Bilingual Education and Mobility in *Pothwari* and *Pahari* Families

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ABSTRACT*: Language use in family domain depends upon prevalent patterns across three-generations, gender status, education and residence of native speakers. They are also important indicators of language vitality and language loss. The present study employed theoretical framework of language use patterns in family and compared groups with different levels of literacy and geographic locations of speakers of Pothwari and Pahari language in the urban/rural suburbs of Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan. The findings of the study are based on the data gathered from the speakers (N= 297) who had moved to the city in search of better economic gains. A four-point Likert was employed to compute language use and language choice in family domain. It included language use patterns across grandparents, parents and siblings. The participants of the study were purposively selected through cross-sectional technique. The results of t test and ANOVA showed statistically significant variation across all the tested variables on the scale of language use patterns in the Pothwari and Pahari families. The findings also revealed inverse relation between the level of bilingual education and use of local language in the family domain.*

Keywords: Language, patterns, family, bilingual education, mobility

Introduction

Bilingual education and population movement are underscored as two important factors of social readjustment, language contact, language vitality and loss (Farrar & Jones 2002; Fillmore, 1991). In multilingual societies like Pakistan, children from indigenous language backgrounds learn dominant languages of the society mainly for upward socioeconomic mobility (Fillmore, 1991; Rahman 2006 a). These frameworks have been studied as etiological factors of self-efficacy and school performance, attitudinal shift towards mother tongue (Adegbija, 1994; De Klerk, 2002; McCarty, 2003; Oyetade, 2001). The present paper has been based on comparison of language use patterns in family across Pothwari / Pahari speakers across urban and rural speakers with varying degrees of education.

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Pothwari or Pahari language is spoken in the province of Punjab in Pothowar plateau ranging from the Jhelum River towards *Koh-i-Namak*, toward north in Azad Jammu and Kashmir (AJK), areas of Murree and some eastern parts of Abbottabad Tehsil in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Lothers and Lothers, 2012). Also, Lewis (2009) finds areas of Kashmir, Murree, Jehlum, Gujar Khan and Rawalpindi and the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad as the regions where the language survives. It has an estimated 49,400 speakers. Importantly, it is the second-most common mother tongue of UK with 500,000 immigrants from Mirpur (Lothers and Lothers, 2012, p. 1).

An extensive literature on the languages of Pakistan provides an overview of diminishing cultural and linguistic multiplicity and status of indigenous languages in Pakistan (Baart, 2003; Backstrom 1992; Decker1992; Ellahi & Rashid 2008; Rehman & Baart, 2005; Weinreich, 2010). This context has been mainly attributed to state policies of assimilation to maintain status quo (Rahman, 1999, 2001, 2006a, 2006b).

Lothers and Lothers (2007) found positive attitudes and vibrant use of the language in native families with competing bilingual trends Urdu / Pothwari. In a survey of the speakers who had immigrated to the UK, Lothers and Lothers (2012) carried out an attitudinal study and language use pattern across three generations. This study also provided an overview of language use pattern in family. It reflected a vibrant Pothwari/ Pahari transmission and usage in these immigrant families. Grandparents and parents were found highly motivated and favored their mother tongue mainly due to in-group marriages, inability of grandparent and parents to speak English and close ties within the community. Children were more under the spell of peer influence and educational socialization that had made them accept English as a better alternative. Besides, several studies point to a systematic and patterned decline in attitudes towards the language across three generations, gender and family domain (Anjum & Siddiqui 2012, Anjum et al., 2013, Anjum 2014).

Literature Review

Education and Language

Advocates of mother tongue education argue that the language is symbolic of cultural uniqueness, strengthens cultural heritage and links home with school. According to Swain (1981), mother tongue education is particularly imperative in a marginalized linguistic community for sustained linguistic security. On the contrary,

early education in an unfamiliar language is counterproductive to the children's developmental requirements (Baker 2001; Cummins 2000; Lee 1996; Torrance & Olson, 1985). Nevertheless, language turns out to be a cultural and social investment and might become a deficit for those lesser competent on this asset, if language of instruction is unfamiliar (Bourdieu, 1986). Likewise, lesser value of mother tongue in the larger social fabric discourages parents to use it (Rahman, 1996). In multilingual societies, children from linguistic minority families strive to learn the majority language to better absorb in society and take advantages in the mainstream job market. During this process, their proficiency in the primary language is compromised (Fillmore, 1991). Children in migrated families have revealed varied trend towards different parental languages in a competing multilingual context. These observations relate to school situation where education is imparted in a second or foreign language. Also important is the currency of the findings in families where both the parents belong to different linguistic communities (Clyne, 2003). Policymaking and implementation of literacy programs often do not take into account social reality of minority groups. These are generally based on "deficit hypothesis." These programs often require accommodation of cultural practices and social context of the community (Auerbach, 1989).

