muslim, and also from an elite university college. She has a Masters degree in English Literature from an American university. She takes care in pointing out how she differs in her views to the more 'conservative quarter'.

Teachers Haris, Fahim and Adam, all Muslim male teachers/administrators, were interviewed through participation in a discussion group. Haris has a PhD in a Business discipline from a prestigious US University and is currently teaching, besides other subjects, Business English. Adam is also a doctorate holder from a prominent American university, and both teachers are in their mid to late 40s. Fahim has recently received his doctorate degree from a renowned American university and is relatively young.

Bilal is a male Muslim convert in his mid 30s, originally from a Catholic background, married to a Pakistani Muslim and resides locally. He holds a Masters degree from a prominent British university and teaches research and design.

Rais is a visiting older Professor from another Pakistani Business University. He holds a doctorate in Economics from an American university, and is also Dean at a local university. He teaches postgraduate research methods (quantitative analysis) and English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Nasir is a visiting Muslim male lecturer from a Pakistani Business University. He teaches English for Business Purposes and is a graduate of a leading local public university. Nasir is in his mid 40s.

It is important to point out that many of the teaching staff hold adjunct positions. They balance their commitment to Apex University with other teaching positions in either private universities or public educational institutions. Interviews with staff did not include any questions on how much time they spent in their teaching role at Apex, or whether teaching at Apex was their primary job, as this may have caused resentment and hindered any chances of obtaining more relevant information. It is clear from their permanent office spaces that many staff considered Apex as their primary employer. In informal conversations with staff, it was made clear that retaining teaching/staff positions in government

educational institutions is significant, as many realize the importance of maintaining important contacts in the state educational system. The reason behind this may be commercial in nature or simply to increase the longevity of tenure with prominent teaching positions.

4.8.1.4 Apex University -Students

It is clear that interviews contrived to quickly elucidate information can generate resentment among interviewees, especially if the interviewer is a total stranger and the issues discussed are of a reflective nature. This point was demonstrated by the unwillingness of some staff and students to be interviewed about their cultural values, religious beliefs and/or identities. As the university is a co-educational institution the intention was to recruit an equal number of male and female students. But the difficulty in recruiting students, bearing in mind the gender divide, was not possible. Nevertheless, the selection of participants was from both undergraduate and postgraduate level at Apex University (6 male and female postgraduate students were approached). Purposive sampling was used so there was a balance of male and female students (15 male and 15 female). All students were fluent in English. Although questions regarding their age were not specifically asked, the consent form and a general introductory remark prior to interview confirmed that all students were above 18 years. A majority came from English medium schools or were from overseas (primarily the US or UK). Some had been sent to Apex to study, while others had relocated to Pakistan along with their families. The students were not always forthright in talking about their background, but some did clarify that they had been schooled overseas before they relocated to Pakistan. Those schooled locally were scholarship holders or their parents could fund their education. As the university is an elite private institution the students were generally from upper or upper middle class backgrounds. The students that were interviewed had in many instances studied abroad at overseas schools or universities before coming to Pakistan.

The students had to be convinced of the merit of the research before consenting. The topic in most cases created interest and many students agreed

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to express their views. At the beginning of each interview, the purpose of the research was explained, and questions regarding interview procedures and confidentiality were answered.

Table 4.4b Student profile: 24

Age	18+
Gender Male Female	14 10
Religion Muslim Other	22 2 (Hindu, Buddhist)
Degree Undergraduate Postgraduate	16 8

The researcher had to recruit students during their lunch breaks, after hours, or between classes and/or free periods. Problems in recording interviews occurred when interviews took place in public places or common rooms. Although 45% of interview transcripts were not able to be produced as the noise levels were so high that interviews were not audible, data gathered from notetaking during these interviews was used instead. Even though transcribing such interviews

was very difficult, 55% of the interviews that took place in empty classrooms, staff rooms or even in stairwells were useful. Each interviewee participating in the research completed and signed a Victoria University Ethics Consent form.

4.8.1.5 Apex University classroom observations and curriculum materials

Classroom observations were conducted after staff members were approached and agreed to be observed. Some were hesitant in allowing classroom observations as they had reservations about the confidentiality of the data. The researcher was an observer only; no participation from the researcher/observer was sought. Classroom observation proved fruitful as many of the students engaged in class discussions with teachers. In the course of a few sessions the insights gained contributed to the formulation of specific interview questions during informal interviews with staff members. Curriculum material, such as handouts that were given as reference material or for homework, was collected. In some instances texts referred to in one of the classes provided valuable information on how students negotiate with culturally foreign ideas.

Although some course materials collected were materials taught in classrooms that had been observed, most of the curriculum material was purchased at the university's bookshop. These were bound photocopied texts that were identical to texts taught at American universities. The material taught in the English language courses were collections chosen by current staff with approval from faculty administration.

Initially the research was to be undertaken at Apex University, rather than two universities. And the method of data collection for both was different. At Apex, semi-structured interviews as well as classroom observations and a journal were included. The data collection was modified for Rise University and included questionnaires and informal interviews. The rationale for modification was due to differences in reception to the proposed research. Administration at Apex University approved and supported interviews with teaching staff and students on campus. Their staff had the freedom to accept or reject offers of interviews, as well as classroom observations. Conversely, the administration at

Rise University was not supportive, and the staff declined to participate in recorded interviews, but consented to informal discussions only. Classroom observations were not allowed and the students declined to give interviews and instead were given questionnaires. The data collection methods had to be adjusted according to the administrative guidelines and preferences within each institution. However, in both cases a focus on the main themes was maintained.

The next section introduces the second institution, which has observed the growth of Apex University. It opened several years afterwards and ushered in a growing demand for such academic institutions all over Pakistan.

4.8.2 Rise University

Rise University based in the same major Pakistani city began in the 1990s, more than a decade after Apex University opened. The institution began with the direct support of a UK university. It has been given autonomy by the Pakistan Government and is affiliated with two prestigious universities in the UK. Its other international[21] affiliations provide student scholarships funded by governments in the Southeast, the US and the Middle East.

Although its main undergraduate and postgraduate programs focus on fields of business, management and economics, Rise University has smaller faculties of education, sociology and languages. The staff are foreign qualified with 90% holding doctoral degrees in specialized fields. With such qualified staff the university boasts that its corporate sponsors fund a large range of scholarships and provide job placement opportunities. The university's website relies on multinational corporations although during the course of this research it was made patently clear during informal discussions with senior administrative staff that Rise University is sponsored by other international corporations.

Unlike Apex, Rise University admits to encouraging "kin of armed forces and civil servants" as well as students of sound socioeconomic status.

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[21] This is taken directly from the university's website.

4.8.2.1 The participants from Rise University

As discussed earlier, the method of data collection from Rise University was different to that of Apex University in that a questionnaire was the main instrument used.

Twenty-seven staff members of Rise University were approached to be interviewed, to complete questionnaires and take part in discussion groups. They refused both interviews and questionnaires.

The Dean was asked if two classes would participate in answering short answer questionnaires as most students declined to be interviewed too. At the beginning of each class, the purpose of the research was explained and questions regarding the questionnaires and confidentiality were answered. After the topic was presented to the students, the short answer questionnaires were handed out. The reason for the refusal of staff to be interviewed was not relayed by the administration. However, students who politely declined were more forthcoming on the issue of staff refusals rather than their own refusals. The more common student responses were the fear of being seen as critical of administration and management. They felt that staff members were afraid of change and any criticisms would suggest weaknesses and deficiencies in how the institution was managed. The students' observations on the issue of staff refusals seemed quite accurate and were at the same time reflective of the students themselves. A tabulated student profile is given below:

Table 4.5 Student Profiles from Rise University

Student profile: 27

Age	18+
Gender	
Male	18
Female	9
Religion	
Muslim	24
Other	3 (Christian)
Degree	
Undergraduate	27
Postgraduate	-

No additional course materials were collected at Rise University as they were identical to Apex course materials. From conversations with faculty staff it was clear that the material taught in the English language courses were chosen by the current staff with approval from faculty administration.

For Rise University, as mentioned, the data was collected via short answer questionnaires. The total number of student participants was 27. They were not aware of the questionnaire beforehand[22] and were given no information on what was required from them. The questions asked in the survey were similar to those asked at Apex as well as some that were generated from the initial experiences from interviewing participants at Apex. The questions covered themes concerning the cultural content of teaching materials, the impact that English language learning was having on respondents, and the changes they

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[22] Please see Appendix C for questionnaire.

perceived around them as a result of learning English. As with Apex, the participants in this thesis are alluded to by fictitious names for reasons of confidentiality, and this aspect was emphasized when students were invited to complete the questionnaires.

4.9 ETHICAL ISSUES

In line with the requirements of ethical issues in research practice involving humans, all participants were given consent forms to complete and return before participation. Other ethical issues in research centre on the anonymity of participants, preserved here through the use of pseudonyms. The next two sections identify the issues of validity, reliability and the researcher's reflexivity in the context of these ethical considerations.

4.9.1 Limitations

The limitations of this thesis are those factors or variables that the research could not control, which included the limited number of students who participated, the staff who volunteered to be interviewed, accessibility by the respective administration of both institutions to their curriculum, classrooms and students. During this research study, it became clear that the students and the staff were reluctant to speak out. They cited issues of privacy, confidentiality and then spoke of how much they feared reprisals for speaking out. Although all those that were approached were advised of the confidentiality clauses in the ethics form, many of the students and staff were not willing to participate. Many staff members were reluctant to invite me in for class observation or to share curriculum documents. Such factors limited the scope of the research and hindered me from obtaining more data.

4.9.2 Validity and reliability

The importance of reliability and credibility in qualitative studies is underscored in the literature on humanities and social science research (see for example Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Robson, 2002). The need for triangulation to ensure that

the research study involves "cross-checking the accuracy of data obtained from one source with data collected from other, different sources" (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999:131) is also highlighted. Therefore, although this research focused on Apex University, it also sought to gain confirmation and triangulation of data by conducting additional research at Rise University. Even though such a strategy involved multiple data collection strategies that conformed to environments within the research sites, the research data gathered cannot claim to be unbiased or absolute. Participation and interaction with administrative staff at the research sites afforded a more in-depth and reflexive journal (Edge, 2011) that helped in analysing data. Supervisors at Victoria University were helpful in monitoring data collection procedures and suggested ways to resolve problems during fieldwork.

The data gathered should be seen as essentially a set of opinions and views recorded in a given situation at a certain time. Many global events of local significance have taken place since the interviews were undertaken in 2004-2005. For example, the political turmoil surrounding the Chief Justice of Pakistan occurred in the first half of 2007, while the Siege of the Red Mosque in Lahore took place in July 2007, followed by the ousting of President Musharraf in 2009. The Islamic revivalist movement has taken a front seat in Pakistani politics and this in turn has solidified opinions within the local populace. These developments have significant implications for the reliability and validity of the data when considered in the context of the current situation in Pakistan. Therefore, with reference to this research, it can only be claimed that every effort was undertaken to collect the data systematically and in line with perspectives at the time. The reliability and validity of the analysis can only be viewed in terms of the data captured and presented within that specific time-frame. Arguably replication through an identical research study undertaken today would yield different results.

4.9.3 The vantage point

In any analysis, the researcher observes and records his/her observations. It is on the basis of these observations that he/she analyses the evidence that is gathered. The vantage point that the researcher claims to occupy while research is conducted can be seen as an attempt to objectify and validate the analysis (Silverman, 1993; Seale, 1999; Seale et al., 2004). Of course, the interpretation of the evidence collected is entirely up to the researcher and the analysis is self-regulated. Given such a subjective approach, validation is a difficult, if not impossible goal. What does the researcher do? Of course, if the researcher is foreign to the situation or culture being researched then he/she will find it virtually impossible to understand. At best, he/she will gain the perspective of the 'Other'. But if the researcher is of the same culture arguably the difficulty can be overcome, or can it? If for the foreign researcher, discourses present the peoples of other cultures as "immobilized by their belonging to a place" (Appadurai, 1992) then what happens to a researcher belonging to the culture he/she researches? Does he/she not face the same fate? Does having knowledge of the 'Other' make the researcher an amalgamation of a myriad of discourses? Does he/she not belong to many discursive communities? So what vantage point can researchers claim to have when researching their own identity? Mazrui (2002:7) argues that "in order to understand fully some aspects of a society, it is not enough simply to observe it; you have to be a member of it." The discourses collected and classified here are ones observed and supported by views relayed in interviews and meetings. It is essential to point out here that this thesis is written from a specific vantage point. It is written from the point of the insider who has remained on the outside long enough to see the inside in a different light. Such a point of observation makes it easier for the Western academic to identify and empathize as the research is conducted in norms that are identifiable to Western academia (Merriam, 1988; Stake, 1995; Kvale, 1996; Maxwell, 2005; Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). But even though this research highlights the benefit of capturing insider knowledge, this thesis does not claim any objectification or superiority. Instead it presents the possibility of communication between discourses and, more importantly, between two diverse and different cultures, since this thesis hopes

to capture the dynamism of a culture for a brief instant by showing the discursive realities that people have immersed themselves in.

INTRODUCTION TO DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS CHAPTERS

The data presentation and analysis is set out in the next three chapters. The reason for doing so lies in the complexity encountered when sifting and analysing the data. The initial contextual frames of reference reveal further undercurrents of discursive alignments within knowledge and language specific discourse. This approach within a discourse allows a more comprehensive analysis of how participants' responses are indicative of the discursive strategies employed.

The trilogy presents the data from Apex University (Apex) and Rise University (Rise) in Pakistan. The first chapter examines the data within a postcolonial context and analyses it with special reference to language discourse. The second chapter in presents the data from an Islamic anthropological perspective and examines the use of language discourses within this context. The third chapter presents and analyses the data within the context of hybridity and again highlights the role of discourse from this perspective.

It will be argued that there is a need for specific knowledge and language discourses within each given context, such that it helps to generate a more detailed examination of discursive strategies that are formed, employed and embedded within the data. Such an examination assists in analysing the formation of participants' perspectives within each of the discursive paradigms.

Gripping ideas amid trackless sands, these people are slaves to time. The love of the past, a painfully moulded frieze on which their pride rests. They persist in seeing the present through the eyes of their elders. But what of the past? It is a past filled with morbid tales, heroes and villains, victories and failures, of praise and remorse.

'But why dwell on the criminations and recriminations that scar the historical sense of a nation, of a community, of a psyche?' he asked.

It is the souls that live in these lost shadows that like countless petals unfold themselves vulnerable to judgement. Drawing them near is laying bare the kernel of truth on which nations rest.

'Why see the present through the past? Does the past not color the present, and depict it with a self-defeating ambiguity?'

No. It is as water shapes the fluidity of memories, surges into tiny crevices, filling out and reinforcing all at the same time. The present boldly fills out the past; it is a solid manifestation that encourages a future. It is the firmness that lends its resilience to a nation, a community and a psyche.

CHAPTER 5

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by presenting the data gathered at both Apex University and Rise University, which consists of student and staff responses and curriculum documents. The curriculum data, promptly labelled the "courts language" (English) by one respondent, includes cultural content that would be difficult for ESL learners to comprehend. The discourses were gathered from staff and students who responded to questions about curriculum content taught in their institutions.

This chapter also discusses discursivity surrounding respondents' ideas on knowledge and language within the context of postcolonialism, neo-imperialism and hegemony. These suggestions are examined within the framework of the curriculum materials they constantly alluded to.

5.2 THE SET CURRICULUM

During the first few days of my research trips to Apex University it was clear that the course readers for each of the subjects were easily accessible on campus. The university housed a bookshop that photocopied and bound entire texts, selling them to staff and students. These texts were distributed for a nominal charge of USD5.00-10.00 and were exact reproductions of American texts that

would ordinarily have cost USD200-400 each.[23] They had been selected by the administration based on individual requests by the teaching staff.

After going through the course readers available from Apex University's bookshop, it was evident that the curriculum offered at Apex was taken verbatim from courses taught at American universities. The readers compiled by the teaching staff included articles and chapters from American texts that were clearly designed to cater for American students. In interviews students implied that these course readers were used in their entirety as well as reference materials. In some instances the staff used the readers sparingly. However, they were mostly used as the basis of teaching in classrooms along with handouts on communicating effectively or on academic writing techniques. In Naheed's class, at Apex, handouts included page numbers cited from reference books. Naheed brought out her copy of *The Little Brown Handbook* and stressed the need for students to continually refer to it for instructions on how to write research papers. Handouts from other staff members included additional instructions for readings from references included in course materials.

The next section presents the evidence taken directly from course materials as well as the views of students and staff on colonialism and linguistic and cultural imperialism.

5.2.1 Presenting the curriculum

This section presents modes of analysis for analysing any written text which have been used in this study. These are especially essential when the material being analysed is inclusive of cultural values which are essentially foreign to the audience.

Kress (1989) and Wallace (1992) suggest the following questions should be asked when analysing any set of course materials, specifically those to be used in EFL/ESL classrooms:

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[23] Textbooks such as *The Little Brown Handbook* (2004) were sold in local bookshops at USD285.00 and on Amazon online at USD225.00 while the *Bedford Handbook* was USD387.00 in local bookshops and sold online at USD402.00.

How is the topic written about?

What other ways of writing about the topic are there?

Who is writing to whom? Or to whom is the text addressed?

This set of questions clarifies and contextualizes the origin and purpose of text for textual analysis. The topics covered by the curriculum texts were clearly foreign to students at Apex. Within a postcolonial frame of reference, it is clear that materials taught should be relevant.

In the course reader on *Composition and Writing* for both undergraduates and postgraduates, the topics for discussion ranged from American football, cheerleading, James Wood as the 'New Bogart', Julian Lennon and his father's legacy and American TV series.

> You may remember Arthur Treacher on the Merv Griffin Show reciting the lyrics to some Rock and Roll song with this uniquely upper-class British accent. He would of course choose songs like 'Get a Job' (where the lyrics were 'Sha-na-na-na. Yip Yip Yip) orDa Do Ron Ron to make the whole thing funnier.
>
> *A Brief History of Media Education, Course Reader 1, p. 399*

Most local students are not familiar with Arthur Treacher or the Merv Griffin show. The examples given in the text assume that the reader has prior knowledge of TV personalities that were and are still a part of the American consciousness. The song 'Get a Job' is relatively unknown and it would be quite difficult for the teacher to explain such examples. Or later in the description of the Blues, it is easy to see how the students would have problems responding to topics they have never heard of or that make the subliminal assumption that the general culture portrayed is normal. For example:

> The Blues is the one truly American music. Born in the Mississippi Delta, this twelve-bar cry of anguish found its durable, classic form in the searing soliloquies of poor black men and women who used it to ventilate all the aches and pains of their condition including the great Bessie Smith, Robert Johnson, Ma Rainey, Lightnin'

Hopkins and Son House, Mississippi John Hurt, John Lee Hooker and Blind Lemon Jefferson. And ever since, the Blues has served as the wellspring of every major government in this country's popular music.

Original excerpt from Paul D. Zimmerman with Peter Barnes et al., "Rebirth of the Blues", Newsweek, p. 59, Course Reader 1

The above text requires the students to have a general understanding of the birth of Soul, the history of Rhythm and Blues (R&B), links with the slave trade in southern American states and the need for the Blues and its cathartic effect. Since it is unlikely students at both Apex and Rise would have been aware of the historical significance of the Blues, or have any prior knowledge of singers such as Blind Lemon Jefferson and female legends such as Ma Rainey, it is totally irrelevant for students who have to constantly ask for background information on the basic material in English language courses. It is interesting that many of the passages offered as examples or presented as topics are associated with media culture. Arguably American culture, which has over the years been infused with an admiration for the moving image, has awakened to the power of the media. Another example represents the charm of Hollywood.

Hollywood has long depended on publicity stunts to draw attention to movies and their stars. Movie premieres often have been the settings of elaborate schemes, for instance, only horses and their riders could attend the drive-in premiere of Blazing Saddles. The photo opportunity is another kind of attention-grabber; think of the famous picture of Marilyn Monroe with her dress blowing in the breeze. A third favourite strategy is to hold an unusual contest for example offering a prize to the woman who most passionately kisses a picture of Tom Selleck or giving free tickets to Creep Show to people who singled out as creeps by a creep detector. In one of the wackiest pranks ever, a publicist named Jim Moran promoted The Egg and I by sitting on an ostrich egg for forty days until it hatched.

Achieving Coherence, Course Reader 1, p.55

This example assumes students have prior knowledge of movies such as 'Blazing Saddles', 'The Creep Show', 'The Egg and I', Marilyn Monroe's famous image of her dress billowing from the steam of a roadside air vent and Tom

Selleck from Magnum PI. This assumption is made clearer in classroom observations. One member of staff who had begun to teach 'Writing for Research', and had agreed to be observed, began the lecture with the poem Jabberwocky in Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1988). The poem written in a nonsensical style is quite difficult to understand and the students miss the underlying creativity altogether. Snippets from observations[24] show the students' state of confusion.

"I am not sure…"

"I cannot understand why we have to know Alice in whateverland…"

"…supposing I have never read it or supposing I don't have time to read it?"

"Is it a baby's book?"

"Why should a writer use such language if no one understands it? Aren't we supposed to be clear in what we say?"

"How does this help us?"

"Can we also make up words? Why are wrong words right if some Englishman writes it and wrong if a Third World man writes it?"

"I don't get any of this …and whatever it means"

"Is he American or British?"

"Does he write for children or adults?"

"Does he think that adults will have any interest in what he is saying? Why should anyone really be interested in a child getting lost and making stories?"

In the same class when references are made to a previous handout of an excerpt from the Lord of the Rings trilogy, the students voice their discomfort,

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[24] See Appendix E for Classroom Observations.

"Why should we use this in our writing because all this is not real and does not suit us anyway?"

"Can we write using such words and can everyone understand what we say? Supposing someone has not read the book how are they going to understand?"

"You know that many of these writers use fantasy to explain what is real but the way that they do it is not appealing…not easy to follow…it is like their story is not clear… and I don't know why he makes so many earths."

With such examples it is clear how difficult it is for students to relate to the concepts that are presented. It is even more confusing when exercises ask students to arrange historical facts in chronological order such as the Salem witch trials that took place in the late 1600s:

- The judge later deeply regretted his part, but this sorry chapter in American history has never been forgotten.
- Two books 'proving' that witches existed by the famous Puritan ministers Increase Mather and his son Cotton Mather further fanned the hysteria in 1693.
- The stage was set for the terrible Salem witch trials.
- Nineteen so-called 'witches and wizards' were hanged, and one was pressed to death.
- In 1692, when two girls in Salem village, Massachusetts, had fits, they blamed the townspeople for bewitching them.

Unit 2, Discovering the Para, Course Reader 1, p.42

The story that was the inspiration for Arthur Miller's play 'The Crucible' is an important milestone in American history, but quite irrelevant to Pakistani students half a world away. In order to use such examples effectively in their teaching, teachers need to be aware of the background of many of the important historical or cultural events (Matsuda, 1999; Thomas 1999; Matsuda and Matsuda, 2001) constantly alluded to in course readers.

Another pertinent example is that of baseball. Being from a country that is obsessed with cricket (as opposed to baseball), many Pakistani students would

find it difficult to follow American baseball. A snapshot of the stereotypical attitude towards American baseball, such as the one below, falls under what Wallace (1992) classifies as material that does not match the audience.

> It was the most astonishing strike-out the fans had ever seen. It began in the top of the seventh innings, when Big Fred Gnocchi came up to bat. He took a few practice swipes to loosen up the power in his shoulders and back. Then the catcher signalled the pitcher nodded and a steaming fast ball barreled toward Big Fred. He watched it pass. The umpire called a strike. Next came a curve ball and another strike as Fred swung and missed. Angry and determined Fred dug in at the plate, spat and gritted his teeth. Again the pitcher wound up and delivered a slow ball. Gnocchi swung, realized he had moved too soon, swung again and missed again. That may have been the first time in baseball history that a batter took four strikes.

> *Unit 2, Discovering the Para,* Course Reader 1, p.41

The "top of the seventh innings" is a term that is commonly used in American baseball as well as 'strike', and the teacher who was teaching this course made a special effort to understand the terms before she came to class. Naheed, who agrees with Wallace (1992) and teaches this course reader, complained of how she spent hours on the internet searching for information on topics in addition to preparing for them 'in the normal way'. This added tension, as she later admitted, was nothing more than a nuisance.

> "How do you talk, knowing that most students have no idea what certain terms denote? I remember introducing DHL (D.H. Lawrence) before and assuming that because of his OMG (Oh My God) reputation everyone would have heard something…but nooo, they were all too quiet. So I had to go back and rework the whole idea, things I didn't even know myself!"

And Naheed remarks,

> "…realized that there was no use. Gave them some basic background research work. But will officially start using DHL in this class."

Another issue that the staff raised at both institutions was the use of what they termed 'vulgar' vocabulary, present in course readers, that was a source of

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controversy. Many examples were pointed out including "What a scene! What a moment! What the fuck? I was 8 and a half years old" (from the article 'Forget the Force' in *Composition and Writing*). Such obviously unpalatable language can become problematic for staff and they voiced their concerns a number of times during informal conversations in staff rooms.

One of the staff members of Apex opened up the *Composition and Writing* course reader and showed a passage that had caused what he considered a 'charged' atmosphere in class and which he found very confronting. This issue is based on an article in the course reader that generated extreme views from both sides. In this case the passage in the article sparked a debate in class as it showcased extreme views on religion.

> **Atheist**: Religion is all superstition, and superstition has absolutely no place in modern life. Religion has caused the suffering and death of millions of people in gruesome wars. Religious people are bigots who think that others who do not share the one true faith will suffer eternally in hell for a matter of belief. The sooner religion disappears from the world the better. There is no need or place for it in the scientific age. Keep it out of schools. No modern citizen should have to support bigotry and superstition with tax dollars.
>
> **Fundamentalist:** The humanists are trying to play God by pre-empting God's knowledge and claiming it for themselves. They condone pornography, child abuse and abortion. They are evil incarnate as they do not recognize the need of mankind to be saved from sin. Education based on secular humanism is no education at all. Teaching is meaningless unless we save our children from the fires of hell. There is only one true religion, and it is the primary function of the schools and the rest of society to teach it to our children. No aspect of life is intelligible unless it is understood in the aspects of God's creation and God's rules for man.
>
> *Tudy Govier's article 'Are there two sides to every question?' Composition and Writing, Course Reader 1,* p.48

The article was seen to be condoning the idea that religion is a debatable topic. With both views and explanations considered to be grossly misleading, many staff saw this article as an example of controversial teaching material. In

analysing this particular material, it is clear that the ideas presented would be a cause for concern for those teaching it, as the reader is forced to question the very basis of religion, God and the idea that all religious fundamental principles are incorrect. In a society such as Pakistan where religious belief underpins the philosophy of life, it can be uncomfortable to teach material that overtly endorses the assumption of secularism under the guise of being 'moderate'.

Critically evaluation of the article reveals that the author's views are extreme. The religious view is based on Christianity, and the Atheist view is anti-religious rather than a view in and of itself. The author uses 'loaded' terms such as 'fundamentalist' even though she criticizes both sides for their "use [of] loaded language". Nevertheless, it is an article that provokes controversy and does little in helping students improve their use of English. This view is endorsed by students' opinions voiced during a classroom observation where they were giving class presentations on the topic of 'Creating a Moral Society'.

> "We think that morality is the cornerstone of any society"

> "We believe that we need religion to guide us as to what is morally right and what is morally wrong"

> "The idea that Man knows what is right and what is wrong is based on trial and error and most times, after many years, people find that what they have been following is wrong."

With such embedded assumptions, it is clear that course readers that generate controversy by undermining the long-held beliefs of students can be seen to impede language learning (Matsuda, 1999, 2001). On the other hand, they may be seen as a chance for students to reassess their belief systems and re-evaluate their own cultural assumptions (Bryam and Planet, 2000:189).

Another example is taken from a book that is part of the curriculum. Although it is primarily used as a reference guide, the students asked the lecturer during one of the sessions what 'chili' actually referred to. The common perception was that 'chilli' referred to a green or red coloured pod that was used to spice food. The different spelling did not alert any of the students to the fact that it could

mean something else. The lecturer in this case was unsure and offered to look into what the word meant, as the typical meaning was not making any sense. The extract that began this entertaining discussion is reproduced below.

> Some people really like chili apparently, but nobody can agree how the stuff should be made. C.V. Wood, twice winner at Terlingua, uses flank steak, pork chops, chicken, and green chilis. My friend Hughes Rudd of CBS News, who imported five hundred pounds of chilli powder into Russia as a condition of accepting employment as Moscow correspondent, favours coarse-ground beef. Isadore Blackman, the cameraman, I must live with on the road, insists upon one-inch cubes of stew beef and puts garlic in his chili, an Illinois affectation. An Indian of my acquaintance, Mr. Fulton Batisse, who eats chili for breakfast, when he can, uses buffalo meat and plays an Indian drum while cooking. I ask you. Charles Kuralt, Dateline America (as reproduced in 'Apex' University, 2004-5)[25]

From the extract it is clear that 'chili' which can also be 'chilli' refers to a minced beef stew with red kidney beans that is commonly eaten in America but originated from Mexico. References are to Terlingua, an Illinois affectation and more interestingly "an Indian". Although it can be regarded as an explanatory piece it proves a talking point for the students and one that can be uncomfortable for the lecturer.

It is thus evident that specific courses (e.g. *Composition and Writing* which in itself is a major subject taught in preparation for research writing and project writing) are entirely composed of examples, ideas and values that are Americanized. As such, they have little or no relevance to Pakistani society at the time of interviews.

It is clear that with the use of foreign cultural content students are presented with particular versions of reality that not only undermine their localized version but hinder their progress as they try to complete simple tasks. This can present an alternative version of reality. In Naheed's class tasks, such as brainstorming

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[25] This material reproduced in the University's photocopied curriculum materials was originally sourced from 'The Little Brown Handbook', a widely used American reference work used in US undergraduate courses, see for example a more recent edition of the handbook materials in Fowler, Aaron and Okoomian (2007).

and concept mapping, were introduced in the familiar American contexts and, as they were aligned with exercises that were quite difficult, they were essentially culturally irrelevant. In Naheed's class topics ranged from Ice Hockey to Hollywood. These would need to be changed as many students may not be aware of the rules of Ice Hockey or have any information about the history of the game. The indifference to the culture and the issue of relevancy that is apparent with course content is characteristic of all course materials obtained at Apex University.

5.2.2 Analysing the curriculum

This research investigates the impact of culturally specific teaching materials taught to ESL Muslim students in Muslim countries. It was clear that the academic debate, discussed in the literature review, on English language and the cultural connotations inherently afforded would also be included. The set texts examined in the first section of this chapter are prime examples of teaching material that is not only culturally charged, but culturally specific, and it would not be tenable to teach these course materials in another BANA nation such as Australia or England. This is in direct contrast to critics such as Wardaugh (1987:15), who suggest that English as a language is "tied to no particular social, political, economic or religious system, or to a specific racial or cultural group." However, a closer analysis of the curriculum at these institutions clearly indicates Western cultural bias. This view is corroborated by Dua (1994:133) who highlights the role of language in mediating particular cultural biases: "language is basically involved with class, power and knowledge." It is the quest for knowledge that manufactures an artificial demand for English—artificially contrived by the hegemonic control of technology in the West. Not only do Lacan, Foucault and Bakhtin raise the idea that language moulds our identity, but Phillipson also points out the social and cultural relationship of power and language use.

> English is the language in which a great deal of 'international'
> activity (trade, politics, media, education...) takes place.

Worldwide, competence in English is seen as opening doors. This means that ELT in its global and local manifestations is intricately linked to multiple uses of the language and access to power. It is therefore vital to know what forces and values it embodies, what purposes and effects of its professional ideologies are, what economic and cultural factors propel it forward, and ultimately whose interests it serves. (Phillipson, 1997a)

Critics such as Edge (2003: 701) use the word 'hegemony' in referring to the power of the English language, typified as,

…a relationship based not upon explicit coercion, but an established power and the consent of the majority to go along with the arrangements that flow from that power because of the rewards that we receive.

When reviewing the curriculum documents, it became apparent that the constant allusions to cultural specific examples such as baseball, Salem witch trials, Blues or R&B, can be seen as evidence of foreign cultural values embodied in a curriculum as a result of "a relationship based not upon explicit coercion, but an established power" (hegemony) (Edge, 2003: 701). The issue of hegemonic practices within educational administrations, specifically within a postcolonial society like Pakistan, can be categorized as a Gramscian one where the elite dominate through persuasion and seduction, rather than blatant coercion. With this in mind, any interpretation or analysis of curriculum materials from elite universities would present an opportunity to expose dominant hegemonic practices embedded within these materials. Such a critical discourse analysis, as Pennycook (2001: 71) points out, is reminiscent of Fairclough's approach, in which the:

…focus on ideology requires a much more complex chain of relations: Ideological positions can be uncovered in texts; ideologies are the (concealed) views of particular social groups; those groups that frequently manage to promote their ideological position to the extent that it becomes naturalized are able to do so because of their social power; and by reproducing their ideologies, they are therefore able to reproduce social relations to power.

Hence the ideological positioning reflected in course materials suggests an intentional imposition of culturally laden educational material. With constant

reference to specifically American cultural activities, rites and history, it seems that the educational administration of these elite institutions harbor an imperialistic agenda or one of complete subordinating reverence.

The curriculum texts employ a language that is clearly observant of rules and regulations that are assumed to be the norm. The 'normality' that texts such as these embody creates a discursive environment that is suggestive of social and cultural laden knowledge of which the students, and in some cases the staff, are unaware. Such 'normalization' of knowledge is suggestive of the incorrectness of any alternative, for example, the type of English language skills that would be taught at local academic institutions. The idea of cultural and linguistic normalisation (Hutnyk, 2006) is particularly important in the context of attempts at 'cultural normalisation' by hegemonic Western liberal democracies that generate a 'global culture' or "Eurocentric forms of knowledge" (Grosfoguel, 2008:10). Shiva (1998:231) describes this global characteristic of hegemonic discourse:

> The 'global' in the dominant discourse is the political space in which a particular dominant local seeks global control, and frees itself of local, national and international restraints. The global does not represent the universal human interest; it represents a particular local and parochial interest, which has been globalised through the scope of its reach. The seven most powerful countries, the G7, dictate global affairs, but the interests that guide them remain narrow, local and parochial.

The curriculum at both Apex and Rise included loyal reproductions of American texts, as both institutions aspired to a dominant discourse. However, the data collected from participants revealed the presence of a power/knowledge relationship, as the texts generated a discursive paradigm that was foreign to students and which were critical.

Prodromou hints at the idea of hegemonic discourse present in educational curricula when he claims, "globally designed textbooks have continued to be stubbornly Anglo-centric" (1988:73). He refers to the Anglicized or Americanized linguistic and cultural content of most curriculum courses. Even though his own approach is biased—labelling American or English authored texts as being

'globally designed'—he admits that such designed texts "cannot by definition draw on local varieties of English" (Prodromou 1988:73). On the other hand, Kilickaya's suggestion, albeit an apologetic one, envisions texts that are not faithful representations of target cultures but ones that "include a variety of cultures" and take into account "learner's needs, characteristics and aims" (2007)[26]. A thorough reading of critical debates on the topic was evident in 1988 and continues in 2011 but is yet to produce tangible results. Pennycook's stance realigns the debate to include an Orwellian approach to ELT and all that is associated with it. He highlights the imperialistic agendas of ESL teaching focusing on the idea that a subliminal ideological acculturative process takes place. With the importance of "geopolitics of knowledge construction" (Andreotti, 2010:1), it has become imperative that critical awareness of the dynamics and influence of hegemonic discourses, however subliminal, is gauged from respondents within these discursive paradigms.

The next section presents such responses including data collected from staff and students at Apex and Rise. It is their reaction to the curriculum and ideas about the role of English language in their lives that reveal the extent of linguistic acculturation realized by these Muslim ESL learners.

5.3 RESPONSES TO THE CURRICULUM

The reaction to foreign teaching material mediated in the English language is what is clearly apparent in the interviews conducted at Apex and the response from students at Rise. Strong reactions to the curriculum, as exemplified below, were a common issue that emerged among students and teachers. Many teachers privately suggested that the courses were not in line with what should be taught at such elite academic institutions, and that many struggled to explain ideas and quell the frustration among students who had difficulty in

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[26] Kilickaya in his online article, Guidelines to Evaluate Cultural Content in Textbooks, cites Kramsch and declares the idea of appropriate materials that are culturally-relevant to be enforced rather than a standard content. This move towards a more inclusive approach to teaching materials such that they reflect the members of the ESL community rather than the BANA nations will bring about cosmopolitan strands of Englishes.

understanding specific examples. Hakim is clear about the problems he has faced and goes to some length to point out his grievances.

> The curriculum is very Western. We have to learn a lot about all the different values which we don't really care about. Why should we know about American values like dating or eating pork sausages? That is not part of our culture; the content in the composition and writing book is very American and because of that is not acceptable to many of us. We cannot say it aloud, because the curriculum is set by the teachers and lecturers already. We have examples about the metro and Dunkin Donuts. We read about values that are different and anti-Muslim Many of the examples are changed but the lecturers just don't care about all the examples. Many of the books should be changed; we should have content that is more reflective of our own culture. We should have Pakistani writers.

He begins by stating what he believes is factually true, but he is more specific when he mentions the *Composition and Writing* course reader that is an integral part of the curriculum. The examples he quotes would not seem quite so alien at first glance but Hakim finds they are not relevant. In his opinion, the course also includes values or assumptions that are different at best and anti-Muslim at worst. His suggestion is to have course content that is in line with the local culture and to have Pakistani writers. Although some students do not typically refer directly to the set course texts, they do allude to the historical nature of English language teaching and suggest that texts written by Pakistani writers with a postcolonial sensibility would be a much better choice than using American texts verbatim.

One of the handouts in Naheed's class was an interesting article by Earl Shorris, *On the Uses of a Liberal Education: As a Weapon in the Hands of the Restless Poor*. The discussion that ensued reflected the difference in ideologies and opinions among students.

> 'Why is education seen to be a commercial enterprise only?'

'Is the role of the teacher different in the West and the East? Why do we use first names for teachers abroad but the full name for ones here?'

'Creating and applying critical awareness is important but can it not in the end challenge the administrative structure that it brings about?'

'Success is measured in monetary values in the West and we have adopted this approach, which has given us the materialist type of mind.'

One of the students voices her opinion. She feels that the purpose of education is to teach not 'what to think' but 'how to think' and it is this approach that should be cultivated and usually this is not the case.

'Why is Aristotle, Plato… all important?'

'Does teaching them such things create an awareness? What if they were taught this through cultural norms, religious norms or the ideas that are part of a collective consciousness?'

'We don't learn this…so we are not going to progress? Are we not educated enough?'

'How do you measure someone's education …his ability to fit into Western society?'

This article was written from the perspective that Liberal education is essential for the growth of the critical faculty among all people, irrespective of their social class. Allusion to Plato, Aristotle and American history abound and for many students the significance of these works, as markers in the progress of Western thought, is lost. Although the article provoked heated debate on assumptions the writer had made, it is significant that students were concerned about how they were meant to perceive it. From the quotes taken during this particular class observation, it is apparent that the idea behind the writer's experiment

was not questioned, but the course that was taken during the educational experiment was generally frowned upon.

The reason was clear to Naheed who, as a staff member, explained that English language (which she suggested had origins in English literature) always had a hidden agenda.

> English literature began as a subject in British India and colonial India to inculcate the virtues of things that would [be] considered parties [partisan] or considered virtuousness in English between imperialists and the masses so the Indians would look up to them.

For her, English was the language of the rulers, who believed in the superiority of their moral and ethical frameworks, and felt the benevolent urge to share their language with the illiterate and poor masses of the Indian subcontinent. The constant allusions to the colonial history of the Indian subcontinent suggest that these are embedded historical discourses which are integral to how staff and students view themselves. Notably the tone Naheed uses is assertive as she makes her point by presenting the facts. She impresses upon the listener the 'inconvertible' truth of the colonial past and gives no room for any alternative theories. The emphasis that she places on the word 'inculcate' is indicative of this teacher's belief of her version of history. The students do not question her, nor is there any dispute on the issue of colonialism. Thus there is a need to associate with and relate to the colonial past in a postcolonial era is a repetitive discourse that constantly recurs when studentsemphasize the importance of contemporary local writers as well as those in the past. But what is markedly different is how the students assimilate the ideas of what colonial discourse means to them as they talk about their curriculum.

> ...we should [be taught] by writers that are Pakistani…or even Indian writers…it seems very normal. In the case of Indian writers or Pakistani writers we see the realism and that will help us.

Osman was adamant that the course needed to be relevant to students and their suggestion would depend on local writers from the subcontinent. They did not make the distinction between Indian writers and Pakistani writers but instead grouped the two together as exhibiting a postcolonial frame of mind.

The idea that textbooks set in the courses are not relevant is obvious to many students. Ahmed describes Pakistan in terms of a British former colony similar to Senegal.

> ...it is only like ex-colonies of the British where English is spoken ..., like French colonies like Senegal which are French colonies they do not have English… like in China, I have been there, they can master English, could hardly speak English because everything was in Chinese. We do not have textbooks in our language and stuff, in that way they have made a monopoly. When we had our independence and stuff we did not have time to make our own texts …when they were here they replaced the language they changed from Persian…

Writers of these former colonies seem to be excluded from set courses. As a student explains, the current writers might be controversial but the older writers are not included either.

> Is Babsi Sidwa not controversial enough? Maybe that is why she is not taught. But also we don't read about Faiz or Iqbal. That I think is much better. It would make us appreciate our own culture and society and it would show us how to be better good human beings rather than how to be better materialists. I mean, you know we are imitating the West…when we have so much better and safer lives then they do.

Iqbal in the above narrative refers to Allama Iqbal. Through his literary works in Urdu and English he conceptualized the notion of a separate Muslim homeland that was later to become Pakistan. Allama Iqbal's role and his contribution to the creation of the Pakistani state are outlined in detail in the second chapter. Suffice to say, he did not live long enough to see Pakistan and is considered one of the co-founders of the country. Faiz is a controversial literary writer, but is still regarded as one of the pioneers of free verse in Urdu poetry. But both Faiz and Iqbal are part of the Pakistani consciousness. Iqbal's birthday is celebrated as a national holiday; his house and his gravesite are now tourist attractions.

It is interesting to note that the curriculum is pro American and hence is primarily meant for Western audiences, which is why many of the local students

felt that the examples situated in American/Western culture should be changed. None of the previously mentioned interviewees suggested that the curriculum had different objectives or that the underlying assumptions would be different. The students may have failed to mention or did not realize that the curriculum was biased, or that examples used proved the curriculum was biased. However, these examples suggest that students were at least aware of, and commented on, the need for the educational administration to reassess teaching materials. According to Hickling-Hudson, Matthews and Woods (2003:7) "colonial assumptions and contestations pervade educational systems". Hence, these assumptions need to be reviewed. Hickling-Hudson, Matthews and Woods argue that even though some progress has been made in highlighting the need to change the "persistence of a curriculum influenced by Eurocentrism" (2003:7), Western bias continues to pervade educational systems which giverise to political resentment. Edward Said (1978) writes about the link between imperialism and colonialism. He points out that imperialism is a result of colonialism and both concepts are inherently driven by the ideologies that shape social, economic, religious and even political practices (Said 1993:9). How and what the Occident conceptualizes about the Orient is fed back to the Orient in Orientalism (Said 1978:5). It is this imperialistic notion that reinscribed the Orient's approach and opened up the contestation of the surrogacy of the Occident with the Orient.

Thus Occidental language relayed on its own terms reignites the acculturation and cultural imperialism debate. Such a debate signifies the important role that educational institutions play in addressing subliminal persuasive techniques before any curriculum can be instated.

5.4 CRITICAL RESISTANCE AND/OR CRITICAL AWARENESS?

What students have eagerly commented on plus shared observations by staff point to the presence of a constant critical evaluatory stance resulting in either critical resistance or critical awareness. These can be interdependent such that critical awareness can be seen to be producing critical resistance.

Nevertheless, interviewees suggest the presence of a critical awareness discourse in relation to imperialism. These critical thought processes have helped students and staff to understand how imperialism can become influential. According to students, such as Raheel, the potential of the English language to assert its authority to the extent that it subjugates a populace is obvious:

> As far as imperialism of ideas superiority of ideas—subjugating a people physically and subjugating their minds their intellect—language is a vehicle of ideas and when we embrace the English language as we have…

What Raheel means is that language delivers ideologies and their inherent inclusion represents the imperialist notion that one set of ideas is superior to another. Many interviewees clearly feel that the course structure has incorporated American names, opinions and cultural traits. The notion of bias in courses and the overwhelming inclusion of Western discourses in the curriculum are cause for concern. Farah elaborates as she describes the current curriculum:

> It was very Western, like the stories and everything—Western names, Western ideas, Western culture. Composition skills were more neutral… There was one story I remember about the husband and wife and they like were not, it was about individualism, all that, and discontent and over here we do not have a lot of individualism… no concept…there were a couple of others...

The concept of individualism is alien to local discourse and therefore irrelevant and/or Western to Farah. Farah points out that such a concept is foreign and that individualism is not part of her social discourse. However, critical awareness enables her to identify the reason behind such inclusions. And even though individualism may have been foreign, this and other concepts are now more acceptable. The difference is evident when students make comparative observations:

> The language has changed our perceptions…it is different [from what] our parents and grandparents used to think. There were

> many things that we do not even consider a taboo, for example, I cannot imagine my grandmother talking to strangers like girls do now.

According to Farah, the change in the way society perceives cultural deviation and the way in which cultural practices become dominated has transformed within a space of one generation. Farah's comment suggests the change is more obvious in that young men and women are allowed to mix and approach each other. The concept, as one Rise University staff member mentioned, of 'sharam haya' (feminine modesty) has shifted. This concept of modesty has been an intrinsic part of local cultural values and celebrated in subcontinental literature, especially poetry. Today the so-called 'death of sharam haya' has been an important issue within critical debates on changes in Pakistani society. The most commonly held belief is that the West is to blame for the spread of what the Vice-Dean of Rise referred to as 'fahashi' or immodesty.

5.5 HEGEMONIC DISCOURSES AND APPROPRIATION

Interview data analysed suggested that one of the most prominent views was that of an awareness of an inevitable Western cultural domination. This perception of Western cultural invasion seems to have permeated both staff and student interviews. The belief that culture and the associated language taught or promoted is wholly a foreign entity emanates from the obvious cultural deviation that staff and students experience in everyday life.

However, it is clear that individuals and communities do not passively accept the domination of hegemonic discourses. The active awareness and critical responses identified suggest that participants are agents of resistance or appropriation. Mariya, a teacher at Apex, suggests that English should be learnt not only for socioeconomic gain but also for insights into English speakers and the way they think. In her opinion cultural imperialism is a certainty and the only way to combat the cultural 'invasion' is awareness. She asserts:

> If you don't know their language then you don't know their ways and you cannot even combat them. You can't close your eyes and

> pretend it is not there and you cannot be involved… and think that the culture will not invade us [because] of course it will. We may at least be wiser and at least the people who speak English will know what is in the books will know what they …

Nasser uses the term 'cultural imperialism'. He believes that the expansion and influence of the Western media has become a natural occurrence and the effect, however unwarranted, is inevitable:

> There is cultural imperialism. On the basis of media propaganda that has penetrated almost all cultures and communities—we have Hollywood and American media interference—what can you expect?

As a visiting lecturer from Rise to Apex, Nasser accepts the idea that cultural imperialism is a global phenomenon and the promotion of such cultural values is propagandist in nature. Like Mariya, Naseer believes that political discussion is clearly evident among the academic community of both universities.

In order to understand imperialism Raheema uses particular events that have shaped her awareness of the foreign nature of course materials. The ability to remain unengaged with the knowledge presented and the feeling of the course material being irrelevant suggests a discourse that indicates a deep-rooted feeling of being subjugated or dominated by what is considered to be a superior language and/or culture.

> I find it quite difficult to relate to events and values that are not present in our culture and surroundings. I mean…like when you read about baseball…like in our course readers or when you read about the Simpsons [which] I find quite foreign. Sometimes we have to ask what this is about or what the point of the paragraph is and the lecturer can get quite annoyed because they don't want to talk about irrelevant issues. But these are relevant because we have very little idea and find it difficult to relate…you know what I mean?

What is evident in interviews is a discourse of resentment, vocalized by many students and staff. Osman, a student at Apex, goes on to list a number of alien values; his tone is clearly one of annoyance.

We don't have nursing homes in Pakistan. So all our grandparents and relatives live together or we all take care of each other. So why should we read about the problems of nursing homes. We don't play baseball, we play cricket, so we would appreciate topics like on cricket or the World cup or even on other players from Australia, India, England, you know. We don't have problems with missing people or have high divorce rates. And also things like…adultery is very rare, I mean if there is a case it makes [the] headlines. We don't need to talk about rock music or the history of jazz because it is not part of our culture, also the other topics that I mentioned.

This reactionary discourse stems from the idea that course topics assume that such societal problems exist in the local community. Qader, a student from Rise, complains along the same vein.

You know topics like gridiron; what do I know about gridiron? How many people in class are interested in something they don't see on TV? Most of us are not at all interested in such topics. Anyway there are a lot of such topics that are very difficult. They should not be included in the courses.

5.6 NEO-COLONIALISM

From the discussion above it is clear that staff and students at both academic institutions are involved in discursively identifying values, assumptions and opinions that are imperialistic in nature. They are actively engaged in analysing imperialistic discursive strategies employed by the curriculum, and by so doing have entered into a discourse of critical awareness. This awareness has helped them identify neo-colonial discourse embedded within the educational system.

Mariya's observation, as a staff member at Apex, is interesting as it suggests that the English language via its domination is directly linked to a new form of imperialism. This neo-imperialism is one that has precedence and is easily traceable by a community that has been subjugated by colonial masters:

…it is nothing new…there is always a court's language now the courts have become bigger…

Fahim, who also teaches at Apex, delves deeper into a neo-colonial discourse of subjugation. He identifies a capitalist connection and suggests the presence of underlying discursive strategies, which aim to promote consumption. This is of vital importance to survival and the ultimate goal is to attain money. And according to Fahim, the economic pundits who send this message through the English language to a global audience drive this defining notion of success.

> What is the message that is embedded…that consumption is happiness and that wealth is the key to salvation…look at the message…there is something wrong with you…here is the market solution…In the history of national capitalism, we went from a problem from not having enough production to a not having enough consumption…we were trying to make people uncomfortable with themselves so we can sell them things that they otherwise would not buy. …instead of advertising products... for pure functionality [we] began to project lifestyles…to project things where people could construct identity to the point that …they are selling meaning, dreams, they are selling surfaces on which people can construct their identities…these are deep value issues…changing at the margins…changing wines to sherbet… you can't change the message of the media itself…e.g. salvation lies in consumption…that the money you have…there are quick fixes to life's complications…that quick fixes can be bought…

Fahim's analysis links the discourse of power, domination and economic progress with neo-imperialism, particularly in relation to marketing, consumerism and the popularisation of 'flash' lifestyles. How participants view their 'world' is primarily based on the belief of an all-invading discourse of capitalist propaganda. But the presence of a palpable resistance (Yee, 1994:2) gives rise to the presence of a more tacit and subtle form of discursive resistance that is a product of "hegemony [that] is never total and complete, but rather is porous, leaving room for different types of active agency and resistance" (Perry & Purcell Gates, 2005: 3). Ndhlovu identifies direct and diffuse hegemonies that elicit either overt or covert resistance among the dominated populace. Ndhlovu identifies the hegemonic concept of appropriation, defining it as "the adoption of hegemonic practices and discourse for the purposes of the dominated and not the purposes designated by those in power" (2010:33). The idea that hegemonic discourses indirectly construct a

counter-discourse is apparent in the responses t gathered from both Apex and Rise Universities. The identification of postcolonial and neo-imperialistic discourses as hegemonic and the resistance strategies identified highlight the active presence of both covert and overt resistance.

5.7 IMPERIALISM AND POSTCOLONIALISM

In outlining postcolonial theories of resistance, Ndhlovu (2010) employs Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge to suggest that the fluidity of power coupled with knowledge is a multifaceted tool, disseminated within society in such a way as to produce subtle acceptance among the dominated. Naheed, a lecturer at Apex, highlights this in her description of the lingering hegemonic influences of a colonial era that has pervaded the psyche of postcolonial Pakistan. For Naheed, the obvious attitude towards a power/knowledge dichotomy and the influence it exerts is part of an age-old deep-rooted phenomenon, partly accepted but also resisted.

Naheed admits that once colonized, learning the English language is approached with apprehension. Her earlier suggestions identified notions of an age-old inculcation of imperialist values by the British colonisers. She reiterates that curriculum texts cannot be seen as any different and that cultural bias notoriously exists. The postcolonial discourse that gives rise to critical awareness establishes the notion that bias will always exist.

> ...if you are teaching English and texts written by the English or the Americans or the Australians, I mean there will always be a cultural bias; it will always be there and you can even distinguish between them because you know obviously there are cultural values or whatever it is that gets attached and I don't think anything is neutral.

The belief that there is always a bias in English language teaching is at the heart of the notion of imperialism. This unpalatable idea is emphasized by a number of staff and students at both institutions. The question now arises as to

how English language learners have reacted and adapted. Nasser answers this succinctly:

> Anyway…yes linguistic imperialism is there but it may be a slightly different case. You see if language is learned and learned on a large scale, such as the whole of the subcontinent, then the language is adopted and adjusted to the local context. So what we have is a localized version of English.

Nasser, a member of the teaching staff and a visiting professor to Apex, is quite clear about the prospect of change and the success among English language learners of adapting to a postcolonial language. His opinion is supportive of the idea that localized forms of Englishes, or World Englishes, flourish among learners when faced with using the language within their own communities (Kachru and Nelson, 2006; Brutt-Giffler, 2002; Gorlach, 2002; Kirkpatrick, 2007).

Similarly, a student studying at Apex describes the inevitability of the situation. Rahim suggests:

> Yes, taking on the foreign culture because you are forced to. I mean, it is imperialism, because we are stuck in a world that is run as a capitalist market and we have to economically survive. English is the only language that is used for economic survival and so we have to learn it. I guess that this means it is imperialism. But the values can change, we can put our own values and we can translate our own desires. We do not have to follow what we don't want to follow.

It is interesting to see the possibility of resistance as a translation of hegemonic forces, such that they are transformed into something useful, rather than dominating. This transformative discourse, alluded to in Rahim's response, is revisited in the next chapter as it carries within it Islamic discursive undertones. The developing resistance and influence of agency on the process of colonialism/imperialism/hegemonic discourse is clearly evident in the responses of both staff and students.

With reference to their own language learning experiences, staff and students of both educational institutions discuss how the postcolonial discourse has

generated a critical awareness among learners. The ideas that have been presented in this chapter not only showcase the diversity of opinions that are present in a postcolonial society, but also depict the development of postcolonial ideologies.

Although English language learning can be seen as positively empowering (Chomsky, 1994, 1996) as well as a fascinating language study that enables seeing the world through the eyes of a different culture, the perspectives that have been captured in this research bemoan the loss of identity, the awareness of a neo-colonial future and the potential for adaptation and adjustment to an inevitable socioeconomic present.

In categorizing postcolonial discourse, a number of discourses are palpable, which have arisen as a result of postcolonial discourse, or have been given credibility because of it. The next chapter will discuss Islamic anthropological discourse.

'What of religion that raises the ire in its own hue? Is it not the tirade of the fanatic that congeals free flowing thought, raising the bar of subservience to a drummed up God?' he quietly suggested.

Could I argue? It is not the label that upsets me, but the constant intent of the ignorant to obsessively label. The idea that religion is timeless fictitiousness that knots the heart strings of devotees is advantageous to the lonely explorer who parades in only his ignorance.

Messages that cannot survive a year, but survive through thousands are indeed worthy of a second look, don't you agree? What profit could dead bones have that begged for a God to remain worshipped?

It is only after I have dipped myself into the warmth of the smoothed out reverence of this faithfulness that I come to this point. Not God's knowledge but knowledge of God that brings me to the steps of my mind. Do I dare enter?

At this beginning let us begin to draw out this wonderment. Souls live from dawn to dawn, thankful for their faith. It is but a reflection on deeds that are nonetheless indebted to a faith that stands inspired, scaffolding the ego. It is the possibility of turning and returning- the stalwart for those who assess their weaknesses and rejoice in their strengths of their morality. But what of those who stand away from this 'maddening' crowd?

They stand alone.

CHAPTER 6

ISLAMIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

6.1 INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of this chapter on the Islamic discursive paradigm, it is important that a brief discussion is provided of what discursive paradigms entail. This is essential since a critical understanding of any discursive paradigm is borne from the idea that discourses are rendered through the evolutionary use of terms and concepts specific to the relevant discourse. For example, those that are actively involved in Islamic discourse would be aware of the primary Islamic concepts, rules and practices and would not need any introduction to them. The basic tenets of Islam would have been embedded in this particular discursive paradigm to the extent that the myriad of connotations and/or denotations of the words, concepts and ideas would all be quite familiar. The discussion that these participants would undertake at any given moment would be high on the evolutionary scale. They would unconsciously assume the discursive knowledge relevant to such a discursive paradigm as common and hence would find no need to reiterate or explain their position, opinions or values. An outsider who is unaware of the basic ideas, concepts and norms of this paradigm would feel alienated and would therefore require a detailed introduction.

The reason that this chapter begins with such an introduction is that any discourse—specifically Islamic discourse—requires a more committed approach from the non-Muslim reader, as the basic constructs of such a paradigm will be essentially elusive. With this in mind, this chapter attempts to define and critically analyse the Islamic discursivity of respondents at both institutions, while simultaneously explaining, where possible, the basic ideas that underpin Islamic discursivity.