In Pakistan, there has been a notable reluctance at legal and policy making level to accommodate the multiplicity of linguistic and cultural diversity in the country (Ali and Rehman, 2001). Role and status of different languages in Pakistan have manifold functions as they help the State to sustain values, attitude and policies. The current policy i.e. promoting English and Urdu has strengthened the power of the rich and elitist class and has overall a negative impact on many indigenous cultures and languages. The existing policies empower English and Urdu languages as they are used in difference spheres of power such as the administration, armed forces, commerce, media, education (Rahman 1996, 2004; Shamim, 2008). Based on the country's policies, this study is an attempt to investigate the attitudes of minority language families towards language use in family domain.

Mobility

Movement of population has been a significant occurrence throughout human history (Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco, 2001, 2010). Mobility of population from one place to another has sociolinguistic consequences. Mostly shifting of from the rural to urban areas has upwards socioeconomic mobility and

better quality of living. This mobility has serious consequences on the choice of language spoken in the families and fates of lesser-acknowledged languages (Abas, 2005; Borbely, 2000; Holmes, 2008; Morita, 2007). In order to assimilate with the emerging realities, the speakers are forced to shift to the dominant language of the neighborhood. This context generally reduces use of the local language (David & Dealwis, 2008). Eventually, all those who left their heritage regions for work start preferring the dominant language. Similarly, native and non-native context also influence the linguistic ecology of ethnic minorities. Close immediacy with speakers of dominant languages compels community members to a converting status for their own minority language. Generally, this negotiation is done at the cost of deserting the indigenous language for a majority language (Kershaw, 1992).

Mobility of population from rural areas to urban areas has been an international phenomenon. In Pakistan, this trend has changed the demographic character of the country. The movement of rural population to urban areas has mainly concentrated to seven large cities of Pakistan including Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Rawalpindi, Multan, Hyderabad and Gujranwala (Arif and Hamid, 2009). A wide-ranging investigation on this trend has indicated its consequences on the spatial allocation (Abbasi, 1987). The 1981 Population Census of Pakistan indicated that '2.5' million people had moved to urban areas. The trend had contributed 15 percent of the urban population in 1972 (Irfan, 1986, p. 197). With particular reference to the target area of the study in which the field data was generated i.e. Rawalpindi and Islamabad have also considerably expanded. At the dawn of the 21st century, Rawalpindi had expanded at the rate of 3 percent per year (Arif & Hamid, 2009). Abbasi (1987) also noted a marked population transfer to the twin cities of Islamabad and Rawalpindi in the last few decades. According to census of 1998 population in urban Rawalpindi was 1,406,214 while the rural surroundings of the capital had a population of 276,055 that did not have full access to the capital's infrastructure and facilities (Khalid, 2012).

Research Methodology

The findings of the study reported in this paper were part of a larger project that aimed at investigating attitudes of Pothwari / Pahari speakers and Pothwari / Pahari use patterns in different domains. It was quantitative in approach preceded by a pilot study to establish the reliability of the survey. The current study was undertaken to appreciate variations across Pothwari / Pahari speaking participants in

urban and rural areas and to investigate their language use patterns. The participants of the study were purposively selected from two urban areas of Islamabad and Rawalpindi i.e. Muslim town and Shakariyal. They had shifted to these areas in search of better life opportunities from the surrounding underdeveloped rural suburbs. Subjects who agreed to contribute in this research study were given questionnaire containing 43 items on attitudes, language domains and language use in family and 7 items were on demographic features. The present thus employ the subscale of the questionnaire that relate to language use in family domain. A four-point Likert was employed to compute attitudes, language domain and the language use choices of the Pothwari / Pahari speakers. It included language use patterns across grandparents, parents and siblings.