Elmessiri's taxonomy of Islamic anthropological discursive strands was used to construct an Islamic conceptual framework in chapter five. The defining discourses were populist messianic or religious,, political and intellectual or academic. The first discourse was identified as having unwavering support, basing itself on core Islamic values. The second discourse included a political dimension and hence was open to postcolonial influence and the final discourse was one of critical awareness—Tad'afu and Tadawul.[27]

This chapter sets out to identify the discursive strands that reflect the three above mentioned Islamic anthropological discourses. In addition, the Islamic perspective on knowledge, language and power will be highlighted, such that a comprehensive analysis of the discursive dynamics that construct all three discursive strands is made apparent. To begin with, it is important to outline the roots of Islamic[28] anthropological thought within Pakistani society.

The literature review in chapter three introduced the field of Islamic anthropology and examined the views of prominent anthropologists: Talal Asad, Akbar Ahmed and Lila Abu-Lughod. In detailing their positions on how Muslim societies should be viewed, it was clear that the presence of Islamic principles as core beliefs was constantly alluded to by these anthropologists. The principles were supposedly seen as being intact. Asad, Ahmed and Abu-Lughod went on to emphasize the cultural and religious modifications that had begun to emerge and were the basis for the only obvious deviations separating one Muslim society from another. However, Pakistan is unique in that it has a

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[27] Tadafu' is the Islamic concept of constructive interaction/discussion and Tadawul is the belief in God's permanence in contrast to the human characteristic of change.

[28] It is important to point out in the beginning of this chapter that an understanding of basic Islamic concepts has been assumed. It is impossible within the scope of this thesis to fully explain and discuss the fundamental concepts that constitute Islamic thought. These can be sourced from good Islamic guides and preferably by Muslim scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah or English translations of the Q'uran. These translations are readily available in most bookshops. It has to be understood that the Q'uran was revealed for Man to read directly and hence there is no form of clergy or clerical order in Islam. Scholars are only interpreters or translators and only by consensus can communities agree on rulings. Even then it is not compulsory. The "most commonly held belief" is that aspects have not been clearly defined in the Qur'an or Hadith. Suffice to say, all basic Islamic rules that have been defined in the Qur'an and Hadith are known to all Muslims. This is because the Qur'an has not changed (not even a dot or dash) since discovered 1500 years ago. Hence any Qur'an anywhere in the world will be identical: no other 'versions' exist. It is how people practically implement them in communities that differs or their commitment on a personal level rather than the rule or regulation itself.

colonial past and was brought into being by the desperate need of Indian Muslims to practice freely. Hence, in theory, core Islamic values remain intact in Pakistani society today. Those values which define Islam rest on the belief of One Eternal God, and the unwavering belief that there is no comparison and no other entity worthy of Man's worship.[29] This is considered fundamental and lies at the heart of what Muslims believe to be the world's oldest religion that traces itself back to Adam and Eve, many prophets including Noah, Elias, Joesph and Jesus and the last Muhammed (pbut).[30]

The second most important aspect is the belief in the Qur'an as a divine revelation. The words of the Qur'an have not been changed but the controversy that often rages within Muslim societies is based on interpretations over time as well as modifications to practices that communities have contrived. For example, many communities do not strictly follow the rule of distributing compulsory charity called *zakat* (2.5% of yearly income) to the needy, or the compulsory five daily prayers. Instead they practice customs, such as belief in cult leaders, adding stricter rules and regulations to prayer times, the way people dress, or the way property is inherited.[31] These changes have become so deeply entrenched in many Muslim societies that trying to differentiate the true version of Islam from age-old rituals is impossible. The data collected from both institutions presents an interesting myriad of discourses that suggest an emerging critical awareness, while at the same time showing multiple discursive strands, the basis of which are the political and economic changes that Pakistani society is undergoing. Such a multiplicity reflects the presence of a new wave of Islamic awareness, one that is not only emerging among the younger generation (generation Y) but also a revitalized older generation whose ideas on Islam were informed more by a Western approach to Islam (Orientalism) rather than a local and more personalized one. The next two

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[29] The concept in Arabic is called Tawheed, the Oneness of God.

[30] The abbreviation pbuh stands for 'peace be upon him' and is compulsory whenever the Prophet Muhammed is mentioned. Pbut on the other hand is 'peace be upon them' and is used for more than one prophet as in this instance.

[31] Interpolations and additions to Islamic rules are forbidden. "The worst of affairs are the novelties and every novelty is an innovation and every innovation is misguidance and every misguidance is in the Fire (Hell)" [Saheeh according to Sheikh al-Albaanee in Saheeh Sunan in-Nasaa'ee (no. 1487)]

sections will focus on the notion of knowledge and educational discourses within the Islamic context.

6.2 THE NOTION OF 'KNOWLEDGE' IN ISLAM

Knowledge in Islam has a pivotal role as it is primarily based on revelation. The only English word that comes close to the Arabic word *'ilm* is knowledge, and yet it too lacks the ability to fully encompass the actual meaning of what *'ilm* connotes. Rosenthal attempts to define the word as follows:

> Arabic 'ilm is fairly well rendered by our "knowledge". However "knowledge" falls short of expressing all the factual and emotional contents of 'ilm. For 'ilm is one of those concepts that have dominated Islam and given Muslim civilization its distinctive shape and complexion. In fact, there is no other concept that has been operative as a determinant of Muslim civilization in all its aspects to the same extent as 'ilm (2007:1).

What is clear is that the concept of knowledge in Islam incorporates both revelation and Man's search for the truth through inventions and discoveries. The closest definition of the Arabic word *'ilm* would probably incorporate knowledge that is both divine and human. From this definition, it is clear that the concept of knowledge inherent in Islam is divine and the pursuit of knowledge by Man is seen as a profitable[32] endeavour, both in worldly and spiritual terms.

As Jabre (1970) points out, the source of 'knowledge' can be seen to be revelation (*wahy*), or inspiration (*ilham*) or even unveiling (*kashf*). Knowledge itself is seen as a composite of diverse streams from any one or more of these sources. It is evident that the term 'knowledge' in this context is different from the Western idea of knowledge; therefore it is important to take this into account when analysing the data.

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[32] It is important to point out that the pursuit of worldly knowledge (i.e. scientific discoveries) in Islam is seen as a fulfillment of Man's spiritual journey, rather than a distraction from it.

Islamic scholars have written about the philosophy of knowledge for centuries. One of the most prominent scholars who philosophically defined Islamic knowledge is Al-Ghazali. Treatises by other Islamic scholars such as Al-Madudi or Syed Qutb are also prominent. But Al-Ghazali is introduced here because Pakistani culture has always been impressed with his works, and the cultural impact and influence that this scholar has had on the subcontinent is profound. According to Al-Ghazali, knowledge is "knowledge of God, His books, His prophets (pbut), the kingdom of earth and heaven as well as knowledge of Islamic law and jurisprudence as practiced by His last prophet (pbuh)" (cited in Nofal, 1993:522). Although Al-Ghazali tended towards a Sufist approach to Islam, much of the primary school curricula in Pakistan are based on Al-Ghazali's educational methods, his ideas and his approach to philosophy.

The next section will present discourses that show the participants' construction of a religious discursive reality. This Islamic revivalist reality is based on respondents' ideas of knowledge, education and the extent of acculturation within the context of their belief.

6.3 REVIVING ISLAMIC DISCOURSE

The language used by participants reflects an embedded knowledge of Islam. For many, exposure to foreign cultural values induced a reawakening or repositioning of what Islam really meant at a local and communal level. The older participants, including lecturers and those in administrative and teaching departments, admitted to the presence of a revivalist Islam that was slowly emerging as an ideological alternative for the younger generation. On the other hand, students were emphatically defining and redefining Islamic core values and their relevance in their daily lives.

One of the first lecturers to point out that 'Islamic revivalism' is now beginning to emerge within the academic community is Nasir, a visiting lecturer at Apex University. He suggests that the trend will continue to grow and has firmly established itself in the local society.

> …Islamic revivalism is a new phase that we will be watching in the coming years. The trend among this new generation is quite obvious.

Interestingly Nasir belongs to the older generation as a professor and at the time of the interview, he was a 'visiting lecturer'. He claims that he has noticed a clear change in the views of the younger generation. The prospect of such a change suggests that the younger generation is now moving away from age-old customs and practices. His comment also suggests that Islamic values that had once taken a backstage role, or were not considered fashionable or influential, have been revived with increasing interest. He is not alone in sensing a growing critical awareness; other lecturers and students were also clear about how they saw Islamic values. An example of such emphasis on core values is reflected by commitment to prayer. When asked about the institution and administrative policies, Jawaid immediately responded:

> In our institution there is no restriction on Islam. We are fully permit [sic] to pray during class our instructor give each and even information we know about Islam. They also tell us the important information about Islam. In our institution we are told to speak in English every time but that does not affect Islam. Basically information about Islam is very important. There are different steps or different information to make our life easy. Namaz is very important in Islam. As in our institution there is no restriction on Namaz [sic] that we also go during class. So I want that every institution have a place for Namaz and break for Namaz. I think that history of Islam should be there (in the course) and there should be one class a week of half an hour where students can clear their concept about Islam.

It is interesting that this student focused on the value of prayer and the role it should have within the educational institution. The university houses a mosque that enables 10,000 people to pray at any given time, and the class schedule incorporates prayer time intervals so that students can pray before or after classes. But this was not alluded to by any of the students.

Another female student, Hamnah, expresses her dismay at not being able to learn about Islam, is more critical of outside interference than the quality of educational reforms in Pakistan's educational institutions. Hamnah's focus is on

the idea that imported curriculums reassign the local value system such that it skews the idea of wrong and right among the local students.

> Our institution has good courses that are imported from America and the UK. We are taught what is being taught there. It is different from our religion and culture because what is taught is not the same as what our religion and culture says. But we cannot say anything because no one listens to us...We can't be good Muslims because we are always learning about others and not about ourselves. We can speak English but we have to learn about what our religion says. We have a course in studies at the universities but many times what is taught at the course is not the same as what is taught in other English language courses. We do not fight and talk about that in class because it is difficult and there are different ideas about what is right and wrong.

It is important to note her clarity about her own position. The objection that Hamnah raises does not suggest the need for her to be critically aware of her own beliefs, or for her to reconsider how her beliefs can be managed within the context of an educational system that is "imported from America and the UK". A male student at Rise University, Hamid, does not hesitate in stating his beliefs. Hamid, in his early twenties, boldly declares the obvious in a society that finds the concept of revivalism a new and uniting phenomenon. He says, "My belief is my religion—one God and one Prophet (pbuh)." Such a clear and consistent belief among students suggests the presence of an Islamic revivalist discourse.

But not all students define their beliefs in this way. And this shift is indicative of where participants position themselves in Pakistani society. Their boldness also suggests their need to emphasize a newfound commitment to themselves and the need to re-evaluate what Islam may mean to a growing younger generation, which is vastly different from a hackneyed version of Islam that already pervades much of the social structure.

On the other hand some students contradict themselves, which can be explained from the perspective of Homi Bhabha's (1994) ideas on hybridity. Many student responses reflect their hesitation in learning a different language. While they experience the socioeconomic benefits of learning English, they are

also sceptical. They are worried that thismight affect their attitude towards their own language and culture.

It is evident that students have realized the reality of acculturation, yet they feel somewhat secure in the strength of their own convictions to 'combat' any unwarranted foreign influences.

A younger lecturer at Apex University alluded to the same category of messianic or religious discourse by presupposing its presence within the local academic community. While debating the political and moral responsibility of educational administrations to regulate curricula, Fahim stresses their inappropriate stance in not taking into account the Islamic moral framework. Fahim remarks:

> Our curriculum is value infused. The issue then is to what extent is the content true or false? How do we judge it? We can only judge it as Muslims from the light of the Shariah. Becausean evaluation is only as good as the evaluator. If the evaluation is coming from God…then that evaluation is perfect. You would have to evaluate this in the light [sic] from divine injunction.

Fahim's concern highlights two important discursive strands. The first strand is the extent to which religious discourse is embedded within local reality and hence forms an intrinsic consciousness. The second strand is a critical awareness of the present weaknesses in society and the desperate need for a better value system. Hamnah's and Hamid's earlier responses suggest they have returned to Islamic values in a society that already has an embedded religious discursive consciousness. Fahim's analysis also suggests a presumption of an understanding of the role of Shariah law in any Muslim society and the importance of and belief in the absolute Truth. The second discursive strand is also essentially part of an Islamic discourse, in that the need to be constantly vigilant and critically aware of one's own actions in society has been seen as a jihad. The most powerful form of jihad in Islam is the struggle of Man to purify his soul and stand up for his beliefs in what he sees as morally correct, even if it leads him into difficulty. Fahim uses his response to show critical awareness and to suggest the presence of a

desperate need to evaluate social norms in "light of the Shariah". This can be seen as the basis for Islamic political discourse.

6.4 ISLAMIC POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The resurgence of political activism regarding justice, equality and Islamic rights has begun in earnest in many Muslim countries. John Esposito, who has written extensively on Islam, identifies the basis of a resurgence of Islamic awareness as being political, religious and cultural.

> The causes of the resurgence have been many: religiocultural, political, and socioeconomic. More often than not, faith and politics (not simply one or the other) have been intertwined causes or catalysts. Issues of political and social injustice (authoritarianism, repression, unemployment, inadequate housing and social services, maldistribution of wealth, and corruption) are combined with those of religiocultural identity and values.[33]

Islamic political discourse has generated a revival simply because it provides a value infused conceptual framework. Its demonstrable practicality has been written down in the form of the Qur'an and the Hadith (Prophet Muhammed's (pbuh) life in intricate detail). This conceptual framework is knowledge and should always be a very important part of the local discursivity, according to Fahim.

> I think that is the issue because otherwise I mean the Prophet has given us as Muslims a significant position towards knowledge acquisition…knowledge is the lost property for a believer…he picks it up wherever he finds it.

This concept of Islamic knowledge as an influential force is also explained by Nasser.

> …how many alams have actually expressed in English the real Islam? Is it selfish of us to contain our knowledge—maybe out of embarrassment or fear—are we afraid not to explain Islam? We should explain what Islam is—they want an exposé—you see the

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[33] John Esposito- Claiming the Center: Political Islam in Transition, Harvard International Review http://www.unaoc.org/repository/Esposito_Political_Islam.pdf

difference in intention? And English as a global language may become the global mode of communicating a global philosophy—Islam.

The idea of Islam as a divine repository of spiritual, political and legal knowledge lies within the discourses of political activism including the belief that a truly Islamic society, although an improbability in the present time, is a perfect model. An emphasis on defending Islam through political activism has, it seems, been taken up by the younger generation. One of the more interesting examples is the forced resignation of two professors at Apex University who both taught the idea of Darwinian natural selection. From conversations with staff, students and administration (most refused to be recorded), these professors had mistakenly stressed a secular point of view as correct and the Islamic point of view (Adam and Eve story) as being 'ancient folklore'. This caused uproar among the students who complained to the administration and later staged a protest. As a consequence, the professors were sacked. The political dynamic within Pakistani society became apparent as "propagating an alternative notion of Man's creation" as one student expressed it. Nasir was the only professor to confirm this story and he gave the following account:

> In fact quite recently two professors were fired from the faculty. The reason being that the students were upset with the teaching methods as well as the teaching materials that these teachers were using intentionally...I have heard that they marched to the Chancellor's office and demanded that the professors be called to account because they were teaching atheist materials. Many students went as far as saying that they would organize a protest against the university in public if the atheist propaganda was taught. Of course you have to remind yourself that the materials that were taught were not atheistic but the professors (actually a husband and wife team) assumed that man evolved from apes rather than mention the Adam and Eve story. This caused the students to get very disturbed. The professors were fired and since then all teachers are told to endorse the basic Muslim religious values. Any other values can be mentioned but not endorsed.

This event apparently took place a couple of months before the research for this study commenced. Interestingly, the event was well known on campus, but few

staff members and even fewer students dared mention it. One student, Osman, bravely alluded to this event, albeit briefly.

> There was one story I remember about the husband and wife and they like were not, it was about individualism and discontent

Among the students, only Osman mentioned the incident on record, only to change the topic swiftly. But his explanation did not cover the content which was taught as it focused on allegations of the professors' teaching methods/personalities. This event highlights the presence of a political reality that is entangled with the persistent desire among students to exhibit the need to defend what they consider to be Islamic values. It is the need to reinstate the Islamic code of practice and protect the sanctity of Qur'anic principles that is adhered to. The idea that Islamic values have to be protected and not questioned, ironically, goes against the fundamental principles of Islam. Islamic ideals are based on the need to be critically aware and to re-evaluate the extent of the relevance of Islamic principles to individuals and the community. This political and social awareness is derived from what is called Tad'afu:a constructive discussion on any given topic in order to reach consensus and present a principle that primarily follows Islamic guidelines and yet remains relevant today. This does not mean that the basic proponents of Islam are to be challenged, as they are unchanged within the Qur'an itself, but issues that are raised in a modern world for which there may not be a direct ruling (either from the Qur'an or the Hadith).

Political activism in the data is more evident in the younger generation of students at both institutions. This emerging critical awareness can bring about a discursive reality founded on the Islamic principles of Tad'afu (constructive interaction/discussion) and Tadawul (God's permanence in contrast to humans and inevitable change).

This political dimension lays the ground for the third and final discourse. This awareness, reflected in participant's ideas and opinions, suggests a dialogical strain characterizing the role of Islam in their lives.

6.5 ISLAMIC ANALYTICAL DISCOURSE

Fahimhighlights the role of education in Islam and argues that the acquisition of knowledge[34] has played a pivotal role in Islamic progress. His use of language presupposes the role of knowledge in Islam. For those without an Islamic background, it would be difficult to follow the assumptions that many participants make. This suggests both an embedded Islamic discourse and opinions and ideas that are constantly revisited, which hint at an unspoken re-evaluation of Islamic principles.

Another lecturer, at the same institution, suggests there is a constant re-evaluation among students and even administrative staff. Although he points out that "the trend among this new generation is quite obvious," he feels that by revisiting the moral codes of practice, students have generated a positive debate. They have thus begun to negotiate the role and place of Islam in their lives.

Alab, a male student at Rise University, highlights the conflict between codes of conduct. He admits that local society is driven by the desire to emulate socioeconomic success in the West, irrespective of the difference in cultural and religious values. His examples are 'negative points' that are intentionally identified by those in the Orient. Alab believes that the positive aspects of Western societies should be highlighted instead, for example, the English language.

> In our society everyone wants to become an Englishman. Due to
> this reason everyone does things which are done by English
> people. We do because we don't have enough knowledge about

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[34] The concept of acquiring knowledge in Islam is given the utmost importance. According to the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh), "**He who treads a path in search of knowledge Allah (God) will direct him to tread a path from the paths of Paradise. The Angels lower their wings for the student of knowledge in approval of what he does. All in the heavens and earth and the fish in the depths of the water seek forgiveness for the scholar, and the superiority of the scholar over the worshipper is like the superiority of the full moon at night over the rest of the stars. Verily the scholars are the heirs to the Prophets. Verily, the Prophets did not bequeath deenars or dirhams. All they left behind was knowledge, so whoever takes it has indeed acquired a huge fortune.**" [Al-Musnad 5/196. Also related by Aboo Daawood 3/317; at-Tirmidhee 5/49; Ibn Maajah 1/81, ad-Daarimee 1/98 and ibn Hibbaan 1/152 (al-Ihsaan)]. It was declared saheeh by a-Albaanee; see Saheeh al-Jaami 5/302.

Islam. That's why English influences our culture badly. We choose only negative points of English people and ignore positive points e.g. our society drinks wine as a fashion, our women cut their hair as a fashion, but our religion does not allow us to do these things. So if we want to progress in our life we use English for communication only and we follow the instructions given by Islam.

Fakhtar, at the same institution, takes up Alab's idea of English language as a positive influence. He suggests that it has no effect on social attitudes or beliefs.

No it will not change cultural values. Language is just spoken, read and written. It does not mean that if I become fluent in speaking English I will eat bacon and pork sausages for breakfast like English people do. I have spoken English my whole life but I have not forgotten that I am Pakistani by origin and that I have my own traditions and values to follow. I am grateful for being a Muslim even though I am not a fully practicing one. I believe that as a Muslim I can travel and see the world without worrying about my beliefs coming into conflict. I would say I [am] moderate in my approach and beliefs.

Fakthar admits to not being a 'fully practicing Muslim' but does believe that he can negotiate different value systems so that his beliefs do not 'conflict'. But what is clear is that lifestyles and simple social practices can be negotiated. What cannot be negotiated are core beliefs and systems of belief that have been present for generations. As Babeer says, debates on the existence of God are not acceptable. But misunderstandings and incorrect assumptions which give rise to social and political rebels, such as the Taliban[35], have created conflicting attitudes and as such can become a source of contention. Babeer remarks:

When some topics, like God or the Taliban were debated, there was tension. Because many got angry that the Taliban were treated like those in the West treat aliens. I don't agree that the Taliban are all bad and that is because we know who they really are and how they got to be the Taliban. The West does not know.

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[35] Taliban simply means 'students'. It is a plural form of talib. The taliban (or Taliban referred to in the media) were a group of students who staged an uprising against the Russian army in the 1980s. But now the connotation is that the talib or Taliban represent 'students of religious studies'. Hence there are at least four or five million 'Taliban' in Pakistan alone and many millions all over the Muslim world.

> Our American teacher was upset when he realized that everybody disagreed with him; we all got upset but Nasir Ahmed diffused the tensions.

Sashid, a female student at Rise University, presents an alternative view. Her argument begins in earnest, admitting the role of English as a global language and the obvious influence it has on global communication. But she believes, contrary to Fakhtar, that the English language has the capacity to "rob us of who we are". Sashid's only hope is in those who constantly evaluate their values, comparing and contrasting moral codes of practice whilst keeping their religion and identity intact.

> Learning English is very important if we want to get a good job. We also have to learn English if we want to use mobiles, internet or go abroad for travel even. I think that the world depends too much on English. If we don't know English then we cannot function correctly. I think it is important language but [English] can rob us of who we are. We also know that many of us forget we are Pakistanis and not English. But many of us forget our religion and we follow what we read and discuss in class. Many of the teachers do not point out the problems what [sic] we are reading because they think that it is not important to point out. But I think the new generation should know what is right and wrong according to Islam; only then can they guard against wrong actions and bad deeds.

The value systems that Sashid talks about are in danger of being influenced by acculturating forces, according to Khaudhary at Rise University. She suggests that the impact of English can change the ideas of the local populace. Interestingly, Khaudhary also raises the idea of English being injected with local words and ideas.

> I am a Muslim but many of the people around me don't really care what they are called. We can label ourselves but really if we lose our identity then it becomes very difficult. I think that we should be extremely careful that we are not influenced too much. I think that English language can change us but we can change it too. Sometimes we speak our own words in the English language. We can use words like charpay and we can still understand each other. We can also speak our Pakistani English. Of course we should be careful that it does not replace Urdu or Arabic.

The debate on the presence of localized versions of English and/or different Englishes (or World Englishes) is quite a recent one (Kachru, 1983, 1986; Pennycook, 2001, 2003; Jenkins, 2003). One of the main contributors to this debate is David Crystal (2000, 2006), who described the localized dialects of English as possibly being recognized as a 'non-standard dialect'. He says, "We may, in due course, all need to be in control of two standard Englishes." One "gives us our national and local identity" while the other "puts us in touch with the rest of the human race". The result could well be for the West "to become bilingual" (Crystal, 1988: 265). This dichotomy seems to be at the heart of critical awareness of any English language learner as he/she has to contend with English on the international front and personal use.

Naheed, a lecturer at Apex University, had just introduced D.H. Lawrence in her English language course. She spoke about a general uneasiness among her students at the idea of being taught Lawrence. However, she disclosed that there had been no obvious opposition. But on commenting on the identity of students and critical awareness, Naheed was clear.

> There is a lot of anger and a lot of concern; one thing [that] is interesting is that…one person wanted to discuss the…they are very concerned about people that affect Pakistan [but] they don't have any identity problems. They might use English but their concerns are indigenous. They are writing about terrorism and the war on terrorism and everyone was supportive of the Muslim vs. the West. I myself do not try to impose anything Western on them. Once you make the students aware of that, we had this debate in class…once you study texts by foreigners they will affect your way of thinking but once they are aware, they can guard against that…at this stage the students are very mature, they understand a lot of things…They will not absorb things...the students are trained in political thinking.

The presence of a discourse that is characteristically Tad'afu within the social consciousness is to be expected; but what is interesting is how Naheed suggests the students are mature in their awareness. In her opinion, the prospect of acculturation or even cultural imperialism is not relevant as "they [the students] will not absorb things." As discourse is also seen as positioning,

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perceiving and articulating one's position (Parker, 1992:8), Naheed's approach suggests the students are given the freedom to construct their identity while simultaneously being empowered with a dialogical consciousness.

Clearly participants had strong opinions about the way society as a whole was progressing (or regressing) whilst also realizing the roles they were playing. What has to be taken into account is the researcher's background and appearance as they too influence the type of responses participants felt they could give. The discourses that were apparent were indicative of a powerful Islamic influence, both in direct reference to Islamic values and a critical and reflective approach. Most were aware of the problems encountered in positioning themselves; the participants were more comfortable in evaluating social morphing than judging themselves.

6.6 SUMMARY

Islamic discursivity runs deep and the discursive strands that were initially identified at the beginning of this chapter have been shown to be clearly present. Religious discourse and the constant reference to Islamic values and their obvious and inevitable presence within society, evidenced by participants through self-reflection and critical evaluation, are indicative of the presence of messianic or religious discourse. In discussing the political currency of language and social and cultural influence, most respondents agreed that conflict existed between apparent Islamic values and the Western value system. It is through embedded, discursive strands of critical reflection or Tad'afu that participants present their views. Constructive discussions reveal the extent of respondents' thinking about the role of Western language and the implications for their local societies, as well as the dynamics that are constantly positioning them with regard to external social and cultural influences.

This positioning and aligning with certain values suggests the constant reconstituting of identity for research participants. The next step is to examine the discourses that define the act of creating and recreating identity. In other words, how respondents actually cope with the prospect of change and how they perceive these changes, which affect their lives and value systems. This

constant evaluation of influences and a conscious acceptance of the need to negotiate their lives in accordance with conflicting value systems is indicative of hybrid spaces. In line with Bhabha's theory of hybridity, the presence of an amorphous and amoeboid hybrid space among students and lecturers alike highlights the tension and constant negotiation they undergo. It also points to the obvious empowerment of participants to critically analyse the discriminatory external effect generated by English language. The next chapter sets out to examine this hybrid space and analyse the presence of what can be termed as a 'hybridity consciousness' (the conscious presence of being hybrid and the need to constantly reassess value systems), the processes that respondents use to map this hybrid space, and how the conflicts and tensions at the heart of its construction are resolved.

Touching souls is the quiet revolution, the mindful presence of the traveler whose journey is so different and yet similar to mine. Can it give me courage to extract the priceless sameness that we all share? Are we all housed in our thoughts, signing the air with our opinions, oblivious to the possibilities that others afford?

The sky is never purely blue or purely white, but emotions give it hue. For many of us words hold the secret to what we don't want to say—conspirators that place us in inconvenient positions. But what we discover is how we generate meaning—the meaning of everything around us. How we filter, censor, coerce, verbalize or remorph values, culture, and opinions to create our reality.

It is this reality that we weave into our consciousness, defending its existence, and from which we draw our experiences.

As the rhythmic silence ensconced the moment, he slowly spoke 'it is what you may call your sliced version of reality but who defines what is real if all our visualizations are versions?'

It is the hybrid moment, the realization of not indecision, but of yoking strands together—it is a positive, inclusive reality not a differentiating exclusiveness. It is hybridity borne out of acceptances and tailored timelessness that is translated using half-murdered thoughts forcefully aligned to constitute what can only be called language.

CHAPTER 7

HYBRID DISCOURSES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a short overview of the data analysis presented in chapters five and six as well as a brief summary of hybridity as discussed in the literature review. This is the final data analysis chapter and presents hybrid discourses from participant interviews.

Chapter five presented postcolonial data from both educational institutions from the postcolonial context. This further raised issues to do with imperialism, perspectives on World Englishes, the colonial past and contemporary neo-imperialistic attitudes. Chapter six discussed the data from an Islamic anthropological context. It evaluated participants' responses within this frame of reference, identifying and detailing an Islamic discursive strain.

7.2 SUBALTERN DISCOURSE: COMPARATIVE DISCURSIVE STRATEGIES

> If you wanted to compare there are some ways [especially when you consider] the human element. We may miss out on relationships and we miss out on supporting each other; this is [especially] true in the Western world in a sense that they are so individually ruggedly individual…people are a great support system left on your own human beings are so fragile…I think that in our culture there is always someone who will step in and that one missed out... people [here] are in their rooms; people hardly meet people [who] were teaching… we do not interact; there is no bonding between the faculty. Over there [in her old Punjab University] we were not friends but we ironed [things] out…we set up a meeting and worked [things] out [Mariya]

Mariya, a senior lecturer at Apex University's Arts Faculty, compares her previous teaching experience at the city's largest public university to her current experience in order to identify the perceived difference in cultural values among staff. Her nostalgic comments define obvious cultural changes and articulate the need for survival for the masses witnessing or undergoing these cultural shifts. In the interview, she thinks deeply, taking a long protracted pause, and slowly discloses her fears. She defines the Western idea of individuality and suggests that the difference in how individuals respond to social contact is vast. Her choice of "rugged" emphasises independence, especially compared to the essential need for 'relationships' and a 'support system'. This highlights the presence of discursive practices that are dependent on comparing Western norms with local norms. Such an approach mimics Bhabha's definition of hybridity as being essentially a "strategy of survival" (cited in Souza, 2004:125) where "emergent identifications are articulated" (Bhabha, 2004:256).

> Hybridization is not some happy, consensual mix of diverse cultures; it is the strategic translational transfer of tone, value, signification, and position—a transfer of power—from an authoritative system of cultural hegemony to an emergent process of cultural relocation and reiteration that changes the very terms of interpretation and institutionalization, opening up contesting, opposing and innovative, 'other' grounds of subject and object formation. It is this double consciousness that produces what I call the vernacular cosmopolitanism of the postcolonial or minoritarian subject. It is a mode of living, and a habit of mind that seeks cultural translation, not to recover the norms of universality, autonomy, and sovereignty, but to assert that there is a positive, agential value in the whole process of surviving domination that can add an edge, a cutting edge, to the critiques—contra neo-liberalism or retro-Marxist—that come from those who have been displaced or marginalized on the grounds of their cultural, civilizational, or, as it is often described, moral and spiritual backwardness. (Bhabha, 2000:370)

In Bhabha's definition the "habit of mind seeks cultural translation". The underlying "emergent process of cultural relocation and reiteration that changes the very terms of interpretation and institutionalization" define the hybridization

of participants and a greater sense of this "emergent process" suggests the extent of hybridity in this study.

Nasir takes a much more judgmental stance. His beliefs emerge from the comparison of Western moral bankruptcy and the richness of local, moral value systems based on religion.

> The West is essentially making up rules as it goes along and laws are passed after new sets of problems are faced. Technology and man's response to progress has created unprecedented problems…how does the West cope? It passes laws, poses regulations, playing it by ear. There are bound to be mistakes? But you see the casualty is people. It is the lives of people that gets destroyed—more medical conditions, more mental health problems, more breakdowns in family structure etc. and yet they are civilized…the ones who would like to export to the world their values and opinions because they feel that they have mastered legal structures, and have healthy societies. But you are living there…is it as healthy as they would like the rest of the world to believe? No they are in dire need of values and opinions; they need to learn the value of humility and courage; they should learn to value truth and honour. And so should we, we would all profit from Islam if we only could dust the cobwebs and looked closely [at] what we thought we knew but really never comprehended.

His survival strategy is based on value systems derived from religious beliefs, although he acknowledges their absence within local social structures. For Nasir, it is clear that the discourse that emerges as a result of constantly comparing local cultural norms with Western norms generates subalternative strategies. He views these strategies as suggestive of the feeling of victimization or subalternity to an overpowering hegemonic neo-colonial presence, while highlighting a growing sense of discomfort at the inadequacy of local cultural norms. What emergesis a self-evaluatory discourse or critical awareness. Nasir talks about Western progress and the loss of values. His questions are an attempt to elicit a supportive response, bringing the conversation into a more discursive mode in the hope that a more animated approach will instigate discussion. The passion with which Nasir speaks suggests that he has incorporated a critical analytical stance in his world view.

This approach leads to an analysis of local Pakistani society. This gives rare insight into how critical evaluation of the West is used to reassess the local community. Nasir's reflection of how 'we' could only "dust the cobwebs" and re-examine "what we thought we knew but really never comprehended" indicates his awareness, tinged with regret and sorrow, and his sense of hopelessness towards the current situation. The hybridity that Nasir portrays using a critical comparative analysis presents successful strategies of negotiation which objectifieshis personal situation. This critical awareness is reminiscent of Bhabha's "consensual mix" and "double consciousness" that leads to a "vernacular cosmopolitanism of the postcolonial or minortarian subject" (2003:370). What Nasir presents is the "habit of mind that seeks cultural translation" (Bhabha, 2003:370) which takes an evolutionary step towards what Said points out as two distinctive categories of Oriental and Western thought (S1978:45-46) embedded within the subaltern. Researchers in the past may have used these categories to denote where analysis began and ended with regard to "public policy" (Said, 1978:45-46). But it is not polarization in thought but the "consensual mix" borne out of a need to "assert that there is a positive, agential value in the whole process of surviving domination that can add an edge, a cutting edge, to the critiques" (Bhabha, 2003:370).

Fahim talks of the subjectivity associated with critical awareness. He suggests that those who are present within the local cultural societal structure would inevitably fail to comprehend its problems. Fahim is clear that the search for truth should be the guiding principle rather than a comparative strategy.

> Whoever discovered water was certainly not a fish. [For] someone who is immersed in an environment, it is very hard to see the cultural frame that exists and sinks deeply into it and that shapes the way [we] look [at] ourselves…for me, whether the content is western, or eastern, or northern, or southern is not as relevant as whether it is true or false.

The presence of a comparative discourse seems quite clearly present among many staff members and students alike. McLone, a student at Rise University, uses the comparative strategy and comes up with a stance reminiscent of Nasir.

Sometimes when we [read] such content we [see] ourselves as aliens. I know I will never get up [in the] morning and become a Goth or a druggie but I will find many things that I normally do a little different. I think our values are very good; we can be better if [we] tell the truth and be kind and gentle to everybody around us. The content of the books does not reflect us, nor does it reflect Islam. I think that all the books should be thrown into a bin.

Robert Young points out that hybridity "begins to become the form of cultural difference itself" such that it "denotes a fusion, it also describes a dialectical articulation" (1995:23). Such discursive strategies suggest the presence of what Young calls "a third term which can never in fact be third". This is simply because it is essentially "a monstrous inversion" as much as a "miscreated perversion of its progenitors" and therefore "it exhausts the differences between them" (1995:23). The pitting of one value system against another derives strategies that are critically aware. This invites the expansion of local discursive structures that incorporate self-evaluatory elements of Tad'afu. Hence the critical awareness that participants portray suggests they have incorporated discursive strategies that help to identify and contextualize their own role within society.

The excerpts from interviews here are similar in that they all use comparisons between what is seen as two opposing societal systems. But such strategies that define and describe are only part of the hybrid identity that participants have portrayed. The next section details participants' views of negotiation.

7.3 DISCURSIVE STRATEGY FOR NEGOTIATION

Another common idea expressed among participants was that of negotiation between two societal systems. This strategy suggests hybridity, but as Bhabha emphasizes "it is the strategic translational transfer of tone, value, signification, and position" from one societal system to another, so that it ultimately generates "an emergent process of cultural relocation and reiteration" (2000:270). Hence it can be seen as being in the position of "opening up contesting, opposing and innovative, 'other' grounds of subject and object formation" (2000:270). But although this may seem a simplistic notion, in reality the thought of seamlessly

shifting from one frame of reference to another is more complex. It can produce not only minor skirmishes, as two contesting and opposing discursivities clash, but can also generate a 'hybrid awareness'. This is an interesting phenomenon that is yet to be documented. What has been documented by well-known critics such as Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas is the presence of linguistic genocide as a result of a colonial imposition of English within the Indian subcontinent.

> We have met people from all parts of India whose family history reflects loss of the mother tongue in a short period of time. Grandparents are unable to communicate with their own grandchildren because of the shift to English that English medium schooling, urbanization and geographic mobility have facilitated. In this way the cultural resources and heritage of Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu and countless other languages are being lost. At the individual level, the loss of inter-generational communication and continuity is a personal tragedy (1996: 23-25)

What these critics have identified is an inter-generational gap in Pakistan. One of the students pointed out the sense of loss he faced in communicating with his stay-at-home grandmother. He realized the difference in cultural value systems that the English language had brought into his local community and the loss of communication (Gnutzmann and House, 1999). The horror of the older generations who witnessed the change in attitudes is evident in Kosman's narrative below. This seems a direct result of the growing influence of English rather than one of general trends in globalization.

> I look at my grandmother; she has all this Urdu poetry…and she has Urdu novels, very emotional, Ghalib and Faiz…different qawalis, basically I miss out on the meanings…[If] I went to a concert I would have to check some of the words they were saying [but] the older generations [would be] really enjoying it. [This] language has changed our perceptions…it is different [from what] our parents and our grandparents used to think. There were many things that we do not even consider taboo [that] I cannot imagine my grandmother [would say]. [For example] talking to strangers like girls do now. I don't think that there is anything wrong with that [but] we should not have too much individualism like in the West— something in between. My grandmother would never talk like this—never. She does not say anything but you can see [the

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shock] in her face… [But this] opens your mind and broadens your horizons.

Kosman is clear about the breaking down of taboos but at the same time comments on the growing amount of individualism. His opinion lies between his dislike of Western individualism, "…we should not have too much individualism like in the West but something in between" and exposure to the West that "opens your mind and broadens your horizons." He uses negotiation to better understand how English and subsequent cultural values have been injected into his community.

7.4 HYBRID AWARENESS

As defined in the methodology, an awareness of multiple frameworks gives rise to hybrid awareness, which is unique in that it enables multiple frames of reference to be critiqued. Examples of 'hybrid awareness' can be seen among respondents. Kosman, for example, talks about the advantages of understanding English.

> Because you know English you watch so many programs. You watch [programs] like *Friends* and others. And then every day we use that language; through language we understand them for example the character of Joey in *Friends* we see how it is cool and use [language just like] them…these catchphrases…

Kosman is adamant that the cultural influence of English is primarily media-based and may or may not be textual; but it is primarily based on the global norm that is portrayed through what can be seen on cable TV and translated as 'cultural savviness'. The idea is not only of mere cultural propagation but its incorporation within the social norm; in other words the transplantation of what is perceived as cultural norms into another culture. Bhatt (2005) suggests that Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas were incorrect in their belief that an intergenerational gap had caused rifts within society. Instead, he quotes them only to refute the claim, pointing out that

> Phillipson's argument, however, misses a sociolinguistically significant fact: that the globalization and commodification of English has produced alterations in linguistic markets yielding homegrown, nativized varieties of English that have transformed the hierarchy of power into a network of alliances. (p.38)

But these 'home-grown' and 'nativized' versions are not only linguistic in nature. Kosman argues that these versions are the basis of a cultural transportation/transplantation that in turn gives rise to a local hybridity. Bhatt suggests that

> …the power of English, through its hybridity, draws on both global and local resources, allowing language consumers to glide effortlessly among local, national, and international identities. The hybridity manifests itself through a complex of language behaviours that produce and reproduce identity 'positionings. (2005: p.38)

Many participants indicate the use of what can be considered "identity 'positionings'" but many of these positionings do not "glide effortlessly among local, national, and international identities" as Bhatt suggests. One of the students, Frakhtar, discusses his appreciation of the English language while simultaneously reflecting on the role of English within the Indian subcontinent.

> I don't think the English-speaking world can own the language anymore; it is not their resource. It is more than a level of communication. I would like to own the English language, not because I love it or for any cultural reason, but it is the only way to keep up with the rest of the world…

Frakhtar is referring to the socioeconomic need to learn and own language. Clearly he is critically aware of the power of language and the role it can play within society. He highlights indirectly the cultural effect of the English language, which suggests that he is aware of the cultural impact that language can have. He does not refer to any negative effects. Interestingly he suggests that it is not on the basis of any 'cultural reason' that he wants to own English, but rather socioeconomic ones. The idea of English language and its cultural baggage may be seen as inappropriate, giving rise to negativity among participants.

Even so Frakhtar realizes that the socioeconomic reality is undeniable (many respondents claim this as a justification as well), and he adds another dimension to his argument, when he remarks:

> I believe that people are being brainwashed by Indian and Western culture and norms. Few [people] adapt to some but shouldn't forget their cultural roots.

Frakhtar's need to advocate vigilance reflects the presence of critical awareness among students. He stresses the need for students to retain local cultural values while simultaneously being advantaged by learning a foreign language. This idea is seen as a discursive strategy that is embedded in the consciousness of many participants and presented in such a way that they feel 'justified' in their need to learn English.

Mekhan, a female student in her early twenties finds the idea of acculturation to be irrelevant, yet she is adamant that the distinction between cultural value systems is essential, as is the need for awareness. She does suggest flippantly that no problem arises as "it's not like [we will be] losing our own values."

> I believe [that] to learn about English or any other language is nothing to do with the cultural value. As our people [are] very easily influenced by what other culture [does]. As there is so much awareness people's minds are more clear [and can] distinguish between good or bad and [distinguish whether they should or shouldn't] celebrate events which [do] not relate to our culture. It's not like losing our own values.

Mekhan identifies the association of culture and language but suggests that although people are "very easily influenced" the presence of "so much awareness" can help them "distinguish between good and bad." Once again, this student has sfaith in the presence of a critical consciousness that gives tparticipants the ability to critically evaluate the cultural effect that English is bound to have on those learning the language. It is important to point out that the phrase 'celebrate events' highlights the possibility of local culture being affected by foreign cultural norms and traditions. This is vital because local cultural values are impacted at the individual and communal level, which can be threatening.

Many participants exhibited an awareness of the seriousness of acculturation and recognized the need to 'handle with care' the socioeconomic necessity of learning English. Another respondent, Nasir, who teaches as a consultant, reflects on the idea of acculturation. His response is interesting in that it embodies the three main strands of discourse identified in this thesis. He talks of how he views the cultural changes within the local academic environment.

> But it can [be] possible to see these students as a product of global acculturation where they have become more knowledgeable about the world in general. They know the pros and cons of Western culture but at the same time…they are now more aware of Islam than the previous generations. They are more prone to carving out their own identity. In many ways they are not acculturated but have been trained to see the truth and analyse more competently than say maybe me. In that they are more promising and it is good to know that whatever influences they may accept most of these influences will be conscious decisions. Many students went as far as saying that they would organize a protest against the university in public if the atheist propaganda was taught…This caused the students to get very disturbed. The professors were fired and since then all teachers are told to endorse the basic Muslim religious values. It is possible that the people want to carve out their own identity and the media maybe out of touch with this. On the other hand the media has the responsibility of educating the populace positively and morally. Anyway linguistic imperialism is there but it might be a slightly different case. You see if language is learned and learned on a large scale, such as the whole of the subcontinent, then the language is adopted and adjusted to the local context. So what we have is a localized version of English. So if the language is used by the colonizer as a tool of imperialism it becomes with time the tool of the colonized by which that can express and at the same time change the language as they see fit. Who owns English? Well…the English don't…not anymore so many of us…those that speak English own the language…it is our Pakistani version of English that is spoken and of course it is understandable…it is not such that native speaker cannot comprehend our 'English'. We are speaking English here…you understand what I am saying don't you?

Nasir's opinion on the younger generation rests on his observation of a greater sense of critical awareness, an idea that "they [young people] have become more knowledgeable about the world in general". He considers the cultural influence for a moment, only to suggest the existence of a 'hybrid identity' being "carved" out. Nasir regards this awareness of multiple frames of reference as a positive influence rather than acculturation, one that will lead the younger generation to "see the truth" as well as "analyse more competently." The idea of being able to arrive at the 'truth' is therefore attributed to the acquired understanding of multiple discursivities but can also be seen as the result of being exposed to alternative discursive frameworks such as those present in Western curriculums.

In highlighting the Islamic influence, Nasir relays an account of two professors who were fired for teaching anti-religious versions of creationism. The uproar this caused suggests, according to Nasir, the manifestation of a religious value system that is alive within the younger generation. He acknowledges media influence, recognizes the historicity of linguistic and cultural imperialism and arrives at the idea that English has essentially generated "homegrown, nativized varieties of English that have transformed the hierarchy of power into a network of alliances" (Bhatt, 2005:35). This is an exceedingly important issue as the presence of Western discourses may be credited with the awareness that the students feel, which has led them to question curriculum contentNasir does not seem to see this as a possibility but an allusion towards the end of his interview suggests that he may have subconsciously accepted that recognition of other discursive frameworks may allow for learners to critically analyse foreign content but also readjust and modify their own cultural frameworks.

From Nasir's response it is clear that emerging multiple discursive strands are enmeshed, generating complex hybrid identities that are capable of "complex language behaviours that produce and reproduce identity 'positionings'" (Bhatt, 2005:38). More recent debates have focused on what essentially defines hybrid phenomena and the symptoms it can generate. Critics, such as Prabhu, write of the three broad areas of hybridity:

1. Hybridity is everywhere. It represents in many instances the triumph of the postcolonial or the subaltern over the hegemonic. The resistant always appropriates the cultural onslaught and modifies its products or processes for its own purposes. This position is most prominently associated with Bhabha but also held by Hall and Lionnet.

2. Hybridity is not everywhere. It is only the elite who can afford to talk about hybridity. For others, there is no investment in such a concept. It applies more to metropolitan elite emigres and far less to migrant diasporas and even less to those who have "stayed behind" in the (ex) colony. This position can be associated with critics of Bhabha's textuality, such as Benita Pary.

3. Hybridity, when carefully considered in its material reality will reveal itself to actually be a history of slavery, colonialism…It is a difficult and painful history of interracial identity. It joins up with issues of choosing one's affiliations or having one's affiliations thrust upon one. (2007:12)

When taking Nasir's account into consideration, hybridity can be constructed in all three categories. Hybridity is not everywhere and yet for those that are in elite circles it is everywhere. The influence of political, social, historical or colonial and economic circumstances enforces a neo-colonial presence on the non-hybrid non-elite in society. This means hybridity is essentially a type of discourse that depends on community practice. Hence, hybridity may or may not be everywhere, yet its reach pervades all social levels. What can actually be deduced from Nasir's interview is the presence of not only an inherent complexity within multiple discursive frameworks but an articulation of the extent of critical awareness that is clearly evident.

The next section investigates the critical development that is at the heart of hybridity and identifies the various discursive strains that have contributed to its evolution.

7.5 CRITICAL ONTOLOGY AND HYBRIDITY

The previous discussion of the principles of Tad'afu in Islamic anthropological thought makes clear that an Islamic ideological stance promotes the necessity

of critical reflexivity. This critical discourse may have been labelled by Islamic scholars, but the idea of critical thought is essentially universal. The principles of Tad'afu may have played a greater role in this local community since Islamic discursivity has been ingrained within Pakistani society, although it is not the only discursive strain that can be credited with generating critical awareness.

Some of the respondents presented their explicit views on resistance and the awareness of cultural knowledge and values acquired during teaching and learning. These views, in particular, add another dimension to the understanding of hybridity. Drawing upon the views of two staff members, Fahim and Nadia, as well as students, many respondents share the same opinions on resistance. Fahim, who had recently completed his doctorate at a Canadian university, was a younger staff member at the business college. During his interview, he was clear about the notable changes within social circles, but his opinion was an example of an intensive strain of critical awareness. Other teachers spoke of a sense of resistance by students that had also evolved in class. Students spoke of the need to use cultural values and cultural knowledge as currency or a reference point from which they mentally measure the local culture and critique Western cultures. The narratives depicting these stances are given below. Fahim and Nadia are teachers and Mnoman and Hkblone are students.

> Whoever discovered water was certainly not a fish. Someone who is immersed in an environment it is very hard to see the cultural frame that exists in and he sinks deeply into it and that shapes the way [we] look [at] ourselves…for me whether the content is western, or eastern, or northern, or southern is not as relevant as whether it is true or false. [Fahim]

> There is a lot of anger and a lot of concern… they are very concerned about people that affect Pakistan they don't have identity problems. They might use English but their concerns are indigenous. [Nadia]

> The only advantage is that we can understand the cultural values of others that help us in making more effective and strong our culture. We know that how we compete with others how we can change others and establish ourselves. [Mnoman]

> We got to know the outside cultures. We also find out using their examples, the way that their societies function. We can maybe find it easier if we end up going overseas. Many of us might just stay in our own country then we will not be able to distinguish values after so many years of being fed other people's culture. The curriculum is not as globalized as it should be. I think that knowledge of others is good and even important but it should and can be analyzed for weakness or mistakes. We can be learning to be critical which I think is also an important faculty. [Hkblone]

The critical awareness that is evident in these responses points to an evolutionary process. Fahim and Nadia's views highlight the presence of an awareness that is characteristically dynamic. It is a process that suggests a constant reflexivity by both students and staff. This idea points to a hybridity that is not only dynamic but evolving. It also identifies the dimensional negotiation that respondents undergo. They are not only influenced by foreign elements but they also resist, adapt, modify, negotiate, measure, critique, and, more importantly, manage this hybridity from a third dimension. They impose their views from a standpoint outside the debate. This third dimension that they reside in creates a space between what they visualize and their own beings. They can then see cultural systems as being defined predominantly by distinctions rather than similarities. But the cultural and social norms they adapt or adjust to are absorbed. What is interesting is the role that critical awareness plays. It breeds the possibilities of visual identification through which individuals can examine, dissect and determine cultural systems they are exposed to. This almost objectifiable idea of hybrid awareness hints at the possibility of conceptualization of an otherwise inherently abstract notion.

In the subsequent sections of this chapter an attempt will be made to lend tangibility to the concept of hybrid awareness.

7.6 BENTHAM'S MODEL

When Bhabha presented his model of hybridity he realized its abstraction and so suggested a more tangible analogy to help his readers visualize the concept. In his introduction to *The Location of Culture,* Bhabha (1994) cites Renee

Green's comments on the use of architectural spaces to conceptualize hybridity. Bhabha examines the idea.

> The stairwell as liminal space, in-between the designations of identity, becomes the process of symbolic interaction, the connective tissue that constructs the difference between upper and lower, black and white. The hither and thither of the stairwell, the temporal movement and passage that it allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities. This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy… (1994:5)

The two-dimensional approach, using the analogy of a stairwell to visualize such a phenomenon, limits the concept of hybridity to a two-way interaction between a recipient and a donor or a colonizer and a subaltern. Bhabha's example suggests that the idea of generating a tangible model of an abstract notion is not entirely unique. This is because the idea of visualizing is imperative as it lends a concrete and much more accurate picture of how hybridity works.

Bhabha's stairwell concept can be reconfigured. Jeremy Bentham, who associated himself with John Stuart Mill, and the modern founder of socialism, Robert Owen, was an English-born jurist who designed an unusual prison, known as the Panopticon, in 1785. The architectural blueprint caught the attention of Foucault, who saw within the plan a reflection of his philosophical ideas on the dissemination of power within autocratic rule. Conversely, Bentham's philosophical outlook lay in his architectural drawings and Foucault's analysis led him to assimilate much of Bentham's ideas into his own views.[36] Bentham originally described the Panopticon as:

> A building circular…The prisoners in their cells, occupying the circumference. The officers in the centre. By blinds and other

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[36] Foucault derived the concept of Panopticism from Bentham's Panopticon and wrote extensively on the philosophical underpinnings of Bentham's approach to discipline. But this in many ways leads to Foucault's own thought processes and his philosophical outlook can be seen as a development of Bentham and vice versa. An extensive analysis can be seen in Foucault's *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (NY: Vintage Books 1995), pp. 195-228. The French translation was undertaken in 1977 by Alan Sheridan.

> contrivances, the Inspectors are concealed…from the observation of the prisoners: hence the sentiment of a sort of omnipresence. The whole circuit reviewable with little, or…without any, change of place. One station in the inspection part affording the most perfect view of every cell. (Jeremy Bentham in Evans, 1982:195)

Although Foucault may have seen many philosophical analogies, it is interesting that Bentham's Panopticon also presents a unique visualization of the phenomenon of hybridity. Looking back at the discursive strategies that have been detailed in this thesis, a particular image has emerged. With respondents reflecting a range of postcolonial, Islamic and socioeconomic discourses, it is clear that a multi-faceted discursive paradigm exists. This paradigm is characteristically organic in that the interaction between one discourse and another is instantaneous. In this study, participants made use of multiple discursive frameworks as they combined their understanding of Western value systems, Islamic and cultural norms and their postcolonial heritage.

Fahim, the young lecturer at Apex, emphatically expresses his opinion of capitalism and Western value systems using words such as 'salvation', 'consumption', 'production', and local words such as 'sherbet' (which traditionally means a coloured cordial). Thus Fahim's understanding of multiple discourses empowers him and gives him the ability to critique.

> What is the message that is embedded…that consumption is happiness and that wealth is the key to salvation…look at the message…there is something wrong with you…here is the market solution… In the history of national capitalism, we went from a problem from not having enough production to a not having enough consumption…we were trying to make people uncomfortable with themselves so we can sell them things that they otherwise would not buy. …instead of advertising products... for pure functionality began to project lifestyles…to project things where people could construct identity to the point that…they are selling meaning, dreams, they are selling surfaces on which people can construct their identities…these are deep value issues…changing at the margins…changing wines to sherbet… you can't change the message of the media itself…e.g. salvation lies in consumption…that the money you have…there are quick fixes to life's complications…that you quick fixes can be bought…

Other participants analyse the situation and come up with a 'solution'. Rahim, a student at Apex, also sees the imperialistic designs and power play that can be attributed to the English language learning Fahim refers to, but he adds:

> Yes. Taking on the foreign culture because you are forced to. I mean it is imperialism because we are stuck in a world that is run as a capitalist market and we have to economically survive. English is the only language that is used for economic survival and so we have to learn it. I guess that this means it is imperialism. But the values can change, we can put our own values and we can translate our own desires. We do not have to follow what we don't want to follow.

Naseer, a visiting professor at Apex, endorses Rahim's views,

> Anyway… yes linguistic imperialism is there but it may be a slightly different case. You see if language is learned and learned on a large scale, such as the whole of the subcontinent, then the
>
> language is adopted and adjusted to the local context. So what we have is a localized version of English.

Naseer, Fahim and Rahim all demonstrate the ability to respond when exposed to changes in the world around them, and as such their responses are characteristic of a majority of responses. It is the need to constantly evaluate multiple discursive strands and analyse their position of acceptance or rejection of values within specific discursive frameworks that helps respondents like Naseer and Rahim to generate a hybrid identity.

In visualizing the concept of hybridity as a Panopticon, it is important to see it as it actually existed. Architecturally the Panopticon is,

> ...at the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other. All that is needed, then, is to place a supervisor in a central tower and to shut up in each cell a madman, a patient, a condemned man, a worker or a schoolboy. By the effect of backlighting, one can observe from

the tower, standing out precisely against the light, the small captive shadows in the cells of the periphery. They are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible. (Foucault, 1995:200)
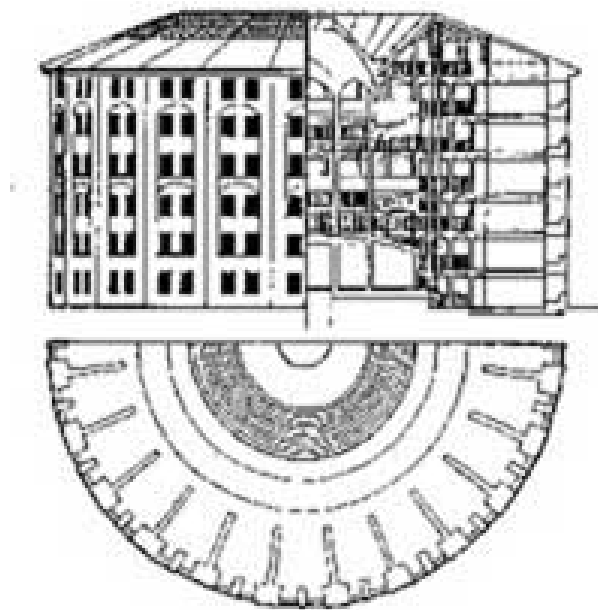
Figure 7.1 Panopticon Blueprint by Jeremy Bentham, 1791

Using the principles of a peripherical building, the division into cells, and the effect of backlighting, it is possible to see these as a graphic representation of how hybridity works.

7.7 VISUALIZING HYBRID AWARENESS: THE PANOPTICALITY OF HYBRIDITY

> The Panopticon is...the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle...must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system; it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from *any specific use.*(Foucault, 1991:205)

The Panopticon is, as Foucault suggests, based on a power dynamic but it can be 'detached from any specific use'. It is possible to see it as a translatable medium, one that is representative of hybrid reality.

The enculturated (different from the acculturated) individual is a product of his upbringing, his socioeconomic position in society and a range of other environmental factors. According to Mischel's (1973) theoretical behavioural model, where he suggests that "behaviour is influenced by situation variables (which are both environmental factors...and personal variables…)" (cited in Nevid, 2009:498), it is clear that the environmental discursive paradigm in which an individual rests is influential in determining how he reacts to other discursive paradigms that he is exposed to. In the Panopticon model this takes on the effect of backlighting. The individual who is positioned in the model, in place of the watchtower, is bombarded by discourses that surround him. Each of these discourses is contained in a cell and yet they influence the individual. He is a 'subaltern' to varied discursive paradigms, or in other words, encircled by them. At the centre he is vulnerable and yet negotiates the balance required to generate his own virtual world, which can be seen as the area that lies between or as Bhabha suggests the 'interstitial space'. In the examples discussed earlier, Fahim, Naseer and Rahim all presented their opinions as a result of being influenced by multiple discursive paradigms. They accepted their subalternity to English as a language that was necessary for socioeconomic survival, but also realized their vulnerability to foreign value systems. Rahim's solution: "we do not have to follow what we don't want to follow" can be seen as a positive negotiation strategy.