The study was based on two assumption:

1. There is a statistically meaningful variance of the family language uses between bilingual and multilingual speakers of Pothwari/ Pahari

2. There is a statistically meaningful variation of family language uses across the different educational levels of Pothwari/ Pahari speakers

Delimitations of the Study

The present study has included quantitative approach. It has tested two assumptions. The scope of the study has been further delimited to two variables. Further research may incorporate other multifaceted statistical models, for example Mediation and Mediation for projection and interface of the variables to investigate more configurations. In addition, the sample size of the rural areas has been limited to half of the urban area as it not only reveals a meaningful statistical variation but also remains proportionate to the population of the both areas.

Data Analysis: Results and Discussion

Table 1
Important Demographic Features of Participants (N=297)

Variable	N	%
Age		
60- above	36	12
20-59	158	53
12-19	103	35
Gender		
Male	150	50
Female	147	49

Residence		
Urban	198	
Rural	99	33
Education		
Illiterate	26	8
Primary	36	12
Middle	158	53
Metric	90	30
FA	39	13
BA	40	13
MA	29	9
Proficiency in Number of languages		
1	17	6
2	12	43
3	135	45
4	32	11

The demographic variables of the participants are summed up in Table 1. The study included age, gender, residence and educational qualification of the participant in the study. 12% of the participants were above 60 years, 53% participants were between 20- 59 years and 35% participants were from 12- 19 years. 50 % participants were male and 49% were female. In addition, 66% participants were from urban areas and 33% were from rural areas. Likewise, educational qualifications have also been included in the demographic variables. 8% of the participants were Illiterate while only 12% of participants went only to primary school. 53% of the participants attained eight years of education and 30% of the participants attained ten-year education. 13% participants passed higher secondary education certificate and only 13% had bachelors' degree and 9 % participants were postgraduates.

Language Usage in Existing Domains

Fishman (1965) presented the framework of language use choices in his investigation of language domains. Language use in different domains is significant for language loss and maintenance. A domain is defined as 'a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the institutions of a society and the spheres of activity of a speech community, in such a way that individual behavior and social patterns can be distinguished from each other and yet related to each other' (Fishman et al. 1968, p. 442). This framework features a view of linguistic attitude, position and prestige of diverse languages of a specific speech community in

multilingual or bilingual context. This framework has been focusing upon multilingual context, options, and choices of the speaker of particularly lesser acknowledged languages (Sasse, 1992). The family is a fundamental unit for passing on language to the next generation, to develop, shape and integrate social personal and cultural identities. A shared language across grandparents, parents, children and siblings provides a bond within a family and become the means of survival of the language (Fishman, 1991).

Table 2

Result of Independent Samples t-Test

	Urban		Rural				Cl 95%		
	M	SD	M	SD	t(195)	*P*	UL	LL	Cohen's d
1. Grandparents to parents	3.35	1.05	3.91	0.27	-5.19	0.00	-0.77	-0.34	0.72
2. Grandparents to children	3.24	1.10	3.89	0.33	-5.77	0.00	-0.88	-0.43	0.80
3. Grandchildren to grandparents	2.93	1.44	4.27	3.95	-4.22	0.00	-1.95	-0.71	0.44
4. Parents among themselves	3.39	1.00	3.89	0.39	-4.76	0.00	-0.706	-0.293	0.65
5. Father to children	3.21	4.30	3.76	0.55	-1.27	0.20	-1.41	0.30	0.18

6.	Mother to children	3.13	2.43	3.85	0.45	-2.94	0.00	-1.21	-0.24	0.41
7.	Children to parents	2.85	1.231	3.77	0.525	-7.14	0.00	-1.178	-0.66	0.97
8.	Children among themselves	2.5	1.25	3.65	0.65	8.579	0.00	-1.42	-0.89	1.15

An independent samples *t* Test was conducted to compare the mean consistency scores of Pothwari and Pahari use patterns in families of urban and rural participants. The table reveals the results of independent sample *t* Test. As anticipated, results from an independent samples *t* Test indicated that participants in rural areas have been significantly found higher on all the tested variables as compared to participants of urban areas. The table shows this trend consistently. The results given below are a brief description of the table.

The usage of the grandparents to parents of rural participants (M = 3.91, SD = 0.27, N =99) has been found considerably higher than urban participants (M = 3.35, SD = 1.05, N =198). t (195) = 5.19, p < .000, two-tailed. As there has been a significant difference between these participants, the size of this effect is revealed (d= 0.72). It has been indexed by Cohen's (1988) coefficient d was established to surpass the convention for a large effect size (d= .80).