This constant engagement modifies the individual as he accepts, rejects, or mediates his discursive identity. But what the individual ultimately decides is influenced by how he perceives the discursive mélange that surrounds him, emanating from the periphery of his world. This perception is by virtue of the 'backlighting' effect that can be seen as a filter of environmental and socioeconomic factors that have originally shaped his existence and continue to do so. The tool that he sharpens as he faces this onslaught of discursivity is critical hybrid awareness. This awareness is constant as he evaluates and re-evaluates his thoughts and actions, and this takes a three-dimensional or 3D approach to a myriad of paradigms that surround him.

This tactile image of critical hybrid awareness can be seen as emerging out of the data that was collected across both educational institutions. The data clearly showed the presence of critical hybrid awareness that was essentially dynamic, as all respondents were aware of the need to be critical of the multiple discursive paradigms.

7.8 SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the data in terms of the various discourses embedded in respondents' interviews. It is clear that respondents relied on a critical stance to evaluate multiple discursive paradigms and present their point of view. The analyses of data suggested an emerging and evolutionary idea of critical reflexivity that was housed within a variety of discursive paradigms. The respondents' ability to evaluate and objectify the process of critical evaluation suggested the presence of a dynamic and progressive articulation. This articulation helped to conceptualize the idea of a critical hybrid awareness that all respondents used in order to present their point of view. As Pieterse suggests, critical hybridity "involves a new awareness of a new take on dynamics of group formation and social inequality" and it is this critical

awareness that "is furthered by acknowledging rather than by suppressing hybridity" (2009:121).

This chapter also put forward the idea of concretion of critical hybrid awareness by using Bentham's model of the Panopticon. Such an architectonic analysis helps to generate a more tangible and solid idea of the abstract notion of hybridity, while at the same time binding cohesively the discursive strands identified throughout this thesis.

He came in and whispered 'How far have you gone in this journey? Have you found what you were looking for?' What could I say? I was always snuggled in between a crevice, quietly expectant of someone passing and hoping against hope that a familiar face appeared. I was a hybrid living among in-betweenness. This refuge had always been my hybridity—a place of desolate isolation and consistent shimmying shamming to an idea, and then side-stepping its intricate details as they become more apparent. It was a sliver of comfort, an 'interstitial' space, quietly positioned within growing canvasses of ideologies, each one nudging towards a stated difference, making their mark on confused denizens of alien communities. It is here that I, the hybrid individual, labelled myself, aware of the rumblings within my head, wary of the changings in my heartbeat and the resultant reversion to one ideology, despite an admiration for another.

There comes a time for a hundred indecisions, a hundred precisions and a hundred incisions—ideas festering in the sun, what can possibly go wrong? And yet I almost always end up disturbing my universe as I long for something new, changing with the flow and preparing a face to meet the faces that one meets— aware that these constant positionings and repostionings will leave me nowhere, except floundering around for a space to call my own. It is a cosy place, not on the edge of Babii Yar, but on clouds of nothingness that float atop ragged edges, apparently calm and collected, fluffing out the existence of clinical realities. It is a space that sits between two, a pendulum of a position— not here or there. But, this is what I crave for, a perchance encounter with someone that lives in a crevice similar to mine, who knows what I know and means what I mean.

He was quiet at first and then he spoke, 'The road that you have taken has meandered – on the way you have fleetingly touched the surfaces of so many souls, wondered at their differences and pointed to the similarities. Give them time to answer. They will tell you how near you have really come to the reality of their lives.'

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

8.1 OVERVIEW OF RESEARCH STUDY

This research study was designed as a qualitative analysis of the discursivity of Muslim ESL learners and staff at two English-medium educational institutions in Pakistan. As outlined in the introductory chapter, the idea behind choosing the Muslim context was to position the study among learners who were free to adopt English as a medium of education. The main aim was to investigate and present a possible interpretation of the nature of hybridity and the discourse resulting from the presence of Western values embedded within English language teaching materials. However, it was the presence of the resistance and/or acceptance of Western cultural values incorporated in the teaching of English to Muslim ESL speakers that pointed to the presence of a more complex discursive paradigm.

The second chapter presented a crucial element to the background in this research. It depicted the Pakistani context, its colonial past, religious and educational influences.

Realizing the need to differentiate the major strains of discourse, it was imperative that a thorough review of the theoretical underpinnings that would accompany any such discursive analysis was undertaken. The third chapter presented and analysed the discursive theoretical framework.

The fourth chapter introduced the research design, incorporating the research methodology and research methods. Utilising the theoretical underpinnings discussed in chapter three, a discursive framework was generated, juxtaposing three main discursive strands: postcolonial discourse, Islamic anthropological discourse and hybrid discourse.

The trilogy of chapters five, six and seven presented a qualitative analysis of these discursive strands within the derived discursive framework formulated in the fourth chapter.

This concluding chapter highlights the significant contributions of the thesis and further considers the implications of the research study. It also reviews how the findings can help re-define the discursive strands of postcolonialism, Islamic anthropology and hybridity.

8.2 REVIEW OF FINDINGS

The research data, painstakingly gathered, strongly indicated the presence of a postcolonial past and Islamic identity as well as highlighting the need to re-define and re-evaluate cultural influences. This section revisits the three discursive strands and repositions them in light of insights arising from the analysis. It also identifies the term 'critical ontological discursivity' formulated from the research data.

8.2.1 Re-evaluating dominant discourses

One of the key contributions of this research study has been to demonstrate the necessity of evaluating discursivity within the paradigms of relevant discursive frameworks. The three frameworks that were used not only contributed in identifying and evaluating these discursive strands within the data but also highlighted the need to reposition and revisit ideological undercurrents.

8.2.1.1 Postcolonial discourses

In chapter four, discursive references (Shome and Hedge 2002:249-270) to a nostalgic past, allusions to the geo-political, historical and contextualising opinions and ideas within a postcolonial discourse were suggestive of the

presence of a postcolonial discourse (Gumperz, 2001). The research data presented clear evidence of how respondents had a prevalent postcolonial subjectivity and the research showed the extent of a postcolonial discursivity. What the research study highlighted was not only the need for educational researchers to include and accept an embedded postcolonial subjectivity within all postcolonial communities, but also to acknowledge that postcolonial discourse is enmeshed within a larger framework of discursivities.

The lack of acknowledgement of such a discourse has been identified within critical debates. Thobani (2011) has pointed out that studies have only been done among diasporic Muslim communities which "reveal some controversial dynamics" (531) and most do not delve into the identity politics surrounding Muslim societies that are consistently negotiating "two forms of Islam, the one embedded in its cultural roots and the other largely formalized, objectified, codified" (Thobani, 2011:531). But as these communities are diasporic, the postcolonial discursivity is largely ignored. As Haw rightly highlights, "being a Muslim in Egypt, Malaysia or Algeria, for example, is very different from being a Muslim in Bradford" (2011:565). Although postcolonial discursivity captured by Chakrabarty (2000) was restricted to the 1947 to 1949 era incorporating the postcolonial struggle that impacted greatly on the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent, it provides an accurate glimpse of the postcolonial reality that has permeated Pakistani society. Studies that focused on educational practices at local Pakistani schools (Malik, 1996; Rahman, 2004; Khalid, Khan and Fayyaz, 2006; Mortenson, 2009) in more recent times have not emphasized the postcolonial discursive framework. This research study has contributed to the field by drawing on the postcolonial discursivity of respondents and identifying this discursivity as a necessary and/or possible inclusion in any discursive analysis of Muslim postcolonial communities.

8.2.1.2 Islamic discourses

In addition to postcolonial discursivity, the data collected during this research study and subsequent analysis also suggests the need to reposition the debate

on Islamic discourses and Islamic anthropological discursivity. The conceptual basis of this discursive paradigm was discussed in detail in chapter five. However, in order to conclude this discussion, it is important here to go one step further and articulate how this paradigm has been repositioned in light of the data analysis, as well as address the impact of the research findings on current critical debate.

The idea that Islamic thought has always been fundamentally based on the idea of constructive debate and critical discussion was presented in chapter five. The concepts of Tad'afu, constructive interaction and/or discussion, and Tadawul, the belief in the permanence of God in contrast to the human characteristic of change, were examined. What was raised, albeit briefly, was the irony that students who talked of an unflinching attitude to what they considered 'defending' Islamic principles were primarily basing their ideas within an un-Islamic context. The implicit undercurrent that has been seen to be embedded in Pakistani cultural consciousness is based on an unwavering and uncritical approach to Islam. The concept of Tad'afu does not exist per se and any attempt to exercise a critical and constructive debate on Islamic issues is seen as borderline blasphemy. On the contrary, in Islamic theological treatises it has been shown that the need to debate with complete respect to Islamic ideals is not only possible, but also a positive outcome if it can be managed. Mandaville (2006) writes on this paradox.

> The tacit normative undercurrent within this line of analysis has often been the idea that such changes represent a positive and progressive 'democratization' of knowledge production and reception in Islam, with Muslims increasingly reshaping religion with their own hands (rather than relying on 'crusty' clerics) and willing to offer these new formulations to critical consumers within the market of the public sphere. Rather, we would perhaps do better to regard this shift not as one that significantly changed the trajectory of religious discourse in the Muslim world, but as the intensification of a tendency towards decentralized authority that has always been present in Islam. (2006:2)

Mandaville points out that such a change highlights the trend towards such a "positive and progressive 'democratization' of knowledge production"; what he

fails to mention is that such a concept already exists in Islam. What is referred to as Western ideals of 'democratization' are more inherent and deeply entrenched in Islamic thought than previously recognized. The idea of 'crusty clerics' and the need for Tad'afu and Tadawul in Islamic thought have been laid down in the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) (Haykal and Faruqi, 1976). One such saying that is quoted below in its entirety indicates the importance placed on sincerity and open discussion of intention to commit deeds.

> The first of people against whom judgment will be pronounced on the Day of Resurrection will be a man who died a martyr. He will be brought and Allah will make known to him His favours and he will recognize them. [The Almighty] will say: 'And what did you do about them?' He will say: 'I fought for You until I died a martyr.' He will say: 'You have lied - you did but fight that it might be said [of you]: 'He is courageous.'' And so it was said. Then he will be ordered to be dragged along on his face until he is cast into Hell-fire.

> [Another] will be a man who has studied [religious] knowledge and has taught it and who used to recite the Qur'an. He will be brought and Allah will make known to him His favours and he will recognize them. [The Almighty] will say: 'And what did you do about them?' He will say: 'I studied [religious] knowledge and I taught it and I recited the Qur'an for Your sake.' He will say: 'You have lied - you did but study [religious] knowledge that it might be said [of you]: 'He is learned.'' And you recited the Qur'an that it might be said [of you]: 'He is a reciter.' And so it was said. Then he will be ordered to be dragged along on his face until he is cast into Hell-fire.

> [Another] will be a man whom Allah had made rich and to whom He had given all kinds of wealth. He will be brought and Allah will make known to him His favours and he will recognize them. [The Almighty] will say: 'And what did you do about them?' He will say: 'I left no path [un-trodden] in which You like money to be spent without spending in it for Your sake.' He will say: 'You have lied - you did but do so that it might be said [of you]: 'He is open-handed.'' And so it was said. Then he will be ordered to be dragged along on his face until he is cast into Hell-fire. (Hadith Qudsi 6, Muslim and Tirmidhi)

The hadith, or sayings of the prophet, clearly emphasize the distinction between what an individual does out of sincerity and what he does in hope of 'showing off' to others. The concept of 'riyaa' or exhibitionism is considered to be a grave sin as it negates the effort to be sincere and truthful, and directs the focus onto how one is perceived in the world, rather than how one really is. The hadith also presents the idea that self-evaluation is vital as it leads to sincerity and a clearer idea of what the impact of one's deeds have, not only on oneself, but on communities and societies as a whole. The roles that are described in the hadith are ones that would have been seen to be 'morally' correct and the noblest within communities, and yet they are the precise ones that can be worthy of damnation as they are exploited and insincerely adhered to. Qudsi hadiths, like the one quoted, usually are accompanied with large amounts of text (Graham, 1977; Dol, 1981; Duderji, 2007) that outline all the possible concepts that it alludes to, and as all this cannot be brought into the discussion here, suffice to say that Islamic discourses are carefully poised to focus on the idea of critical and constant self-evaluation. From such a perspective, carefully detailed here, the idea of Tad'afu should be inherent within Islamic societies. Even though the idea is not generally accepted within Pakistani society (Ahmed, 2011), especially in terms of Islamic 'practices', the data clearly shows that the respondents are awake to the possibilities of Tad'afu, practise it and exhibit an acute sense of critical awareness in terms of social and educational practices, although they do show that they have a long way to go before Tad'afu could be practiced with respect to what is perceived as 'Islamic' principles.

The data and ensuing analysis in chapters five, six and seven also show that participants are fully aware of the socioeconomic importance of English, and yet they are able to simultaneously evaluate the impact of English on themselves and society. This does not appear to be, as Foucault suggests (1996), a result of indebtedness to democratized Western thought, but rather the recognition of 'riyaa' (Ahmed, 2011) borne of a critical ontological process that they have incorporated into their awareness.

Another important characteristic of this critical awareness is the acceptance of foreign norms, in this case Western norms, as the 'Other' and their evaluation and adjustment of these norms on their own terms. The respondents are clear that Western values are not judged by Islamic standards (Bravmann & Rippin, 2009) and they go to some lengths to show that the difference is celebrated, not condemned. This generosity of spirit is at the heart of Islamic principles of "la ikrahafi-ddin", which translates to 'there is no compulsion in religion' and "famansha' a falyu' min wa man sha' a falyakfur" which can be translated as 'let him who wills have faith and him who wills reject it' (Qur'an 2:256 and 18:29). So what is really voiced by these participants is a sense of fearfulness, of being threatened and overwhelmed by value systems foreign to their own. The respondents at times justifiably raise this defensive and overt position, which is closely followed by their attempts to present what can be seen as a syncretic front. This attitude reveals interesting phenomena which can lead to a better understanding of the type of hybridity that is present in such a society.

8.2.1.3 Hybrid discourses

> Basically, I sort the debate over politics into three positions. First, there is the view that hybridity results from some form of colonizing domination. Second, there is the opposing belief that hybridity is a form of oppositional resistance to hegemonies of all kinds. A third position refuses to assign a fixed politics (good or bad) to hybridity and instead insists upon a historically and geographically specific reading of hybridic formations, one that takes into account the complex ways in which power circulates. (Friedman, 2002)

In order to position this research and highlight the significance of what the data and the data analysis have revealed on hybrid discursivity, this section will situate this research among current academic debate that has specifically focused on the concept of hybridity.

The desperate need to categorize hybridity is common in recent debates. In the quote above, Friedman divides hybridity into three categories. The first she calls

hybridity resulting from colonization, the second hybridity is 'oppositional resistance' and finally a hybridity that is borne from the circulation of power on an international scale. What is interesting to note is the top-down approach that critics such as Friedman have as they assume to section off hybrid individuals as they see them—not as they are.

The term 'hybridity' may be used to "redraft boundaries and test the flexibility of ideological and theoretical borders that can too easily become rigid" (O'Connor, 2010: 205), or it can present the researcher with an analytical tool that examines the identity construction of the respondents (Gumperz, 1982b). For academics, such as Easthope (1998), hybridity "has no definition except in relation to non-hybridity" (1998:347), and the idea of "a coherent, speaking subject" residing "in the gaps between identities" (1998: 347) is fanciful at best. Therefore it would seem that "Bhabha's writing, then, consists of a fantasy of mastery" (cited in Easthope, 1998:348), and the concept of hybridity is an illusionary notion that is conjured to conveniently explain away the inherent dynamism of identity construction. Even though any recent attempt to redress this oversight has been largely ignored, with the insistence that it remain a "mongrel, interfering mix that undermines racialist absolutism" (Hutnyk, 2005:99) that should be viewed as "an awkward and unsatisfying theoretical term" (O'Connor, 2010: 225), the concept can be seen as a "place of enunciation, where new identities can be forged and marginalised voices can speak" (Moles, 2008:3). It is not only the interstitial space that vocalizes the subliminal identity, but hybridity should be viewed as the panopticality of identity construction.

This research identifies hybridity among the respondents as well as presents a possible method by which to categorize and perceive the hybrid individual. It examines the resistance and empowerment that is clearly displayed by participants as they declare their views, aware of the consequences of doing so. Critics, such as Chueh (2004), emphasize the need for empowerment of the disadvantaged learner, while bemoaning the imperialist tendencies of the educational administrations. While discussing the power of Hegelian Dialectics, Chueh quotes Colin Lankshear, who reveals that "'empowerment' has become

an educational buzz word par excellence" (1994: 57). Chueh further elaborates by generating the idea that terms, such as 'social justice' and 'equity', are used in order to substantiate the claim of 'empowerment'. Drawing on Freire, Cheuh believes that educational discourse has the ability to generate an atmosphere of equality among the educationally and socially disadvantaged. This may seem, at the face of it, an issue of social justice; but in reality, it can be seen as the proof of dominant discourses that assume that whatever pedagogy is tailored to empower is in reality extinguishing all forms of diversity and multiplicity of discourses among those that are regarded as being disenfranchised.

Cheuh outlines four themes that underlie critical theories in education which he borrows from Gibson (cited in Chueh: 2004): education and the reproduction of economic relationships; education and the reproduction of state power; education and cultural reproduction; and theories of resistance.

In the ensuing discussion he presents the idea that discourses of resistance are a product of 'manipulative and oppressive' educational strategies and that "understanding empowerment can prevent the possibility of producing [such] educational agendas" (Cheuh, 2004:13). Although Cheuh comes to the conclusion that discussion between oppressed groups and representatives of educational administrations should be encouraged, he bases his observations on the assumption that oppressed groups are voiceless (Gibson, cited in Chueh; 2004; Weiler, 1991).

Resistance itself is a powerful phenomenon and this research has delved into the possibilities that it affords. Reminiscent of Lenin's ideas on imperialism, Cheuh's critical observations are typical of theorists who chart resistance emphasizing a binary division. They see resistance as the underrepresented and entirely subjugated discourse that is being undermined by dominant discourses that are forcefully imposed by educational administrations with imperial tendencies.

But this research has unveiled quite the opposite. It has showcased how dominant educational discourses are taught. The thesis has also presented examples from texts that have clearly outlined cultural imperialist allusions. And

yet the dominant discourses appear to induce a wide range of effects on respondents including that of resistance and rejection. And although it is clear that the syncretic effect of acculturation (Kaira and Kaur, 2005) is evident in their responses, it is varied degrees of hybridity that have provided the "unforseen area[s] of discovery" (Thakur, 2009:7) in this qualitative research study. The syncretic effect is pronounced as the analysis in chapters five, six and seven clearly shows. As a result it is important to highlight the need for an evaluation of curricula within educational institutions that is continuously re-evaluated while incorporating suggestions from both students and staff. Such an engagement should not be limited to the incorrect assumption that their evaluation will be negative. Rather the dialectical communication between the two should greatly depend on how students and staff suggest modifications and that should bear greatly on how they are ultimately carried out.

8.2.1.4 Silences in discourse

If this research was exclusively aimed at disclosing Muslim opinions, attitudes and beliefs on acculturation, due to their exposure to their local educational system that incorporated Western educational teaching materials, it would still be unique (Gumperz, 2007). But the research focused on a more qualitative in-depth approach. It aimed to gather data from respondents and to analyse the discursive paradigms that were present by investigating the extent of their critical awareness. Interestingly eit was not only what they said, the discourses they employed in order to relate their thoughts, but also what they didn't say. The negation and omission of words and/or the exclusive dependency on particular phrases (Merleau-Ponty, 1968; Barthes, 1986; Blanchot, 1993) suggested the presence of underlying notions that play a vital role in how participants see themselves and how they want to be seen.

The presence of silence (refusals, incomplete answers, or unnecessary lengthy pauses in interviews and questionnaires), even when inviting participation, have been commonly discounted when gathering data (Mazzei, 2003). Although silence in discourse is a real-time phenomenon (Motahhir, 1998) and

significantly impacts how research data should be viewed, the refusal to be interviewed, long pauses during interview and, in some cases, avoidance and cold stares in the corridors, have intentionally not been analysed in this research stsudy (Mazzei, 2007). Admittedly, the reason for excluding any discussion pertaining to silence is twofold. Firstly, my research contribution in the past (Motahhir, 1998) focused on silence as a concept and its classification. There was danger that past research ideas would interfere and cloud the analysis of research data gathered for this study. Secondly, my acute awareness of silence as a powerful phenomenon suggested that any brief allusion to the idea would be grossly inadequate and take up valuable space within the limited confines of this thesis.

Despite the factors that excluded any overt references to silence, it is imperative that the presence of such a powerful phenomenon is mentioned, albeit briefly. References by students to the expulsion of staff drew silence when the subject was taken up with staff members and other students; staff members in many cases refused to be interviewed altogether, avoided eye contact, refused to share teaching reference materials and even refused to answer particular questions. Such tangible silences (Motahhir, 1998) speak of a powerplay palpable in educational administrative staff from both institutions, who possess an awareness of which discourses will be allowed and those that will be intentionally discounted.

It is ironic that although one of the major impediments in data gathering for this study was the reluctance by many staff members to be approached, and students who refused to participate, or gave incomplete answers; the presence of an underlying silence reinforced the idea during the research that rich research data could be drawn out if the right participants were approached.

Interviews with more vocal and experienced staff members, final year undergraduate students, and those staff who agreed to discuss issues off-the-record, revealed a more intricate discursive network than was originally imagined. It was on the basis of a more persistent and investigative research gathering exercise that the silences began to unravel and a research

methodology was generated. Although silence cannot be credited with formulating the need for multiple discursive paradigms within which the data was analysed, nor can it be the sole factor in generating analysis; nevertheless, it is clear that it was influential in highlighting the need for tacitly weaving together the various strands of hybridity.

8.3 THE ANTITHETICAL EFFECT

In a thorough analysis of the research data, it became clear that respondents who felt the need to speak out or offered more elaborate explanations had a background that reflected their exposure to Western culture and Western texts. In informal discussions that identified the socioeconomic background of many respondents, it was clear that they credited the idea of being self-critical to their better understanding of the 'Other'. The respondents at Apex University were clear in their stance as they promptly engaged in discussion, critically evaluating the curriculum materials and readily providing their opinion on the changes needed. Their awareness of Western cultural values suggested that it was their knowledge of Western teaching materials and Western cultural values that prompted them to become more self-aware. The tendency of these participants to evaluate and suggest a more comprehensive opinion, based on facts from both Western culture and their own culture, suggests not only the positive impact of exposure to Western teaching materials but also the birth of a critical ontological discursivity.

8.4. INTRODUCING CRITICAL ONTOLOGICAL DISCURSIVITY

All respondents engaged in multiple discourses of which the three discourses used in this study were the most prominent. As the research data was analysed the main discursive streams were isolated and used as an analytical lens through which the data was re-analysed. What this analysis produced was not only the validation to substantiate the presence of discursive paradigms but revealed subliminal ideas that suggested confusion, contradiction and a

constant need by respondents to re-evaluate their position. Although all discussions began with a direct answer, the direction of many interviews and informal discussions pointed to the idea that participants were initially unsure and uncertain, but quickly re-evaluated and redefined their pose. They reasserted their opinions and were decisive on how to approach the answer. This critical and constructive attitude helped in formulating what can only be termed as 'critical ontological discursivity' and this is one of the major contributions of this research.

Borne out of the exposure to hybridity, the respondents in this research presented a unique understanding of the dynamics of hybridity, and acculturative effects of English on Muslim students. This has helped to open up the debate on hybridity in general and the impact it has on individuals in such discursive paradigms.

Hybridity may emphasize changing loyalties as well as undermine efforts to solidify identity formation, especially among those in vulnerable age groups. But although this may seem a direct consequence, it is far removed from reality. Hybridity may have become accentuated as a process or 'goings-on' within indigenous communities around the world or diasporas, but in truth we are all hybrids in one way or another (Kalra and Kaur, 2005; Canagarajah, 2011). Acculturation or even enculturation are inherently hybrid phenomena as they rely on the individual being exposed to multiple ideas, ideologies or values. What all individuals accept, modify, negotiate, or reject is essentially the basis for a hybrid identity.

The formation of any hybrid identity is therefore more complex and more common than what is generally accepted (Levinson, 2003; Laer, 2010; Stockhammer, 2012). Hybrid identities within this thesis have been made possible because the communities that were researched presented very different cultural assumptions. The stark reality is that both Western cultural and ideological value systems and indigenous or local cultural and ideological value systems were entirely different. Research that was carried out proved this while at the same time it reflected on the identity of respondents and the critical

awareness they contributed to the data. The presence of a critical ontological process is interesting phenomena that has yet to be researched. The extent of critical awareness and how it brings to bear upon identity formation is also an area for further research. The change within society over time and the conversion of resistance to critical awareness suggests a positive rather than negativeoutcome. It seems that communities have found ways to turn what would seem negative and violent outcomes into wholesome, positive ones and individuals learn about themselves in the process.. This learning gives them the objectivity to progress by weeding out negative influences and values within society and incorporating positive ideas.

Hybridity may lend credibility to the notion of supporting the disintegration of communal cohesion. Although in detailed mapping out of individual identity formation there will be differences within any community—collective acceptance of values and the modification of how these values are incorporated can only be accomplished if the majority, or the most influential groups in any society, agree. It has been shown in this research that although societies are a collective consciousness, it would not be possible to create a hybrid society if all individuals were exceedingly different from each other; the presence of similar cultural, religious and behavioural traits among individuals brings a palatable cohesiveness.

What this research has uniquely isolated is the idea of what can only be called a critical ontological discursivity—one that allows the individual to be self-critical, evaluate and be progressive. The ongoing thought process focusing on self-reflexivity leads individuals to generate unique and creative ways to encounter, adapt and assimilate values otherwise deemed foreign. Underlying this progressive attitude is the inherent belief that value systems have to be constantly upgraded and re-evaluated for the betterment of society as well as become more relevant.

This research has briefly delineated discourse relating to gender even though there clearly is a difference in the approach to acculturative practices along gender lines. Hence this study intentionally excluded any detailed analysis

along gender lines. This research essentially reinforces the idea of multi-dimensionality in the debate on discourse but essentially sets out to "support learners in the development of their ability to hold paradoxes and not be overwhelmed by complexity, ambiguity, conflict, uncertainty and difference" (Andreotti, 2010:16).

8.5 PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

The primary contribution of this thesis lies in its attempt to expose and qualify the discursivity of Muslim respondents in educational institutions communicating, studying and using English of their own accord. This research has enabled data to be collected from willing participants who are critically aware of the impact of acculturative practices and their influences on society at large.

The result of such research provides answers to questions on both curriculum development and teaching practices for ESL and EFL students in general and Muslims in particular. It has sought to question ingrained assumptions on ESL/EFL teaching and the notion that contradictions and tensions which arise are solely a result of power relations. Although the theme of disparity among local and foreign discourses may be seen to be at the centre of any ESL/EFL curriculum and teaching practice, the resultant pathways should be viewed as the emerging centre of a new era of critical debate on hybridity and its effect on postcolonial societies. The data from this research can help to solidify a new generation of thought that focuses on lending legitimacy to the multiplicity of discourses as well as the multiplicity of voices by providing a diverse and comprehensive teaching practice which recognizes the cultural sensitivity of the students as well as inculcates the basic requirements for ESL/EFL teaching.

8.5.1 Curriculum

> University and schools can be seen to consist of fragile settlements between and within discursive fields and such settlements can be recognized as always uncertain; always open

> to challenge and change through the struggle over meaning, or what is sometimes called the politics of discourse; that is, interdiscursive work directed towards the making and remaking of meaning. (Kenway, 1997:131-43)

Kenway highlights the fragility of the educational system that is poised in its rejection and/or acceptance of discourses. Clearly texts taken from culturally rich Westernized sources have been shown to be imperialist at best. This research has successfully delineated the effect that such curriculum can have on students and staff. The need to design curriculum and texts tailored specifically for the country in which the course is taught is vital. The top-down approach of importing and imposing foreign curriculum and the resistance that develops is counter-productive.

8.5.2 Professional development

Alongside the need for more appropriate curricula materials is the need for professional development geared towards local demands and problems that teaching and administrative staff face on a daily basis. Feedback from teaching staff can help to streamline and contextualize professional development courses that are offered. The prospect of rooting out problems in curriculum design and textual materials can empower staff to become more proactive in enforcing radical change.