The Children of the rural shows the similar pattern (M =, 3.65, SD =0.65, N =99). Their usage is much higher than urban children (M =2.5, SD =,1.25, N =198). t (195) =,8.57, p <.0.000, two-tailed. As there has been a substantial variance amid these participants the size of this effect is displayed (d =1.15).

Table 3
Result of One-way ANOVA

	Illiterate		Primary		Middle		Metric		Intermediate		BA		MA			
	(n =26)		(n =36)		(n = 158)		(n = 90)		(n=39)		(n=40)		(n=29)			
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD		P
1.	3.92	0.39	3.80	0.66	3.51	0.96	3.53	0.90	3.53	0.96	3.45	1.03	2.95	1.14	3.98	0.00
2.	3.80	0.69	4.55	6.55	3.29	1.151	3.2	1.15	3.51	1.90	3.05	1.29	2.51	1.18	2.06	0.05
3.	4.00	0.00	3.80	.66	3.37	1.06	3.43	0.93	3.3	1.03	3.4	1.03	2.96	1.22	3.68	0.00
4.	3.69	0.837	3.66	0.67	3.48	1.01	3.6	0.81	3.3	1.11	3.5	0.90	3.68	0.80	0.72	0.63
5.	3.80	0.56	3.41	0.90	3.29	1.15	3.03	1.15	4.12	6.66	3.92	6.61	2.55	1.18	0.9	0.48
6.	3.84	0.46	3.52	0.90	3.40	1.09	3.25	1.11	3.30	1.07	3.07	1.11	2.68	1.10	2.1	0.04
7.	3.92	0.39	3.16	1.10	3.35	1.05	3.15	1.14	3	1.25	2.9	1.23	2.37	1.04	6.0	0.00
8.	3.76	0.65	3.91	0.36	3.16	1.14	2.96	1.24	2.56	1.23	2.65	1.23	1.89	0.97	7.73	0.00

Note. Grandparents to parents. 2. Grandchildren to grandparents 3. Grandparents to children   4. Parents among themselves 5. Father to children 6. Mother to children 7. Children to parents 8. Children among themselves

The one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) is employed to ascertain if there are any statistically meaningful significant variances among the means of two or more variables. A one-way ANOVA was completed to test the inclination dissimilarities of language practice configurations in household across seven groupings of Pothwari and Pahari informants based on seven academic stages. The results show a significant and patterned dissimilarity among all the groupings on the scale. It is the sample with no academic exposure who has the highest usage of Pothwari and Pahari language on all the variables. On the other hand, the highly qualified shows the lowest usage of Pothwari and Pahari language. On the first variable (Grandparents to parents) illiterate contributors (M = 3.92, SD = 0.3, N =26) revealed the highest use of this language. Informants with Sixteen years of instruction showed the bottommost usage (M = 2.95, SD = 1.14, N =29). These groupings were found statistically significantly different (p < .05. =p < .000).

On the next variable (grandchildren to grandparents) the result shows the consistent trend.   Illiterate informants (M = 3.80, SD = 0.39, N =26) recorded topmost across all the groupings on this variable. Informants with Sixteen years of

instruction showed the lowest values and thus showed a decrease of Pothwari and Pahari in the most qualified groups. (M = 2.51, SD = 1.18, N =29). These groupings were found statistically different (p < .05. = p < .005).

Similarly, the communication of grandparents to children with no formal record the highest usages in Pothwari and Pahari language (M =4.00, SD = 0.00, N =26). Following the previous trend, Pothwari and Pahari language speakers with sixteen years of instruction showed the bottommost usage of this language (M =2.96, SD = 1.22, N =29). These groupings were found different (p < .05. = p < .000).

Likewise, the illiterate parents used Pothwari and Pahari language among themselves (M =3.69, SD =0.83, N =26). Informants with sixteen years of instruction showed the lowest use of this language (M =3.68, SD = 0.80, N =29). The values shown were significantly different across the group (p < .05. = p < .063).

The last variable (children among themselves) recorded bottommost overall mean on all the levels of instruction. Illiterate informants (M =3.76, SD =0.65, N =26) recorded the next topmost across all the groupings on this variable. Informants with Sixteen years of instruction showed bottommost mean value (M =1.89, SD = 0.97, N =29). There was a meaningful statistical difference across these groups (p < .05. = p < .000).