8.6 IMPLICATIONS OF FINDINGS

The qualitative analysis has implications for both future research studies that take place among ESL learners, specifically Muslim ESL learners, as well as theoretical debates on the role that English has played and will play among people of non-English speaking backgrounds.

The knowledge gained from this research, specifically in highlighting Islamic anthropological discourses at play among Muslim communities, will contribute significantly to future research studies and theoretical debates. ESL and EFL courses taught worldwide will benefit from the findings of this research. The

recommendations include the need to diversify and inculcate local material and abolish culturally insensitive courses.

Although the primary aim of this research was to highlight the discursivity and role of acculturative practices within a Muslim educational context, the findings will also appeal to those institutions and administrators that cater to predominantly Muslim communities within BANA nations. These findings can also assist in re-evaluating material taught at adult language centres. Furthermore, teacher training, professional development courses and studies of classroom interaction will benefit directly from these research findings.

8.7 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The theoretical implications of this research are significant and they come at a time when Muslim populaces are the focus of greater scrutiny. It is imperative that future research is undertaken to map out the dynamics of Muslim communities in order to gauge the continuous impact of acculturative practices. It is also important to highlight that research studies that aim to qualitatively analyse Muslim communities will be well positioned to draw out the intricate mesh of discursivity that is so intensely diverse and yet homogenous enough to wield a decisive front.

It has been aptly demonstrated within this thesis that the need for a comprehensive critical engagement is necessary to detail the intersections of discourse, language and culture within any social and educational context.

Of particular interest is the possibility of future research into the dialectic between discourse formations and the idea of truth beyond discourse. Such a philosophically based treatise that widens and informs current debates on acculturative practices within ESL countries will have a profound effect on how relationships between knowledge, power, language and 'truths' are seen to be carried out in any given society.

8.8 CONCLUSION

The major contributions of this thesis include presenting the ideas of critical ontological discursivity, recognizing and examining data in light of Islamic anthropological discursivity and generating a visual representation of hybridity by using the Panopticon. What has been a research study that focused on the impact of acculturative practices and the impact of English within the Muslim context, especially after 9/11, has led to the revelation of possibly two diverse paradigms of thought driven together by the same set of rules.

In order to examine a community that revels in diverse and complex discursivity, the research must allow for differentiation without exclusion of any discourse. This study re-examined the Muslim educational context within the relevant socio-religious and historical paradigm. The result was intense engagement with what constitutes hybrid reality for the Muslim community, providing a snapshot of the impact of foreign value systems on the individual.

What is interesting is the idea that in the formation of identity, resistance and acceptance of values plays a significant role in shaping individuals. The dynamism is clear in the data and is suggestive of societies that are expressive of their desires to become self-reflexive, whilst forcing the debate on issues that challenge conformity.

What this research has also revealed is an embedded critical ontological discursivity that has been brought to the forefront. It can be seen as a tool that enables the individual to shift between different value systems as required. This 'slippage' enables them to readjust, assimilate, or modify the values they are exposed to. Collective 'slippages' can be seen as major societal shifts in paradigm and can be qualified by the change in attitudes and behaviour to things that once seemed 'foreign'.

In sum, a qualitative depiction of an educational Muslim community subjected to ESL curriculums had been nominated and endorsed by local educational administrations in collaboration with foreign bodies. What has been uncovered within the scope of this thesis suggests that further research into this area is vital to the understanding of Muslim communities, both within Muslim and non-

Muslim nations. It is important to acknowledge here that more information may have been revealed but this was not possible within the scope of this study. Although the research may have been selective, the data gathered from administrators, teachers and students has presented a rich, vibrant discursive melange. It would be unreliable, deceptive and incorrigible if the data was read in any other way.

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APPENDIX A

Observation Checklists

Class:	Yes	No	Comments
Does the T observe punctuality?			
Eye2eye contact?			
Writes on W/board with back to S			
Talk slowly? Talk Fast			
Stop for Questions?			
Invite S to participate			
Talks to S in-between			
Stays in front of the class thru' lecture			
Has rapport?			
Accepts latecomers			
Talks in English all the time?			
Include local examples in explanation			
Stop for prayer			
Encourage girls to participate?			
Identify Western content			
Give adequate explanations			
Give explanations in Urdu			

T smile or joke? In what language?			
Encourage mixed group work?			
Expect S to understand basic Western traditions			
Inform S of alternative meanings when asked			
References to personal life			
Does T introduce observer?			
Encourage after class discussion			
After class discussion - Urdu/English			
T prepare for what is expected in next class			
T state/explain what is required in assignments			

T: Teacher   S: Student

APPENDIX B

Interview questions for semi-structured interviews

Context Questions:

1. How long have you been teaching ESL?
2. Are you a practising Muslim?
3. What is your background and qualifications?

Research Questions:

1. What are your views or attitudes to the prescribed English Language Teaching materials and textbooks?
2. Do you believe that the teaching materials are 'culturally neutral', or is there is a degree of cultural bias within teaching materials? If so, how would you describe this?
3. If you think that there is a cultural bias, do you sometimes feel that the teaching materials may be alienating for some learners? Can you give some examples?
4. Have you ever dealt with any embarrassing or tense situations in relation to cultural differences?
5. Can you discuss your teaching style or approach in relation to cultural differences and sensitivities in the classroom? Can you give some examples from your own practice?
6. What is your personal response to learners who might be confused or concerned be the cultural content of the material that you are teaching?
7. Do you feel that the teaching materials for learners from non-Western cultural backgrounds could be improved? If so how?
8. How do you negotiate/mediate when cultural issues or tensions arise within class?
9. What do you think needs to happen for teacher's cultural competency and the English language teaching materials to be improved to better accommodate learners of non-Western cultural backgrounds?
10.

Context Questions:

1. Why are you studying English at this time?

2. What kind of career are you planning
3. Are you a practicing Muslim

Research Questions:

1. What are your views or attitudes to the prescribed English Language Teaching materials and textbooks?
2. Do you believe that the teaching materials are 'culturally neutral', or is there is a degree of cultural bias within teaching materials? If so, how would you describe this?
3. If you think that there is a cultural bias, do you sometimes feel that the teaching materials may be alienating for some learners? Can you give some examples?

APPENDIX C

Questionnaires

1. How would you describe the type of curriculum content that is taught at your institution?

2. What is your opinion on the type of curriculum content that is taught at your institution?

3. What is the difference in values between the content that is taught and your own belief system?

4. Has there been any need to negotiate/mediate tensions within the classroom when such curriculum was taught?

5. Is there any need to change the content?

6. What is the advantage of any of the content that is currently taught?

7. What cultural values should the set curriculum imbibe?

8. What is your view on studying English language?

9. Would studying English language change your cultural values?

10. How would you describe your belief system?

APPENDIX D

Journal notes: Apex University

Clean and organized administration, very cordially give me an office space, furnished with computer and intranet facilitates. Arrange for photocopying and emailing the staff for interviews and classroom observations. Head of Dept. suggests use of the secretarial staff which the whole dept. shares. They offer services- tea and coffee as well.

Emails to the staff are not that helpful. Most remain answered. Handful agree but need to see what questions they will be asked. I send them a gist of the research study- aims and focus (which has been approved by the head of dept). Interviews with staff take place in free periods. Almost all take place in staff offices. Each member has their own office and a personal PA. As most live on campus, it is easy to ask them to stay longer. N agrees and stays late- HI stays late too but quips- she has grown up kids and so can stay as long as I want to talk. Prefers to ask questions before she answers mine. Asks to close the tape after 5 min and informal conversations begin.

NR was very accommodating, helped with observations, interviews and informal discussions. I took her out to lunch – off campus and she gave an insight into how the administration worked. NR and I are from the same college and were acquainted prior to coming here. I am told that many in the administration have had to lock horns with the government policies. Private funding is solicited from local companies but government channels foreign funds as well- which are not welcomed by the administration. The reason for the aversion to foreign funding is the strings attached to the funds and the influence they have on the educational curriculum. Such tussles have been going on for some time. She reveals a case in point- the new scholarship scheme for regional students, which is worth a very large sum. Regional students are given scholarship money- an annual allowance and are housed in on-campus hostels. The scheme was not acceptable to foreign donors, but PKG happened to convince the administration that it would help support the scheme and so it went ahead. SBA who is CEO was the one of the original founder of Apex and still holds sway on the board of governors.

AR and FZ help with the group interview, which becomes an interesting event. The admin sends requests for senior staff to come for informal discussions. Two remain- others leave because they realize that this may be taped. The senior staff member is

vocal and arrogant with his views, the younger member challenges him and a fight erupts. Good info- probably the best. But not much about the curriculum, except there are radically different points of view on how to teach the same subjects. The organizing admin staff member amazingly falls asleep during the fight.

SZ refuses to see me after obs. Very aware of my appearance it seems. Lights a cigarette and watches me write notes from afar.

Student interviews are harder than staff ones. Most do not have any opinions. On my first day-20 students are approached and manage to get only a 5 minute interview from 1 student. Quite at a loss on how to ask questions that are relatively boring. Interviews are to begin with my asking questions- find out that I am more interesting and spend time giving interviews rather than doing them. Interviews at the common rooms is a disaster- loud music and can't hear anything on tapes.

Library facilities are good and very strict. Most are reference materials and computer facilities. Most students have laptops so it is easy to see them typing away at the library.

Canteen is run by students and there are at least 3 on campus. Always full, especially if there is a sport on TV. Bookshops on campus are busy. Photocopying of complete texts is done on campus. They are ring binded and sold for USD5-USD15 each depending on the size of the book. The book that I manage to get is USD15 and 400pages- completely photocopied back to front.

The lecture theatres are usually half full- each lecture ha 25-35 students and the gender divide is fairly balanced. Staff are predominantly women. Secretarial staff are predominantly male. Atmosphere is relaxed. The mosque on Friday is packed- all staff and a majority of students with people from the campus- those that are in admin, cleaners, chauffeurs all come in and the congregation spills out onto the campus streets. The azaan is heard and lectures are paused- but in most cases lectures are scheduled around prayer times.

The amount of girls in hijab has increased since I have been here. Most are fluent in English and have returned from the US or Europe. Groups that form within class and around the campus during lunch times is gender based- all girls or all boys.

Informal observations: Rise University

Rise is a smaller university. Housed on a small campus and has no facilities for staff or student accommodation. I have been told that a new campus ground is being purchased and next year the campus will have hostels for students as well as for staff.

Admin at Rise are more suspicious of the intention of my research. They continually ask questions and want to know if the information will be released into the public domain. I have a hard time trying to convince them. Although they agree to informal interviews but refuse to be taped. I have 2 interviews with senior staff members but very little information is given and they spend all their time trying to claim their institution as better and superior than Apex. One of the interviewees suggests that because he has given me an interview I have to give a lecture on the topic of the research to his postgrad students. I agree and hope that I can elicit more information out of them-which is becoming almost impossible. I am not given the same privileges (as I had at Apex).

I give the lecture reluctantly. Rise is more Islamic in its approach, The hijab is commented upon and I am asked what kind of problems I face in Australia because of it. Interesting since no one at Apex dared to ask the same question- although I am sure that they wanted too – judging by the surprised faces. This Islamic minded uni does not have a mosque on campus and students walk to a nearby mosque to pray, some just pray on the grass outside their classes.

The curriculum is identical to that at Apex, as Rise started after Apex- I am not sure if the curriculum was copied verbatim from them. The readers are the same and the texts used are the photocopied versions as well- binded and photocopied in the same way from the uni's local bookshop. They are slightly cheaper in price than the ones at Apex.

Admin takes 1 week to decide what information I am allowed to access and they give in to questionnaires that can be handed to the students. I handover the questionnaires forms and hope that they are returned by the following week. No interviews with the students are allowed and no classroom observations. I am not sure what the reason is for the secrecy – but they may be afraid of info being passed to Apex. Considering the reputation of Apex – it seems unlikely that Apex is concerned. Nevertheless, the

questionnaires are all that I can hope for- and I am thankful that I can extract some information.

Rise University, I have been told informally is now changing from having an educationally focused administration to becoming a business venture. It will be sold to a business entrepreneur for a considerable sum. He plans to change it into viable business enterprise. This does not bode well for the university, but as Pakistan seems to have so many business minded individuals running educational institutions- this comes as no surprise.

APPENDIX E

Classroom observation notes at Apex

C/Obs/Journal Notes 7/12/04 Saika

The course reader is in collaboration with NR. There are only 15 students who are attending. The formal writing assignment is given at the beginning. SZ is very relaxed and almost to the point of being quite nonchalant about her role as the lecturer. She seems to leave the students to chatter among themselves. The class revolves around the Alice in Wonderland topic- of gibberish poetry and the creativity behind it. Quite a confusing approach to students who have clearly stated their ignorance of literature.

" I am not sure…"

"I cannot understand why we have to know Alice in whateverland…" "supposing I have never read it or supposing I don't have time to read it"

"Is it a baby's book?"

"Why should a writer use such language if no one understands it? "Aren't we supposed to be clear in what we say?"

"How does this help us?"

"Can we also make up words? Why are wrong words right if some Englishman writes it and wrong if an 3rdworld man writes it?"

" I don't get any of this…and whatever it means."

Most students have no idea about Lewis Carroll and constantly ask questions.

"Is he American or British?"

"Does he write for children or adults?"

"Does he think that adults will have any interest in what he is saying? Why should anyone really be interested in a child getting lost and making stories."

The students are ill-prepared for the topic and SZ has no information that eases the stress. They have no handouts that explain what is going on. SZ carries on and refers to Lord of the Rings, The hobbit, examples of onomatopoeia and the students are at a complete loss.

"I never read the book… because it has too many pages and I don't like fantasy English books."

"Why should we use this in our writing, because all this is not real and does not suit us anyway."

"Can we write using such words and can everyone understand what we say. Supposing someone has not read the book how are they going to understand?"

"You know that many of these writers use fantasy to explain what is real but the way that they do it is not appealing…not easy to follow…it is like their story is not clear… and I don't know why he makes so many earths."

The instructor talks of the 'Cheshire cat" in AIW and the students have no response. She tries to explain that the poem is what the cat sings throughout but the students are quite oblivious and they seem to be bored and quite. Stony silence ensues until the instructor then decides to prompt them by asking for made up words that they can conjure up. The students come up with English/Urdu words (code-switching) but the instructor gets upset and refuses to allow them.

"No, no, no, no that is not right"

"Can't we use Urdu and English?"

"No, No! the reason is because this is an English class –only in English. It is wrong to use other languages and it is not acceptable- and no one can understand it."

"But we all understand it and we speak like that many of times- if this is English we understand then why not?"

Pair work is given to students. They are to write nonsensical descriptions on a person or a place. From the students there is confusion and the students keep asking the same questions. They seem quite clear that this is not what they were expecting to do. The instructor suggests examples from books such as The Wind in the Willows, Through the Looking Glass- the students are still confused. The instructor goes on without answering any more questions but refuses to allow any examples except those that are purely English.

It is quite obvious from this class that allusions to pro-Western topics, issues and themes constantly may alienate students. Localized examples are vital to ensure that students are following the instructor. It almost seems that the students are struggling to make sense of the topic presented.

SZ refuses to give me any handouts.

She is very quiet and does not acknowledge my presence thru'out the obs. Quite cold in approach.

Stands in front of the projector and does not connect with the students. Quite clear on what to say but refuses to answer questions.

C/Obs/Journal Notes 8/12/04 Sohail

The lecturer begins in a very confused state. Approx 50 -60 yrs in age with black rimmed glasses. Early conversation- taught and studied At Oxford and has been teaching at Apex for quite some time. Has hoped to begin teaching literature but was told to commence teaching English language as Literature is not yet popular as a course. Inquires about the focus of the research study. Very polite and absent minded.

Classroom of 20-25 students, mixed, girls gravitate to the front of class, boys at the back.

The lesson begins with Aristotle and the art of logic. The lesson focuses on the idea that students present an argument for any presentation, but should be as logical and clearly presented.

'How does Aristotl-e-a-n logic become relevant to us and to the presentation'

The lecturer decides to divide the class into groups and gives them groupwork- to be accomplished in class time. The groups are voluntarily formed and are along gender lines. SG provides topics that are to be picked out from an empty c/board box by reps of each of the groups. The topics include

-to prevent war it is important to be prepared for it

-the need for atomic energy outweighs the risks

-how can peace be accomplished if history is remembered

-the Israel-Palestine conundrum

-human progress is measured by what we have accomplished not what we have destroyed

-green energy and water-saving is for first world countries only

-the communication revolution has made us further apart

There are more topics that remain in the box- and are not revealed.

The lesson focuses on the idea that students are to handle topics within a given time and present to the rest of the class and logical argument on their position. The groups come up one by one and the presentations lasts approx. 3-4 minutes each. SG rarely intervenes and the class asks questions and the atmosphere becomes more relaxed. The interaction among the students suggests: that they could discuss and present opinions in a more relaxed manner and some use this opportunity to gossip among each other. Those who have to present remind SG about the time. He presses others to wind up the discussions. One group promises to present in a later class and the lecture ends. SG walks towards where I sit and offers his help and any information that I might need. Thank him and leave.

C/Obs/Journal Notes 13/12/04 Naheed

Two articles were introduced to class

Mark Schorer- *Technique as Discovery*
André Malraux- *Lawrence and the Demon of the Absolute*

Had a quick look. The opening sentence seems quite profound and hardly one that can be unpacked so quickly in a classroom full of students who would find it difficult to understand English let alone the meaning:

Modern criticism, through its exacting scrutiny of literary texts, has demonstrated with finality that in art beauty and truth are indivisible and one. The Keatsian overtones...

The overtones are definitely Keatsian, and with no Grecian Urn or nightingale, it is going to be difficult for NR to explain. Continuous references to writers abound:

Defoe's Moll Flanders and Emily Bronte's Wuthering Heights; and three well-known novels of this century—Tono Bungay, by a writer who claimed to eschew technique; Sons and Lovers, by a novelist who, because his ideal of subject matter ("the poetry of the immediate present") led him at last into the fallacy of spontaneous and unchangeable composition, in effect eschewed technique; and A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man

-not sure what the beginning of the article suggests?

-is it about how to write well?

- without knowledge of literature can one write good English?

- is it like Urdu adab- no ghalib no biyan? Quotes ghalib

Ghalib's quote is not accurate and someone in the class points out the mistakes.

- Creating a piece of writing is art if you spend too much time on it- shape it and then make it according to what you want it to be. But in Urdu we have the biyan and the idea of shikwa and jawab- that can't be translated into English. So how do you write with feeling and use good technique?
- Is MF a banned book?
- Not profanity but prefatory…
- He's stupid- maza layanay me taiz…(loves being lazy)
- Oh read it quickly- too quickly…
- These are novels written with a moral point..

- The writing of our reports is done with no moral point- in fact business with morals is not a good idea- no one wants a amajan (grandmother).
- NR- but this is about the technique of writing. Writing with purpose is not a simple task. It is something that you perfect. You have to do this well or the reader can misunderstand you.
- But does mean we have to be careful about how we position ourselves? We may suggest someone should buy some product but not clearly say - just say it like hide it- in the words?
- NR you don't have to be sneaky about it. Most corporations pub reports to show what they want others to see not what is really there.- It is a dangerous and immoral thing to do.
- Of course we never hear the truth- like politicians- always jutha makar (lying cheating hypocrites)
- Ok
- The other artcl- is by Malraux- note the following lines:

Narration expresses a past whose total effect—scene by scene—is that of a present. Just as the painters developed perspective, the novelists found in dialogue and atmosphere a means of effecting this transformation.

- NR this is bout Lawrence- L of Arabia not DHL. Please no mixing up. I want to show this because of what it means to write a narrative account. Such an acc is important if you are going to present or report something correctly- not misrepresent or even represent in ur version.
- Does this mean that presenting a narrative is story-telling type of writing?
- Not sure who Montaigne and the rest are?
- NR I will look them up and tell you next time. But this is an article that raises the idea that writing is really a way to spill the spirit onto the page. But it must be done honestly.
- Why do we have to be spilling our feelings like this? We can then get caught…
- No we can be jailed for telling the truth…

- NR acha Ok try to see what you have gained- what insight have u all got on what this art is trying to say?
- NR the main theme of the articl is …focusing on the technique of writing. The class finishes and students get up to leave. I am to meet NR later for coffee.

C/Obs/Journal Notes 30/12/04 Naheed

NR seems to enjoy talking about controversial topics- it also helps to create a colourful and interesting class experience. She begins by quoting the characteristics of Moral and Aesthetic-

This view is endorsed by students' opinions that were voiced during a classroom observation where they were presenting on the topic of 'Creating a Moral Society',

-We think that morality is the cornerstone of any society"

-We believe that we need religion to guide us as to what is morally right and what is morally wrong"

-The idea that Man knows what is right and what is wrong is based on trial and error and most times after many years people find that what they have been following is wrong."

-NR where do you source such ideas? Religious, cultural or literary- any effect from people saying things to you? Or parents? Or TV

-or cable or net…

NR yes…cable or net?

-probably yes. Depends on where we are most influenced by…

Probably each other…your friends…cousins…family…

But you know what is right. Because you have a feeling inside you. Everyone knows what is right and what is wrong …but you don't always follow it…like many don't care and then they forget the difference…

Or they can't tell and they can't tell the difference anymore.

Killing someone is wrong- and helping someone is right...that's just basic. But why do you kill and why can you think it is right? If you are in war-people kill…they kill children and women and they don't care. They know it's wrong…I think they don't have any morals anymore.

Discussions…on morality….

NR What about war? How would you justify war? Can you justify war ever?

An assignment- essay on how a situation can become difficult and how people have problems making morally correct choices.

The class finishes and some students go to the front and talk to NR. Huddled around her for 15 minutes, she is occupied so I leave.

C/Obs/Journal Notes 10/01/05 Naheed

NR's new class of the year. She is quite ready to tackle what she calls a more interactive approach. She wants feedback on how people can gauge opinions from social interactions. She is going to ask what she calls 'difficult' and controversial questions (not like she hasn't done this before). She sends me a handout of the article two days before class begins. I have read it before class. The students were emailed it prior to the beginning of class. The article is Earl Shorris' *On the Uses of a Liberal Education: As a Weapon in the Hands of the Restless Poor*

- NR We are going to study this new article. It is rather an interactive one…All have read it… Any thoughts?
- Why is education seen to be a commercial enterprise only?
- Is the role of the teacher different in the West and the East? Why does it mean that when we use first names for teachers abroad but the full name for ones here?
- NR besides the obvious cultural differences…anything else?
- Why is Aristotle, Plato… all important?

- Does teaching them such things create an awareness? What if they were taught this through cultural norms, religious norms or the ideas that are part of a collective consciousness?
- We don't learn this…so we are not going to progress? Are we not educated enough?
- How do you measure someone's education …his ability to fit into Western society?
- NR we can write all these points here and discuss them…

NR writes on the whiteboard as points are being raised.

NR the need for liberal arts points to a wholesome approach to learning. We educate ourselves to become better people not only more 'successful'- also a relative term.

- But that only means that we are wasting money on things that will make us waste our time and resources.
- Liberal arts is for people who have good forms of education and are rich enough to think about philosophies of life.
- Can we get a good job if we know Iqbal or Mir Taqi Mir? Faiz wasn't happy, his wife back to Germany..
- Nai- may be no- but she was probably unhappy – bechara bukhi margay thi. (probably dying of hunger)
- NR please…liberal arts means the mind is cultured enough to become civilized and be happy or we become robots…
- No it means that we spend precious money learning subjects while people are dying in hospitals. Better to be a doctor then.
- NR what are the thoughts on the experiment …social experiment that Shorris did?
- He had the privilege of a lot of fazull time…complete bukwas. (complete bull, nonsense)
- No, he was trying to see if he could get free funding for people who were going to be nobody anyway. Fooled me…pagal banda (crazy guy).

The discussion was long and protracted. Not much gained from this observation except that all students were seemingly agreeing to the idea that Liberal education isn't as productive as other areas of knowledge. Makes sense in a society where unemployment is high and finding a decent job even with relevant education can become a problem.

Journal Notes 10/01/05 Milad

ML talks before class begins. Projector is on and he begins by taking down the ideas for a new topic on how to write business reports. Slides on pie charts and how to incorporate them within the text. He has in previous classes asked that students choose a topic for which they have to write business reports for. All topics are fictitious. Interesting vibe in the class. Very business and serious approach. All watch the PPt carefully as they will have to hand in a hard copy as well as do a similar presentation in front of the class later on in the term. Very boring- I almost fall asleep.

Journal Notes 11/01/05 Naheed

Yesterday the class was quite vocal about their ideas. Today it seems only half the class turned up. For many the new year hasn't really started. Or as NR mentions early on, students take the handouts and don't turn up the next day.

NR If Shorris was talking about the need for liberal education, what would the university be like if there were no liberal arts subjects and if there were only liberal arts subjects?

- Quite different from what we have now.
- People would sit around a lot and think or be bored.
- Projects would not get done because people would talk too much and nothing would get done.
- NR any positive effect…

- People would be aware of a little of everything and we could all take part
- But no work would be completed to a good standard and it would take longer- buday ho jayngay (grow old) with too much time and no expertise yar…
- NR pure science education means progress in everyone's mind. But what about the things you like and that make you happy…are they the same things that make you rich?
- Paisay (money) is everything in today's world. All the time spent here is for a better education and to end with a good job. Paisay also makes you happy-
- But you cannot enjoy life if we have no understanding of what joy is nahi?

APPENDIX F

Sample of teaching materials: Naheed

Technique as Discovery

Mark Schorer

Modern criticism, through its exacting scrutiny of literary texts, has demonstrated with finality that in art beauty and truth are indivisible and one. The Keatsian overtones of these terms are mitigated and an old dilemma solved if for beauty we substitute form, and for truth, content. We may, without risk of loss, narrow them even more, and speak of technique and subject matter. Modern criticism has shown us that to speak of content as such is not to speak of art at all, but of experience; and that it is only when we speak of the *achieved* content, the form, the work of art as a work of art, that we speak as critics. The difference between content, or experience, and achieved content, or art, is technique.

When we speak of technique, then, we speak of nearly everything. For technique is the means by which the writer's experience, which is his subject matter, compels him to attend to it; technique is the only means he has of discovering, exploring, developing his subject, of conveying its meaning, and, finally, of evaluating it. And surely it follows that certain techniques are sharper tools than others, and will discover more; that the writer capable of the most exacting technical scrutiny of his subject matter, will produce works with the most satisfying content, works with thickness and resonance, works which reverberate, works with maximum meaning.

We are no longer able to regard as seriously intended criticism of poetry which does not assume these generalizations; but the case for fiction has not yet been established. The novel is still read as though its content has some value in itself, as though the subject matter of fiction has greater or lesser value in itself, and as though technique were not a primary but a supplementary element, capable perhaps of not unattractive embellishments upon the surface of the subject, but hardly of its essence. Or technique is thought of in blunter terms from those which one associates with poetry, as such relatively obvious matters as the arrangement of events to create plot; or, within plot, of suspense and climax; or as the means of revealing character motivation, relationship, and development; or as the use of point of view, but point of view as some nearly arbitrary device for the heightening of dramatic interest through the narrowing or broadening of perspective upon the material, rather than as a means toward the positive definition of theme. As for the resources of language, these, somehow, we almost never think of as a

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part of the technique of fiction—language as used to create a certain texture and tone which in themselves state and define themes and meanings; or language, the counters of our ordinary speech, as forced, through conscious manipulation, into all those larger meanings which our ordinary speech almost never intends. Technique in fiction, all this is a way of saying, we somehow continue to regard as merely a means to organizing material which is "given" rather than as the means of exploring and defining the values in an area of experience which, for the first time *then*, are being given.

Is fiction still regarded in this odd, divided way because it is really less tractable before the critical suppositions which now seem inevitable to poetry? Let us look at some examples: two well-known novels of the past, both by writers who may be described as "primitive," although their relative innocence of technique is of a different sort—Defoe's *Moll Flanders* and Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*; and three well-known novels of this century—*Tono Bungay*, by a writer who claimed to eschew technique; *Sons and Lovers*, by a novelist who, because his ideal of subject matter ("the poetry of the immediate present") led him at last into the fallacy of spontaneous and unchangeable composition, in effect eschewed technique; and *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, by a novelist whose practice made claims for the supremacy of technique beyond those made by anyone in the past or by anyone else in this century.

Technique in fiction is, of course, all those obvious forms of it which are usually taken to be the whole of it, and many others; but for the present purposes, let it be thought of in two respects particularly: the uses to which language, as language, is put to express the quality of the experience in question; and the uses of point of view not only as a mode of dramatic delimitation, but more particularly, of thematic definition. Technique is really what T. S. Eliot means by "convention"—any selection, structure, or distortion, any form or rhythm imposed upon the world of action; by means of which—it should be added—our apprehension of the world of action is enriched or renewed. In this sense, everything is technique which is not the lump of experience itself, and one cannot properly say that a writer has no technique or that he eschews technique, for, being a writer, he cannot do so. We can speak of good and bad technique, of adequate and inadequate, of technique which serves the novel's purpose, or disserves.

2

In the prefatory remarks to *Moll Flanders*, Defoe tells us that he is not writing fiction at all, but editing the journals of a woman of notorious character, and rather to instruct us in the necessities and the joys of virtue than to please us. We do not, of course, take these professions seriously, since nothing in the conduct of the narrative indicates that virtue is either more necessary or more enjoyable than vice. On the contrary, we discover that Moll turns virtuous only after a life of vice has enabled her to do so with security; yet it is precisely for this reason that Defoe's profession of didactic purpose has interest. For the actual morality which the novel enforces is the morality of any commercial culture, the belief that virtue pays—in worldly goods. It is a morality

somewhat less than skin deep, having no relation to motives arising from a sense of good and evil, least of all, of evil-*in*-good, but exclusively from the presence or absence of food, drink, linen, damask, silver, and time-pieces. It is the morality of measurement, and without in the least intending it, *Moll Flanders* is our classic revelation of the mercantile mind: the morality of measurement, which Defoe has completely neglected to measure. He fails not only to evaluate this material in his announced way, but to evaluate it at all. His announced purpose is, we admit, a pious humbug, and he meant us to read the book as a series of scandalous events; and thanks to his inexhaustible pleasure in excess and exaggeration, this element in the book continues to amuse us. Long before the book has been finished, however, this element has also become an absurdity; but not half the absurdity as that which Defoe did not intend at all—the notion that Moll could live a rich and full life of crime, and yet, repenting, emerge spotless in the end. The point is, of course, that she has no moral being, nor has the book any moral life. Everything is external. Everything can be weighed, measured, handled, paid for in gold, or expiated by a prison term. To this, the whole texture of the novel testifies: the bolts of goods, the inventories, the itemized accounts, the landlady's bills, the lists, the ledgers: all this, which taken together comprises what we call Defoe's method of circumstantial realism.

He did not come upon that method by any deliberation: it represents precisely his own world of value, the importance of external circumstance to Defoe. The point of view of Moll is indistinguishable from the point of view of her creator. We discover the meaning of the novel (at unnecessary length, without economy, without emphasis, with almost none of the distortions or the advantages of art) in spite of Defoe, not because of him. Thus the book is not the true chronicle of a disreputable female, but the true allegory of an impoverished soul—the author's; not an anatomy of the criminal class, but of the middle class. And we read it as an unintended comic revelation of self and of a social mode. Because he had no adequate resources of technique to separate himself from his material, thereby to discover and to define the meanings of his material, his contribution is not to fiction but to the history of fiction, and to social history.

The situation in *Wuthering Heights* is at once somewhat the same and yet very different. Here, too, the whole novel turns upon itself, but this time to its estimable advantage; here, too, is a revelation of what is perhaps the author's secret world of value, but this time, through what may be an accident of technique, the revelation is meaningfully accomplished. Emily Bronte may merely have stumbled upon the perspectives which define the form and the theme of her book. Whether she knew from the outset, or even at the end, what she was doing, we may doubt; but what she did and did superbly we can see.

We can assume, without at all becoming involved in the author's life but merely from the tone of somnambulistic excess which is generated by the writing itself, that this world of monstrous passion, of dark and gigantic emotional and nervous energy, is for the author, or was in the first place, a world of ideal value; and that the book sets out to persuade us of the moral magnificence of such unmoral passion. We are, I think,

expected, in the first place, to take at their own valuation these demonic beings, Heathcliff and Cathy: as special creatures, set apart from the cloddish world about them by their heightened capacity for feeling, set apart, even, from the ordinary objects of human passion as, in their transcendental, sexless relationship, they identify themselves with an uncompromising landscape and cosmic force. Yet this is absurd, as much of the detail that surrounds it ("Other dogs lurked in other recesses") is absurd. The novelist Emily Bronte had to discover these absurdities to the girl Emily; her technique had to evaluate them for what they were, so that we are persuaded that it is not Emily who is mistaken in her estimate of her characters, but they who are mistaken in their estimate of themselves. The theme of the moral magnificence of unmoral passion is an impossible theme to sustain, and what interests us is that it was device—and this time, mere, mechanical device—which taught Emily Bronte that, the needs of her temperament to the contrary, all personal longing and reverie to the contrary, perhaps—that this was indeed not at all what her material must mean as art. Technique objectifies.

To lay before us the full character of this passion, to show us how it first comes into being and then comes to dominate the world about it and the life that follows upon it, Emily Bronte gives her material a broad scope in time, lets it, in fact, cut across three generations. And to manage material which is so extensive, she must find a means of narration, points of view, which can encompass that material, and, in her somewhat crude concept of motive, justify its telling. So she chooses a foppish traveller who stumbles into this world of passionate violence, a traveller representing the thin and conventional emotional life of the far world of fashion, who wishes to hear the tale: and for her teller she chooses, almost inevitably, the old family retainer who knows everything, a character as conventional as the other, but this one representing not the conventions of fashion, but the conventions of the humblest moralism. What has happened, is, first, that she has chosen as her narrative perspective those very elements, conventional emotion and conventional morality, which her hero and heroine are meant to transcend with such spectacular magnificence; and second, that she has permitted this perspective to operate throughout a long period of time. And these two elements compel the novelist to see what her unmoral passions come to. Moral magnificence? Not at all; rather, a devastating spectacle of human waste; ashes. For the time of the novel is carried on long enough to show Heathcliff at last an emptied man, burned out by his fever ragings, exhausted and will-less, his passion meaningless at last. And it goes even a little further, to Lockwood, the fop, in the graveyard, sententiously contemplating headstones. Thus in the end the triumph is all on the side of the cloddish world, which survives.

Perhaps not all on that side. For, like Densher at the end of *The Wings of the Dove*, we say, and surely Hareton and the second Cathy say, "We shall never be again as we were!" But there is more point in observing that a certain body of materials, a girl's romantic daydreams, have, through the most conventional devices of fiction, been pushed beyond their inception in fancy to their meanings, their conception as a written book—that they, that is, are not at all as they were.

3

Technique alone objectifies the materials of art; hence technique alone evaluates those materials. This is the axiom which demonstrates itself so devastatingly whenever a writer declares, under the urgent sense of the importance of his materials (whether these are autobiography, or social ideas, or personal passions) —whenever such a writer declares that he cannot linger with technical refinements. That art will not tolerate such a writer H. G. Wells handsomely proves. His enormous literary energy included no respect for the techniques of his medium, and his medium takes its revenge upon his bumptiousness. "I have never taken any very great pains about writing. I am outside the hierarchy of conscious and deliberate writers altogether. I am the absolute antithesis of Mr. James Joyce. . . . Long ago, living in close conversational proximity to Henry James, Joseph Conrad, and Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer, I escaped from under their immense artistic preoccupations by calling myself a journalist." Precisely. And he escaped—he disappeared—from literature into the annals of an era.

Yet what confidence! "Literature," Wells said, "is not jewelry, it has quite other aims than perfection, and the more one thinks of 'how it is done' the less one gets it done. These critical indulgences lead along a fatal path, away from every natural interest towards a preposterous emptiness of technical effort, a monstrous egotism of artistry, of which the later work of Henry James is the monumental warning. 'It,' the subject, the thing or the thought, has long since disappeared in these amazing works; nothing remains but the way it has been 'manipulated.' " Seldom has a literary theorist been so totally wrong; for what we learn as James grows for us and Wells disappears, is that without what he calls "manipulation," there *is* no "it," no "subject" in art. There is again only social history.

The virtue of the modern novelist—from James and Conrad down—is not only that he pays so much attention to his medium, but that, when he pays most, he discovers through it a new subject matter, and a greater one. Under the "immense artistic preoccupations" of James and Conrad and Joyce, the form of the novel changed, and with the technical change, analogous changes took place in substance, in point of view, in the whole conception of fiction. And the final lesson of the modern novel is that technique is not the secondary thing that it seemed to Wells, some external machination, a mechanical affair, but a deep and primary operation; not only that technique *contains* intellectual and moral implications, but that it *discovers* them. For a writer like Wells, who wished to give us the intellectual and the moral history of our times, the lesson is a hard one: it tells us that the order of intellect and the order of morality do not exist at all, in art, except as they are organized in the order of art.

Wells's ambitions were very large. "Before we have done, we will have all life within the scope of the novel." But that is where life already is, within the scope of the novel; where it needs to be brought is into novels. In Wells we have all the important topics in life, but no good novels. He was not asking too much of art, or asking that it include more than it happily can; he was not asking anything of it—as art, which is all that it can give, and that is everything.

A novel like *Tono Bungay*, generally thought to be Wells's best, is therefore instructive. "I want to tell—*myself*," says George, the hero, "and my impressions of the thing as a whole"—the thing as a whole being the collapse of traditional British institutions in the twentieth century. George "tells himself" in terms of three stages in his life which have rough equivalents in modern British social history, and this is, to be sure, a plan, a framework; but it is the framework of Wells's abstract thinking, not of his craftsmanship, and the primary demand which one makes of such a book as this, that means be discovered whereby the dimensions of the hero contain the experiences he recounts, is never met. The novelist flounders through a series of literary imitations—from an early Dickensian episode, through a kind of Shavian interlude, through a Conradian episode, to a Jules Vernes vision at the end. The significant failure is in that end, and in the way that it defeats not only the entire social analysis of the bulk of the novel, but Wells's own ends as a thinker. For at last George finds a purpose in science. "I decided that in power and knowledge lay the salvation of my life, the secret that would fill my need; that to these things I would give myself."

But science, power and knowledge, are summed up at last in a destroyer. As far as one can tell Wells intends no irony, although he may here have come upon the essence of the major irony in modern history. The novel ends in a kind of meditative rhapsody which denies every value that the book had been aiming toward. For of all the kinds of social waste which Wells has been describing, this is the most inclusive, the final waste. Thus he gives us in the end not a novel, but a hypothesis; not an individual destiny, but a theory of the future; and not his theory of the future, but a nihilistic vision quite opposite from everything that he meant to represent. With a minimum of attention to the virtues of technique, Wells might still not have written a good novel; but he would at any rate have established a point of view and a tone which would have told us what he meant.

To say what one means in art is never easy, and the more intimately one is implicated in one's material, the more difficult it is. If, besides, one commits fiction to a therapeutic function which is to be operative not on the audience but on the author, declaring, as D. H. Lawrence did, that "One sheds one's sicknesses in books, repeats and presents again one's emotions to be master of them," the difficulty is vast. It is an acceptable theory only with the qualification that technique, which objectifies, is under no other circumstances so imperative. For merely to repeat one's emotions, merely to look into one's heart and write, is also merely to repeat the round of emotional bondage. If our books are to be exercises in self-analysis, then technique must—and alone can—take the place of the absent analyst.

Lawrence, in the relatively late Introduction to his *Collected Poems*, made that distinction of the amateur between his "real" poems and his "composed" poems, between the poems which expressed his demon directly and created their own form "willy-nilly," and the poems which, through the hocus pocus of technique, he spuriously put together and could, if necessary, revise. His belief in a "poetry of the immediate present," poetry in which nothing is fixed, static, or final, where all is shimmeriness and impermanence and vitalistic essence, arose from this

mistaken notion of technique. And from this notion, an unsympathetic critic like D. S. Savage can construct a case which shows Lawrence driven "concurrently to the dissolution of personality and the dissolution of art." The argument suggests that Lawrence's early, crucial novel, *Sons and Lovers*, is another example of meanings confused by an impatience with technical resources.

The novel has two themes: the crippling effects of a mother's love on the emotional development of her son; and the "split" between kinds of love, physical and spiritual, which the son develops, the kinds represented by two young women, Clara and Miriam. The two themes should, of course, work together, the second being, actually, the result of the first: this "split" is the "crippling." So one would expect to see the novel developed, and so Lawrence, in his famous letter to Edward Garnett, where he says that Paul is left at the end with the "drift towards death," apparently thought he had developed it. Yet in the last few sentences of the novel, Paul rejects his desire for extinction and turns towards "the faintly humming, glowing town," to life—as nothing in his previous history persuades us that he could unfalteringly do.

The discrepancy suggests that the book may reveal certain confusions between intention and performance.

The first of these is the contradiction between Lawrence's explicit characterizations of the mother and father and his tonal evaluations of them. It is a problem not only of style (of the contradiction between expressed moral epithets and the more general texture of the prose which applies to them) but of point of view. Morel and Lawrence are never separated, which is a way of saying that Lawrence maintains for himself in this book the confused attitude of his character. The mother is a "proud, *honorable* soul," but the father has a "small, *mean* head." This is the sustained contrast; the epithets are characteristic of the whole; and they represent half of Lawrence's feelings. But what is the other half? Which of these characters is given his real sympathy—the hard, self-righteous, aggressive, demanding mother who comes through to us, or the simple, direct, gentle, downright, fumbling, ruined father? There are two attitudes here. Lawrence (and Morel) loves his mother, but he also hates her for compelling his love; and he hates his father with the true Freudian jealousy, but he also loves him for what he is in himself, and he sympathizes more deeply with him because his wholeness has been destroyed by the mother's domination, just as his, Lawrence-Morel's, has been.

This is a psychological tension which disrupts the form of the novel and obscures its meaning, because neither the contradiction in style nor the confusion in point of view is made to right itself. Lawrence is merely repeating his emotions, and he avoids an austerer technical scrutiny of his material because it would compel him to master them. He would not let the artist be stronger than the man.

The result is that, at the same time that the book condemns the mother, it justifies her; at the same time that it shows Paul's failure, it offers rationalizations which place the failure elsewhere. The handling of the girl, Miriam, if viewed closely, is pathetic in what it signifies for

Lawrence, both as man and artist. For Miriam is made the mother's scape-goat, and in a different way from the way that she was in life. The central section of the novel is shot through with alternate statements as to the source of the difficulty: Paul is unable to love Miriam wholly, and Miriam can love only his spirit. The contradictions appear sometimes within single paragraphs, and the point of view is never adequately objectified and sustained to tell us which is true. The material is never seen as material; the writer is caught in it exactly as firmly as he was caught in his experience of it. "That's how women are with me," said Paul. "They want me like mad, but they don't want to belong to me." So he might have said, and believed it; but at the end of the novel, Lawrence is still saying that, and himself believing it.

For the full history of this technical failure, one must read *Sons and Lovers* carefully and then learn the history of the manuscript from the book called *D. H. Lawrence: A Personal Record*, by one E. T., who was Miriam in life. The basic situation is clear enough. The first theme—the crippling effects of the mother's love—is developed right through to the end; and then suddenly, in the last few sentences, turns on itself, and Paul gives himself to life, not death. But all the way through, the insidious rationalizations of the second theme have crept in to destroy the artistic coherence of the work. A "split" would occur in Paul; but as the split is treated, it is superimposed upon rather than developed in support of the first theme. It is a rationalization made from it. If Miriam is made to insist on spiritual love, the meaning and the power of theme one are reduced; yet Paul's weakness is disguised. Lawrence could not separate the investigating analyst, who must be objective, from Lawrence, the subject of the book; and the sickness was not healed, the emotion not mastered, the novel not perfected. All this, and the character of a whole career, would have been altered if Lawrence had allowed his technique to discover the fullest meaning of his subject.

A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, like *Tono Bungay* and *Sons and Lovers*, is autobiographical, but unlike these it analyzes its material rigorously, and it defines the value and the quality of its experience not by appended comment or moral epithet, but by the texture of the style. The theme of *A Portrait*, a young artist's alienation from his environment, is explored and evaluated through three different styles and methods as Stephen Dedalus moves from childhood through boyhood into maturity. The opening pages are written in something like the stream of consciousness of *Ulysses*, as the environment impinges directly on the consciousness of the infant and the child, a strange, opening world which the mind does not yet subject to questioning, selection, or judgment. But this style changes very soon, as the boy begins to explore his surroundings, and as his sensuous experience of the world is enlarged, it takes on heavier and heavier rhythms and a fuller and fuller body of sensuous detail, until it reaches a crescendo of romantic opulence in the emotional climaxes which mark Stephen's rejection of domestic and religious values. Then gradually the style subsides into the austerer intellectuality of the final sections, as he defines to himself the outlines of the artistic task which is to usurp his maturity.

A highly self-conscious use of style and method defines the quality of experience in each of these sections, and, it is worth pointing out in

connection with the third and concluding section, the style and method evaluate the experience. What has happened to Stephen is, of course, a progressive alienation from the life around him as he progressed in his initiation into it, and by the end of the novel, the alienation is complete. The final portion of the novel, fascinating as it may be for the developing aesthetic creed of Stephen-Joyce, is peculiarly bare. The life experience was not bare, as we know from *Stephen Hero*; but Joyce is forcing technique to comment. In essence, Stephen's alienation is a denial of the human environment; it is a loss; and the austere discourse of the final section, abstract and almost wholly without sensuous detail or strong rhythm, tells us of that loss. It is a loss so great that the texture of the notation-like prose here suggests that the end is really all an illusion, that when Stephen tells us and himself that he is going forth to forge in the smithy of his soul the uncreated conscience of his race, we are to infer from the very quality of the icy, abstract void he now inhabits, the implausibility of his aim. For *Ulysses* does not create the conscience of the race; it creates our consciousness.

In the very last two or three paragraphs of the novel, the style changes once more, reverts from the bare, notative kind to the romantic prose of Stephen's adolescence. "Away! Away! The spell of arms and voices: the white arms of roads, their promise of close embraces and the black arms of tall ships that stand against the moon, their tale of distant nations. They are held out to say: We are alone—come." Might one not say that the austere ambition is founded on adolescent longing? That the excessive intellectual severity of one style is the counterpart of the excessive lyric relaxation of the other? And that the final passage of *A Portrait* punctuates the illusory nature of the whole ambition?

For *Ulysses* does not create a conscience. Stephen, in *Ulysses*, is a little older, and gripped now by guilt, but he is still the cold young man divorced from the human no less than the institutional environment. The environment of urban life finds a separate embodiment in the character of Bloom, and Bloom is as lost as Stephen, though touchingly groping for moorings. Each of the two is weakened by his inability to reach out, or to do more than reach out to the other. Here, then, is the theme again, more fully stated, as it were in counterpoint.

But if Stephen is not much older, Joyce is. He is older as an artist not only because he can create and lavish his Godlike pity on a Leopold Bloom, but also because he knows now what both Stephen and Bloom mean, and *how much*, through the most brilliant technical operation ever made in fiction, they can be made to mean. Thus *Ulysses*, through the imaginative force which its techniques direct, is like a pattern of concentric circles, with the immediate human situation at its center, this passing on and out to the whole dilemma of modern life, this passing on and out beyond that to a vision of the cosmos, and this to the mythical limits of our experience. If we read *Ulysses* with more satisfaction than any other novel of this century, it is because its author held an attitude toward technique and the technical scrutiny of subject matter which enabled him to order, within a single work and with superb coherence, the greatest amount of our experience.

4

In the United States during the last twenty-five years, we have had many big novels but few good ones. A writer like James T. Farrell apparently assumes that by endless redundancy in the description of the surface of American Life, he will somehow write a book with the scope of *Ulysses*. Thomas Wolfe apparently assumed that by the mere disgorging of the raw material of his experience he would give us at last our epic. But except in a physical sense, these men have hardly written novels at all.

The books of Thomas Wolfe were, of course, journals, and the primary role of his publisher in transforming these journals into the semblance of novels is notorious. For the crucial act of the artist, the unique act which is composition, a sympathetic editorial blue pencil and scissors were substituted. The result has excited many people, especially the young, and the ostensibly critical have observed the prodigal talent with the wish that it might have been controlled. Talent there was, if one means by talent inexhaustible verbal energy, excessive response to personal experience, and a great capacity for auditory imitativeness, yet all of this has nothing to do with the novelistic quality of the written result; until the talent is controlled, the material organized, the content achieved, there is simply the man and his life. It remains to be demonstrated that Wolfe's conversations were any less interesting as novels than his books, which is to say that his books are without interest as novels. As with Lawrence, our response to the books is determined, not by their qualities as novels, but by our response to him and his qualities as a temperament.

This is another way of saying that Thomas Wolfe never really knew what he was writing *about*. Of Time and the River is merely a euphemism for Of a Man and his Ego. It is possible that had his conception of himself and of art included an adequate respect for technique and the capacity to pursue it, Wolfe would have written a great novel on his true subject—the dilemma of romantic genius; it was his true subject, but it remains his undiscovered subject, it is the subject which *we* must dig out for him, because he himself had neither the lamp nor the pick to find it in and mine it out of the labyrinths of his experience. Like Emily Bronte, Wolfe needed a point of view beyond his own which would separate his material and its effect.

With Farrell, the situation is opposite. He knows quite well what his subject is and what he wishes to tell us about it, but he hardly needs the novel to do so. It is significant that in sheer clumsiness of style, no living writer exceeds him, for his prose is asked to perform no service beyond communication of the most rudimentary kind of fact. For his ambitions, the style of the newspaper and the lens of the documentary camera would be quite adequate, yet consider the diminution which Leopold Bloom, for example, would suffer, if he were to be viewed from these, the technical perspectives of James Farrell. Under the eye of this technique, the material does not yield up enough; indeed, it shrinks.

More and more writers in this century have felt that naturalism as a method imposes on them strictures which prevent them from exploring through all the resources of technique the full amplifications of their subjects, and that thus it seriously limits the possible breadth of aesthetic meaning and response. James Farrell is almost unique in the

complacency with which he submits to the blunt techniques of naturalism; and his fiction is correspondingly repetitive and flat.

That naturalism had a sociological and disciplinary value in the nineteenth century is obvious; it enabled the novel to grasp materials and make analyses which had eluded it in the past, and to grasp them boldly; but even then it did not tell us enough of what, in Virginia Woolf's phrase, is "really real," nor did it provide the means to the maximum of reality coherently contained. Even the Flaubertian ideal of objectivity seems, today, an unnecessarily limited view of objectivity, for as almost every good writer of this century shows us, it is quite as possible to be objective about subjective states as it is to be objective about the circumstantial surfaces of life. Dublin, in *Ulysses*, is a moral setting: not only a city portrayed in the naturalistic fashion of Dickens' London, but also a map of the modern psyche with its oblique and baffled purposes. The second level of reality in no way invalidates the first, and a writer like Joyce shows us that, if the artist truly respects his medium, he can be objective about both at once. What we need in fiction is a devoted fidelity to every technique which will help us to discover and to evaluate our subject matter, and more than that, to discover the amplifications of meaning of which our subject matter is capable.

Most modern novelists have felt this demand upon them. André Gide allowed one of his artist-heroes to make an observation which considerably resembles an observation we have quoted from Wells. "My novel hasn't got a subject. . . . Let's say, if you prefer it, it hasn't got *one* subject. . . . 'A slice of life,' the naturalist school said. The great defect of that school is that it always cuts its slice in the same direction; in time, lengthwise. Why not in breadth? Or in depth? As for me I should like not to cut at all. Please understand; I should like to put everything into my novel." Wells, with his equally large blob of potential material, did not know how to cut it to the novel's taste; Gide cut, of course—in every possible direction. Gide and others. And those "cuts" are all the new techniques which modern fiction has given us. None, perhaps, is more important than that inheritance from French symbolism which Huxley, in the glittering wake of Gide, called "the musicalization of fiction." Conrad anticipated both when he wrote that the novel "must strenuously aspire to the plasticity of sculpture, to the colour of painting, and to the magic suggestiveness of music—which is the art of arts," and when he said of that early but wonderful piece of symbolist fiction, *Heart of Darkness*, "It was like another art altogether. That sombre theme had to be given a sinister resonance, a tonality of its own, a continued vibration that, I hoped, would hang in the air and dwell on the ear after the last note had been struck." The analogy with music, except as a metaphor, is inexact, and except as it points to techniques which fiction can employ as fiction, not very useful to our sense of craftsmanship. It has had an approximate exactness in only one work, Joyce's final effort, and an effort unique in literary history, *Finnegan's Wake*, and here, of course, those readers willing to approach the "ideal" effort Joyce demands, discovering an inexhaustible wealth and scope, are most forcibly reminded of the primary importance of technique to subject, and of their indivisibility.

The techniques of naturalism inevitably curtail subject and often leave it in its original area, that of undefined social experience. Those of our

writers who, stemming from this tradition, yet, at their best, achieve a novelistic definition of social experience—writers like the occasional Sherwood Anderson, William Carlos Williams, the occasional Erskine Caldwell, Nathaniel West, and Ira Wolfert in *Tucker's People*, have done so by pressing naturalism far beyond itself, into positively gothic distortions. The structural machinations of Dos Passos and the lyrical interruptions of Steinbeck are the desperate maneuvers of men committed to a method of whose limitations they despair. They are our symbolists *manqué*, who end as allegorists.

Our most accomplished novels leave no such impression of desperate and intentional struggle, yet their precise technique and their determination to make their prose work in the service of their subjects have been the measure of their accomplishment. Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* and Wescott's *The Pilgrim Hawk* are works of art not because they may be measured by some external, neo-classic notion of form, but because their forms are so exactly equivalent with their subjects, and because the evaluation of their subjects exists in their styles.

Hemingway has recently said that his contribution to younger writers lay in a certain necessary purification of the language; but the claim has doubtful value. The contribution of his prose was to his subject, and the terseness of style for which his early work is justly celebrated is no more valuable, as an end in itself, than the baroque involutedness of Faulkner's prose, or the cold elegance of Wescott's. Hemingway's early subject, the exhaustion of value, was perfectly investigated and invested by his bare style, and in story after story, no meaning at all is to be inferred from the fiction except as the style itself suggests that there is no meaning in life. This style, more than that, was the perfect technical substitute for the conventional commentator; it expresses and it measures that peculiar morality of the stiff lip which Hemingway borrowed from athletes. It is an instructive lesson, furthermore, to observe how the style breaks down when Hemingway moves into the less congenial subject matter of social affirmation: how the style breaks down, the effect of verbal economy as mute suffering is lost, the personality of the writer, no longer protected by the objectification of an adequate technique, begins its offensive intrusion, and the entire structural integrity slackens. Inversely, in the stories and the early novels, the technique was the perfect embodiment of the subject and it gave that subject its astonishing largeness of effect and of meaning.

One should correct Buffon and say that style is the subject. In Wescott's *Pilgrim Hawk*, a novel which bewildered its many friendly critics by the apparent absence of subject, the subject, the story, is again in the style itself. This novel, which is a triumph of the sustained point of view, is only bewildering if we try to make a story out of the narrator's observations upon others; but if we read his observations as oblique and unrecognized observations upon himself the story emerges with perfect coherence, and it reverberates with meaning, is as suited to continuing reflection as the greatest lyrics.

The rewards of such respect for the medium as the early Hemingway and the occasional Wescott have shown may be observed in every good writer we have. The involutions of Faulkner's style are the perfect

equivalent of his involved structures, and the two together are the perfect representation of the moral labyrinths he explores, and of the ruined world which his novels repeatedly invoke and in which these labyrinths exist. The cultivated sensuosity of Katherine Anne Porter's style has charm in itself, of course, but no more than with these others does it have aesthetic value in itself; its values lie in the subtle means by which sensuous details become symbols, and in the way that the symbols provide a network which is the story, and which at the same time provides the writer and us with a refined moral insight by means of which to test it. When we put such writers against a writer like William Saroyan, whose respect is reserved for his own temperament, we are appalled by the stylistic irresponsibility we find in him, and by the almost total absence of theme, or defined subject matter, and the abundance of unwarranted feeling. Such a writer inevitably becomes a sentimentalist because he has no means by which to measure his emotion. Technique, at last, is measure.

These writers, from Defoe to Porter, are of unequal and very different talent, and technique and talent are, of course, after a point, two different things. What Joyce gives us in one direction, Lawrence, for all his imperfections as a technician, gives us in another, even though it is not usually the direction of art. Only in some of his stories and in a few of his poems, where the demands of technique are less sustained and the subject matter is not autobiographical, Lawrence, in a different way from Joyce, comes to the same aesthetic fulfilment. Emily Bronte, with what was perhaps her intuitive grasp of the need to establish a tension between her subject matter and her perspective upon it, achieves a similar fulfilment; and, curiously, in the same way and certainly by intuition alone, Hemingway's early work makes a moving splendor from nothingness.

And yet, whatever one must allow to talent and forgive in technique, one risks no generalization in saying that modern fiction at its best has been peculiarly conscious of itself and of its tools. The technique of modern fiction, at once greedy and fastidious, achieves as its subject matter not some singleness, some topic or thesis, but the whole of the modern consciousness. It discovers the complexity of the modern spirit, the difficulty of personal morality, and the fact of evil—all the untractable elements under the surface which a technique of the surface alone can not approach. It shows us—in Conrad's words, from *Victory*—that we all live in an "age in which we are camped like bewildered travellers in a garish, unrestful hotel," and while it puts its hard light on our environment, it penetrates, with its sharp weapons, the depths of our bewilderment. These are not two things, but only an adequate technique can show them as one. In a realist like Farrell, we have the environment only, which we know from the newspapers; in a subjectivist like Wolfe, we have the bewilderment only, which we record in our own diaries and letters. But the true novelist gives them to us together, and thereby increases the effect of each, and reveals each in its full significance.

Elizabeth Bowen, writing of Lawrence, said of modern fiction, "We want the naturalistic surface, but with a kind of internal burning. In Lawrence every bush burns." But the bush burns brighter in some places than in others, and it burns brightest when a passionate private vision finds its

objectification in exacting technical search. If the vision finds no such objectification, as in Wolfe and Saroyan, there is a burning without a bush. In our committed realists, who deny the resources of art for the sake of life, whose technique forgives both innocence and slovenliness—in Defoe and Wells and Farrell, there is a bush but it does not burn. There, at first glance, the bush is only a bush; and then, when we look again, we see that, really, the thing is dead.

Lawrence and the Demon of the Absolute

André Malraux

1922. Colonel Lawrence—thirty-three years old—having become one of Winston Churchill's advisors for Arab affairs after the Arabian campaign, the Peace Conference and a temporary retirement, had just returned from the Hejaz, where he had been sent as minister plenipotentiary to the king who owed him his crown. For the first time, he felt himself "on the other side of the barrier". He had just read proofs of The Seven Pillars of Wisdom, *which he had hoped might become one of the "Titanic" books, on a par with* Moby Dick, The Brothers Karamazov *and* Thus Spake Zarathustra.

What follows is not a critique of The Seven Pillars, *but an analysis of the feelings of the author in the presence of his book—feelings which are later to be modified.*

Lawrence had just submitted his resignation, writing to Churchill: "There are many other things I want to do". He had already decided to enlist as a private in the air force under an assumed name.

"There are many other things I want to do." There was only one, and he knew it perfectly well.

To give meaning to his life would involve subjecting it to some unequivocal value; values which carry in themselves this saving power (liberty, charity of heart, God) imply a sacrifice, or the appearance of a sacrifice, on behalf of mankind—whether the man who has chosen them believes in them or not. Whether or not they advertise it openly, they mean to change the order of the world, and on that account, values, like art, are the great allies of man against his fate.

If Lawrence had harshly protected the power which he had won and at first almost usurped, it was because a great action cannot be otherwise carried through. Without doubt, he had been profoundly concerned at times that this power take its proper form. But a power whose form would be himself could not similarly attract him. Action for action's sake, power for power's sake were foreign to him. The instinct which pushes a politician towards a ministry, with politics playing the chief role, never made him want to direct the colonial politics of England: what he really

wanted was to make sense, once again, of the confusion of what had so far been his fate.

Since the end of 1920, he had been finishing up his prodigious narrative. With half of it done, he reread it straight through, for the first time, between Jidda and Transjordania, with an anxiety which increased as he read. But was he able to judge this text which he knew by heart, where his memory always ran ahead of his writing? Did he read, or did he resume a restless dialogue with all that had passed since he had left the covetous and intractable king? One after the other the boat skirted Rabig, Yenbo, El Ouedj, Akaba. . . .

He had taken his manuscript, corrections made, to the press of the *Oxford Times*: to print up several copies would cost less than to have it typewritten. He had received the proofs in July, his decision to quit the ministry already taken. Now that all action was closed to him, he felt himself even more committed to this intellectual adventure than he had been to the Arabian adventure: imprisoned with the book for his decisive struggle with the angel, left more to himself by the decomposition of everything to which he had so far attached himself; more committed even than he had been by fear of defeat at the time of the Peace Conference and the flight of Feisal. He hoped to recover from these proofs the freshness of sight and judgment which his manuscript no longer could give him. He found them, in effect: a book a little better than those written by "the majority of retired army officers", with some hysterical passages.

The excitement of the Revolt had been as obvious to him as the comedy of the Peace Conference against which he had attempted rebellion: but the cupidity of the Arabs had never seemed any the less to him because, to Arab eyes, English wealth appeared inexhaustible and not to profit from it stupid, since all money won in combat was nobly won. Lawrence knew that his reader, whoever he might be, would expect purity from a national movement. An ordinary soldier might be alternately a hero and a plunderer; but from the leader, even from a mere participator in a revolt, national or social, the fraternal sentiments of the reader would accept nothing but exemplary actions. What runs counter to the revolutionary convention is, in revolutionary histories, suppressed more imperiously than embarrassing episodes in private memoirs, and by the same obscure forces.

Lawrence had written: *I saw an epic born before my eyes,*—and revealed an endless series of shady dealings. Of the leader of the Juheinas who had murmured while watching Feisal's army: *Now we are a people* . . . , Lawrence knew that several months later he had abandoned the Arab cause. The oath imposed by Feisal had been no more than a truce, even in the minds of those who prepared it. At every victory, at Akaba, at Deraa, the vendetta started up again; at Damascus this had not been merely the folly of Abd-el-Kader who had immediately forced the victorious army to fight with its allies. The Arabs had wanted less to create Arabia than to harass the Turks. The Syrians did not want to create Syria: the word Syria does not exist in Arab. Nothing, apart from hatred of the Turks, had united the intellectuals of Beirut and the Druses.

But to the eyes of a European, every national movement is first of all brotherhood. . . .

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What was admirable in the Revolt was not that visionary campaign by which the Arabs were going to renew the birth of the Islamic epic; rather was it that men, by turn courageous and weak, greedy and generous, heroic and impure like all men (and more than most), should reconquer their historic capital in spite of all their weaknesses. Lawrence had expected to rediscover the enthusiasm which the Revolt had inspired among the crowds in the Albert Hall, but by grounding it in the truth: the same emulation which opposed him to "Lawrence of Arabia" opposed his narrative to the legend. In that respect he needed most of all lyricism, the great medium for the expression of enthusiasm. It was necessary, in spite of the dickerings, the defections, the treasons, that the reader be carried away by one of those exalting epics of generosity which make one believe that a few inspired days can hold all the beauty of the world. Lyricism alone could do it; not the descriptive lyricism which lives from what it carries away, but the transfiguring lyricism which lives from what it contributes. An artist's gifts, alas, are not always those he needs the most: and Lawrence behaved like a writer who wanted to write the kind of epic that Victor Hugo made of Waterloo, but who in fact possessed only the gifts which permitted Stendhal to make it into a comedy.

That the Revolt inspired in him feelings whose contradictions he had not overcome until he had first of all written a brief for the defense, he realized as soon as he began to write. The only way of not being paralyzed by them was not to impose on his book any premeditated structure. He had put his memory to work on the thread of his war diary or notes left on the margin of agendas: the very wording had been haphazard. The dynamiting of a bridge, an attack on a train—things which involved some preparation; his comrades in arms, his reversals of fortune—all this permitted lengthy exposition, for as far as his memory could carry him. But what of the organization of an intelligence service, made up of conversations all alike and which, carried on in another language, could not be used to describe the characters of those who held them? For everything involved in the secret service, for the execution of his major project—to make the Arabs arrive first at Damascus—Lawrence had chosen to be, if not secretive, at least swift. Hence a singular perspective in which all the aid brought to Allenby by the breakthrough which had forced the Turks to sue for an armistice seemed less important than an attack on two trains, the discovery of Feisal's negotiations with the Turks less important than the treason of Abd-el-Kader. Lawrence now discovered that a detailed account of his acts was far from being the best means of expressing his action. He had wanted to bear witness to the revival of a people, and it sometimes seemed to him that he was rereading the memoirs of a dynamiter. . . .

So much so that having written to add grandeur to a vaguely legendary insurrection, he asked himself if the first question of his reader about the Revolt itself would not be: *Was that all it amounted to?*

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At any rate, he would have written the only history of the Revolt. But he did not believe in history. He believed in art. And the implacable evidence that these agonized days forced on him, when he read the printed book as if it were the work of someone else, was that the book was not a work of art. . . . *The fact that it wasn't a work of art rose up and hit me in the face, and I hated it, because artist is the proudest profession.*

The writing of a journalist; *refuge in second hand words*. . . . If, by dint of work, he succeeded in giving this kind of writing the proper tone, he ceased to expect of it that regal gift which reconciles contradictions, which mixes strength and weakness in a transfigured whole.

His book was not a great narrative. The history of narrative technique for the last three centuries, like that of painting, has been essentially a search for a third dimension; for that which, in the novel, eludes narration; for what makes it possible not to narrate but to represent, to make present. Narration expresses a past whose total effect—scene by scene—is that of a present. Just as the painters developed perspective, the novelists found in dialogue and atmosphere a means of effecting this transformation. Even modern narrative art can boast of a just proportion between what is represented and what is related. What a vivid succession of scenes Dostoievski would have made of such memories! Lawrence's narrative predominated to such a degree in his episodes that he recovered nothing, in this stiff and linear book, of the passion that had made him write up to twenty hours a day. Was it enough that he had avoided banalities, coynesses, concessions? That he was confident of having escaped vulgarity? The absence of premeditated perspective, his submission to the diary, had handicapped him with an absence of artistic perspective, had restricted him to an action on a single plane. That whole background of evil in its obsessive opposition to every ideal, that absurdity which Lawrence so poignantly felt and which might have been so well expressed—the savagery of discipline among his bodyguard, those whipped men with never-healing scars, wandering about him while he read *La Morte d' Arthur,* who never ceased wildly contradicting what was most pure in his will to victory and his determination not to let a single man be needlessly killed: all this he could only make into a bitingly picturesque vignette.

This book, considering it only as a book of memoirs, should at least have been able to recapture, in dealing with individuals, the mystery that possessed its author. What sort of existence did these people lead? That of the Arabs scarcely went beyond the picturesque, that of the English beyond a crude sketch. What reader, the book closed, "knows" Joyce, Young, Clayton? The most characterized person, Feisal, is he not a sort of official portrait?

One cannot reveal the mystery of human beings in the form of a plea for the defense. . . .

He questioned whether the knowledge of a man was a knowledge of his secrets, being eager to the point of mania not to be confounded with his own. But had he reached by other ways that pulse of irrationality by which a character comes alive, which fascinates the great memorialist as

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much as the great novelist, Saint-Simon as much as Tolstoy? These beings glimpsed during the action he instinctively brought into focus, caught in the meaning which the action so often imposed upon them. None of them carried the germs of his future destiny; the events seemed, not to bring out a part of these people so far merely touched on, but to transform them entirely. To what part of the knight Aouda belonged his negotiations with the Turks; to what part of Feisal, Saracen prince and judge of Israel, his negotiations for a separate peace?

Lawrence would have wanted in his book, as in those of his masters, unexpected actions that would illuminate the secret nature of the man from whom they sprung. But he, whose companions had almost never caught him off guard (once: when Zeid had squandered the money entrusted to him), leaned towards the conventional in the *portrayal* of individuals. The greed of Aouda surprised him less than it surprises the reader. Throughout this book in which complexity plays so large a role, has he really portrayed strongly any but simple, secondary beings? The soul of Abd-el-Kader was without doubt unintelligible, nor would the reader accept it unless he knew that Lawrence was reporting the facts. In a fiction the Algerian would have been unacceptable; but the characters of the great memorialists are people in whom the reader would believe even if he knew that the author had created them out of whole cloth. . . .

The whole ending is an anti-climax. Perhaps this was first of all because he was no longer unaware, at the time of writing, of where this epic would end. But a Melville, even a Conrad, would have found, beyond the atmosphere which Lawrence had perhaps achieved, the supreme source of poetry which makes of deception, of despair, not a paralysis but a tragedy. Solitude and inner defeat, the futility of epics, are also powerful means of art. What he failed to achieve was the transfiguration which should have been extended even to his memories in order to establish their meaning, to bring them on a level with the eternal.

And the Revolt was only a frame for an *Ecce Homo,* scourged like the other, lacerated like the other. Lawrence had begun to write after the speech of Feisal to the Conference, apparently in an appeal to history against injustice, actually in an appeal to art against the absurd. It was not only the Revolt he expected to save from absurdity, but his own action, his own destiny. The only means the spirit has for escaping the absurd is to involve the rest of the world in it, to imagine it, to express it. Little by little, without any change of frame, the Revolt began to take second place while the main interest passed to the absurdity of life for a man reduced to solitude by an irreducible inner conflict and the meditation it imposed. The subject of the book he believed he was writing had become the struggle of a being lashed without mercy by the scorn which he felt for certain appeals of his own nature, by a fatality acknowledged, with terrible humiliation, as a permanent failure of his will,—against the passionate resolution of this same being to kill his demon with great conquering strokes of lucidity. *I wrote my will across the sky in stars*. . . .

The Turks in retreat, Feisal at Damascus, he himself legendary with a legend both exalting and mocking—and weary of everything, weary to death, except for those pages which crumbled between his hands—was

he wrong to believe such a struggle worthy of *The Brothers Karamazov?* That he had paid the heaviest price for his revelation, that this inner conflict may or may not have been due to some unsoundness in his character, reflects on neither its value nor its meaning; even the sanest man who tries to conduct his life intelligently loses control of himself once in a while. Man is absurd because he is master neither of time, nor of anxiety, nor of Evil; the world is absurd because it involves Evil, and because Evil is the sin of the world.

This drama might have been expressed by everything that separated Lawrence from the Arab movement; his narrative actually concerned itself with everything that should have bound him to it. What actually separated him from the Revolt, what he wanted to express in order to make his book great, is that every human action is defiled by its very nature. The portrait he wanted to paint was the anatomical sketch of a man who examines everything his own, or that might be his own, with the poisoned lucidity of the atheist of life.

He seemed as concerned to conceal this man as he had been to conceal the secret animator of the Revolt. To follow, as he had resolved, the order of his war diary, he had begun his narrative with his debarkation at Jidda: and, rereading it after having written the first six books, he felt so far removed from it that he added an introduction during his flight to Cairo. There, he said in clear but abstract language what he wanted to say: he was carried away at first by the appeal of liberty and was so completely committed to its service that he ceased to exist; he lived under the constant threat of torture; his life was ceaselessly crossed by *strange longings fanned by privations and dangers;* he was incapable of subscribing to the doctrines he preached for the good of his country at war; they knew the need for degradation; he ceased to believe in his civilization or in any other, until he was aware of nothing but an intense solitude on the borderline of madness; and what he chiefly recalled were *the agony, the terrors and the mistakes.*

What were the degradation, the terrors and the mistakes? Every priest knows that confession in the abstract costs little. The concrete admission, here, would have consisted in picturing himself *during* the mistake, in embodying himself in the phantom who said: *I.* His first narrative finished, he realized anew how much the matter discussed in this introduction was absent from the book. Throughout his text, it seemed to him that he was running after himself. *Then* he had described the introspective crisis of his thirtieth birthday, his portrait. A representation clear and cruel, but still abstract: the modesty born of his physique and of his dissimilarity; the constant split which made his inner life *a standing court martial;* his pride; his appetite for glory and deceit, his scorn of this desire; his implacable will; his distrust of ideas; his need for relief from his intelligence; his anguished self-consciousness which led him to try to see himself through the eyes of others; his lack of all faith and his search for the limits of his strength; his need for degradation (in the first person, this time); his disgust, so great that *only weakness delayed me from mind-suicide;* finally, and above all: *I did not like the 'myself' I could see and hear. . . .*

This was the man who said: *Feisal was a brave, weak, ignorant spirit trying to do work for which only a genius, a prophet or a great criminal, was fitted. I served him out of pity, a motive which degraded us both. The Seven Pillars* never ceased to demonstrate the opposite. . . . The introduction was an introduction to his secret memories much more than to his book; his drama, his portrait, were written in the margin; and only the incarnation of this portrait would have made *The Seven Pillars* not an historical fresco but a book of the order (if not of the genius) of *The Brothers Karamazov* and *Zarathustra,* the great accusatory work of which he had dreamed.

Little by little, because all the battles resolved themselves finally into a tardy and melancholy victory, and above all because, for him, art insensibly supplanted action, the Arab epic became in his mind the medium for a grandiose expression of human emptiness. Also, for *I wrote this to show what a man can do,* secret echo of his angers in Paris, was substituted, with the bitter sound of the two words *A Triumph* which he had added to the subtitle: *I wrote this to show what the gods are able to make of us.* . . .

In the absolute, the triumph is a mockery—but so is the triumpher. Lawrence knew it quite well, and this was the secret meaning of such episodes as those in the hospital or at Deraa, accurate or not. A man's own lucid self-portrait—if there were in the world a single man lucid enough to recount his life—would be the most virulent indictment of the gods which could be imagined: as great as the man himself was great. The lucid hero, if he penetrates ever so little into this forbidden domain, can but choose between the absurd and original sin. But if one wants to express the human mystery by saying "Behold the man", one must offer something more than a close-mouthed confession. . . .

Lawrence's nature was opposed to confession both by the violence of his pride and by that of his modesty. At least, of that modesty born of the fear of giving a handle to the reader, that of characters in Russian novels whom the familiarity with public confession cannot free from an obsessive dread of ridicule; and also, of the fact that Lawrence considered almost everything he had achieved to be negligible—or certainly less important than what he had dreamed of achieving. His correspondence reveals, in general, strikingly more noblesse than he had admitted to in *The Seven Pillars* (with the exception of his will to save the lives of his fellow-fighters). He said that he remembered first of all his mistakes, and scarcely revealed any of them (defeats, yes: not without greatness); he said that he had undertaken his campaign for the love of one of his companions: this companion he suppressed.

For a moment he considered doing the whole book over again. But how could he have done it? These pages had been first written as he lashed his memory during bouts of insomnia, six months after the capture of Damascus. When they were lost, he recomposed them with exhausting effort. Corrections would not have changed the perspective: he would have been unable to rewrite it all, and would thus have lost the fine temper which, at least, was the reward of the historical witness that now seemed to him so vain. Why would the demon that had already twice paralyzed him have been defeated the third time? It was himself.

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And a more subtle poison emanated still from those pages which crumbled between his fingers. Profoundly though he may have been involved in the artistic success of his book, he was not solely involved in that. Whoever writes his memoirs (except to deceive) judges himself. There were in this book, as in all memoirs, two *personae:* the one who said *I,* and the author. What Lawrence had done, was embodied in the person who acted: what he was, in the rectifier and judge of this other— in the writer. It was the writer (not as artist but as judge) who was to enable Lawrence to subordinate his legend to himself instead of remaining subordinated to it: who in the spiritual order was to serve the exemplary Lawrence as the rejection of all reward had served him in the moral order.

Literary talent was no longer in question; but being, human density. Lawrence knew that the greatness of a writer lies less in what he promulgates than in the place from which he speaks; that Tolstoy portraying a wounded person watching the nighttime clouds at Austerlitz, or the banal functionary Ivan Ilych confronted by death, is no less great than Dostoievski making the Grand Inquisitor speak. A Tolstoy would have been able to draw from the death of the humblest Arab soldier the splendid and bitter meaning of the Revolt; because he had Tolstoy's talent, but first of all because he was Lev Nikolaevich. The power of Christ's reply in the presence of the adulterous woman is not a matter of the talent of the evangelists. And the demon of the absurd appeared in the cruelest guise: if Lawrence had not expressed the man he believed he was, was it not simply because he was not that man?

And if he was not that man, he was nothing.

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But this man, whom he judged himself *guilty* of not being, what was he? The veinstone of the exemplary persona which legend was forcing him to substitute, if only for his own sake, for Lawrence of Arabia. A persona as to which he knew, moreover, *what it was not,* and very imperfectly what it was. Modern individualism invokes its hero, but does not comprehend him. Aside from the art, Zarathustra is not the greatest strength, but the greatest weakness of Nietzsche. . . .

The idea of great personality confronts us with two human figures. The first is that of the man who has accomplished great things and who is assumed to be able to accomplish others, in other fields. This figure becomes less and less convincing because action is increasingly tied to a technique, while great personality implies the attainment of a point from which techniques would be mastered; the modern dream, like the most ancient ones, wishes a dictator to be a *strategos,* but it does not believe it. History seems to us less and less a guarantee of greatness. Lawrence now believed that he knew how easily men have granted great personalities to those who have merely met with great destinies.

The other figure is more complex, because more diverse types are combined in it. But it derives entirely from the domain to which Lawrence

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owed his formation and his dreams: literature. For his own imagination as for ours, Nietzsche was not a professor whom his mother called Fritz and who, for the rest, wrote some great unknown books; Dostoievski was not a sick gambler and man of letters; each of them was first of all a mythical figure born of all the writings he had signed, like a character in a novel born of all the words the author has put in his mouth. The dream we create for ourselves out of such personalities is an imaginary aptitude for using what they have written as replies to the questions posed for them by life and by men. They have a reply for everything, because for everything they have only a single reply. They have reached the pinnacle of intelligence which commands nearly all the approaches, and which would dictate their behavior if they became equal to their genius. But, this "pinnacle" has only one name: truth. A great personality, in this somewhat troubled domain where art and thought are mixed, is a man by whom an essential truth is expressed.[1]

But the relationship that unites Friedrich Nietzsche to the exemplary Nietzsche delineated by death is always hypothetical, and a great thought, moreover, only involves the presumption of a great personality. This rests considerably less in the extent of his intellectual powers than in their embodiment. It is rare for an intellectual martyr not to give us the illusion of a considerable personality, when he would be able to demonstrate only the strength of his resolution. For the great living personality exists precisely in the bond between thought and act. Who dies in accordance with his thought, suggests that he would have known how to live correspondingly. The kind of great personality which Lawrence vaguely imagined—the kind that many of us vaguely imagine— was a truth incarnated, come to life: Nietzsche become Zarathustra. It was not a prestige that he dreamed of, but the possession of its fullness: what he most passionately desired and what he least possessed.

He had always been profoundly at odds with himself. *I was very conscious of the bundled powers and entities within me; it was their character which hid . . . ,* he thought in Arabia. And this dislocation was not one of the least elements in his strength, when it goaded him to action; out of action, it was only suffering. What fascinated him without his being able to understand it clearly was the existence of this center whose absence was intolerable to him, this unconquerable density that Dostoievski expressed in his *starets* Zossima.

This profound and complete self-identity of being obsessed him, because he knew it capable of what he had demanded successively of action and of art: of overcoming man's feeling of dependence. But this supreme consciousness, if not necessarily Christian, is without doubt necessarily religious. The great personality as Lawrence conceived him is the saint or prophet—minus God. Goethe had never interested him, and Shakespeare he thought of as *the greatest poet, . . .* but a *second rate intellect.* The tragic man has nothing to do with wisdom; the tragic cannot be for him only a phase of life, a stage on the way to serenity: for in him, body or soul is incurable. He seeks for invulnerability rather than serenity. Zossima is invulnerable. The English judge who condemns Gandhi consults him about the penalty (very severe, as a matter of fact) which is going to be inflicted on him, and adds: "Even your adversaries regard you as a highly idealistic man, whose life is noble and even

saintly . . . " Even if he had insulted him, nothing would have been changed.

But such personalities are entirely animated by the terrible power of humility that Dostoievski spoke of: far from representing the individuality's possession of itself, they are its total loss: it is consumed with that which it wanted to consume in itself, and flares in its tranfiguration.

Now, Lawrence, one of the most religious spirits of his time, if one defines a religious spirit as one who experiences the anguish of being a man to the depths of his being; Lawrence who received a religious education in England, studied under the Jesuits in France, whose mother and brother were missionaries, who called *The Brothers Karamazov* a fifth Gospel, neither in the nine hundred odd pages of his letters nor in his books wrote fifty lines about Christianity. He had, under his pride, if not humility at least a powerful and spasmodic taste for self-humiliation, now by discipline and now by veneration; a horror of respectability; a disgust for possessions, for money, a distinterestedness which took for itself the form of charity of heart; a thoroughgoing sense of his guilt, pursued by his angels or his minor demons, a sense of evil, and of the nothingness of almost everything that men cling to; a need for the absolute, an instinctive taste for asceticism. He appeared to belong among those whom Jesus, eternally on the Cross, chooses to carry away to the final solitude. But he no more believed in the religion of his own people than he believed in their civilization. And there was in him an element markedly anti-Christian: he expected forgiveness from nobody but himself. He looked not for an assuagement but a victory, a peace by force of conquest. *One of the sorest things in life is to come to realize that one is just not good enough. Better perhaps than some, than many, almost—but I do not care for relatives, for matching myself against my kind. There is an ideal standard somewhere and only that matters: and I cannot find it. Hence this aimlessness.*

The Absolute is the last resort of the tragic man, the only solace, because it alone can consume—even if the whole man is consumed with it—the deepest feeling of dependence, remorse at being one's self.

1 The sage falls within this domain: kindly or austere, the mastery with which he controls his passions can only be exerted in the name of a truth, even if this should be a conviction of the futility of things; Socrates, the sage whose image Plato imposed for centuries upon men, owed not a few celebrated annoyances and the essence of his prestige to his concern for bearing witness to the truth. And who cannot see that Montaigne, Rena

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n, Goethe in defending their truth less firmly, yet defend it with no less conviction than Pascal his own?

APPENDIX G

Key terms and Concepts

Acculturation: The adaptation of an individual to environmental influences. In this thesis the term acculturation is used specifically as the ability to adapt to one's surrounding and sustain different ideas, cultural etiquettes, and social repertoires is the basis of an individual's hybridity.

Anthropological Linguistics: The study of the relationship between culture and language by contextualizing the social use of language.

Culture: Although very difficult to define completely, Culture is essentially the characteristically unique attitudes, ideas, and beliefs, habits that is inherently practiced in a specific community.

Discursivity: The notion of discursive formations that are both regulated and unregulated and are uniquely definable by the individual's need to employ a discursive system in order to communicate. The participants' displayed a certain Discursivity as they chose their terms and expression and thereby defined themselves and the mode of communication.

Discursive Formations: The discourse that is regulated or is formalized in a way that makes it adhere to specific practices. A very detailed analysis of the concept is presented in the thesis.

Discourse: The systematic use of expressions used by a specific community to communicate ideas and meanings.

Enculturation: The primary socialization of an individual. This stage is usually one that in enforced in the early years of an individual's upbringing.

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Hybridity: This concept is at the center of the research that is conducted in the thesis and as such has been defined, explained, and analyzed in considerable depth. Suffice to say, that hybridity is an amalgamation of ideas, values, attitudes resulting in a composite persona.

Knowledge: Individuals or communities can define the term as the awareness through gaining information or practical experience. In this thesis the term knowledge is defined and analyzed, as the notion of knowledge in Islam is quite different. In Islam, the idea of knowledge, is based on not only on the worldly knowledge that one can gain but the spiritual knowledge that the body can be a conduit for. Receiving knowledge is not defined by the concept of 'enlightenment' that is prevalent in other religions, but the idea that one can receive knowledge if one is inclined to pursue it. The term that is discussed in the this is '*Ilm'* and houses an array of 'knowledges' .

Language: The mode of communication that is used by communities in order to convey meanings. It is essentially a repository of cultural values, ideas, beliefs and therefore is inextricably linked to culture.

Linguicism: the preference of one language over another, in some cases the favoritism of one language may be quite obvious if texts, documents and important and elitist institutions endorse and employ only one language. But it might also be subtle if people's attitudes towards a localized language is one of frustration, anger or simply looking down at those that cannot speak a preferred language.

Linguistic genocide: The term refers to the systematic elimination of one language such that it becomes ultimately disused and there are not surviving speakers of the language. A prime example of linguistic genocide is the eradication of many Aboriginal languages in Australia by the disuse of the language in communities and the need to learn English in order to survive. The socio-economic need for communities to survive

can drive migration and many communities that were originally in a specific location disband and the speakers of a particular language begin to feel no need to continue speaking a certain language and eventually leading it to die out.

Linguistic Imperialism: Linguistic Imperialism is founded on the notion of political and socio-economic subjugation of one community over another by the use of language. Phillipson initially coined the term, Linguistic Imperialism, but in the idea had been practiced by governments for centuries. The British Council and American Commissions are a tribute to how well linguistic imperialism worked (and still works) on a global scale.

Postcolonialism: Although there are varying definitions to this key concept, Postcolonialism is used in this thesis as a term that characterizes the mindset of the once colonized people. The implications being that Postcolonialism does include the critical destabilization of Western thought and the ensuing analytical discourse that results.

Religion: A socialized belief system of values, ideas, attitudes that are based on the notion of faith that is essentially derived from historical narratives that inadvertently give meaning to existence. Although the term is referred to Islam in particular, the concept of religion as spelled out in this thesis is based on the Western notion of religion that is in line with a more anthropological and historically derived idea of faith. Islam defines itself differently as it includes not only the physical lifestyles, attitudes, belief systems but the imagination as well- it prides itself in its emancipatory qualities and its aim to better the human mind and widen/strengthen its abilities. This is the assumption that most Islamic texts have and as such the Muslim communities are meant to find inspiration as well as real-life direction. Unfortunately this is never the case.

Subaltern: These are groups of people that are subjugated because they have no control, no power and no voice. Subalternity is also an attitude whereby individuals feel that they are powerless and find it difficult to speak out as they view themselves in a continuous state of socio-economic subjugation.

West: The notion of the West that is used in this thesis encompass Anglicized countries that employ a post-religious attitude and perceive themselves to be direct descendants of the Greco-Roman civilization. Most European countries fall into the category, as do the BANA nations. The effect of the West is more apparent as many of these countries were colonizing nations and their view to 'cultural imposition' was to invade and rule the subjugated masses of the colonies they conquered.