The study established statistically meaningful variance of the family language uses among rural and urban residents and seven academic levels of Pothwari/ Pahari speakers.

Findings

The results of Tables 2-3 validated and largely established the anticipations and assumptions of the study. Data were computed on SPSS version 18. Table 2 revealed a significant different usage of Pothwari and Pahari across the urban participants and rural participants of the study. The rural participants were significantly higher on the use of Pothwari and Pahari. Similarly, results of ANOVA also displayed the same patterned responses across the studied groups. It was a comparison across different groups with diverse levels of literacy. It showed that illiterate Pothwari and Pahari speakers were the highest on most of the variable of the scale and participants with postgraduate education were mostly on the lowest on Pothwari/ Pahari usage in the family. The results have also been consistent with some previous studies exploring bilingual education and use and input patterns in

immigrant and indigenous communities (Augsburger, 2004; Hakuta & Pease-Alvarez, 1994; Harrison & Piette, 1980; Jia & Aaronson, 2002; Kim, 2006; Stevens & Ishizawa 2007; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000).

Table 2 showed the differences of language use patterns and degree of competing bilingualism across urban and rural Pothwari and Pahari speakers. All the items of the scale, starting from language use of grandparent to parents to the last item, i.e. children among themselves, showed a meaningful variation and urban participants reported lower mean values. This variation is consistent with Anjum, et al., (2013), which studied the same scale across three generations. Similarly, Table 3 also revealed similar systematic and patterned usage and variation.

In-depth analysis of the results displayed uniform trends related to competing bilingualism, the intergenerational transmission usage of this language in urban-rural context. Mean values of language usage grandparents to parents revealed a marked difference (Urban=3.35 and Rural = 3.91) on the next item, language usage of grandparents to children showed the consistent trend (Urban=3.24 and Rural =3.89). This term has not been consistent Lothers and Lothers 2012, which reported third generation language use with parents and grandparents of this language in Murpuri immigrant families in UK. One very important item of the scale was the language usage across mothers and children. Here the trend has been also consistent mothers of urban areas have scored lower than rural mothers (Urban=3.13and Rural =3.85). Similarly, another very crucial factor language usage among the siblings, which also depicts a uniform pattern of language usage and vertical decline on the items of the scale (Urban=2.5 and Rural =3.65). On the vertical line first item, language use of grandparent to parents of urban and rural participants, showed a consistent decline from first item to the (urban grandparents to parents M=   3.35, urban children among themselves M=2.5; rural grandparents to parents M= 3.91 , rural children among themselves M=3.65) last item. However, the most important factor in this regard was the difference of mean values of language usage across siblings living in urban areas, which is much lower than language usage across siblings living in rural areas.

In addition to this, the results of Table 3 revealed a dropping trend of language use across Pothwari and Pahari speakers of different literacy levels. It systematically shows a picture, in which Pothwari and Pahari language is persistently being susceptible presumably by the higher position enjoyed by Urdu. This trend

showed participants with the lowest literacy level were found the highest on Pothwari and Pahari usage. Illiterate participants scored the highest on all the items of the scale. Similarly, the most educated group (postgraduates) was the lowest on most of the items of the scale. Bilingual education most of the time is a change of linguistic behavior of the minority and indigenous language speakers (Augsburger, 2004; Hakuta & Pease-Alvarez 1994; Harrison and Piette, 1980; Kim 2006; Tseng & Fuligni, 2000; Valdés 1998). This variation is also seen on vertical lines, as results of Table 3 also showed a gradual decline on all the level of education vertically (highest score of illiterate participant=3.92, lowest score of illiterate participant=3.76). This variation is consistent on most of the groups.

Conclusion

To conclude, the results of this study are found consistent with earlier studies including Anjum, et al., (2013) which have indicated Pothwari as a diglossically low language; moreover, subtractive bilingual education and mobility have predisposed speakers of this language to lower input and usage of Pothwari and Pahari. Language usage in a family largely has been influenced by the language use patterns across three generations, gender status, education and regions of habitation of the native speakers of a specific language. These are essential indexes of language vigor and language loss. Pakistan offers a variable scenario of cultural and linguistic diversity. However, various local cultures are facings looming threat of extinction. The present study underscores the importance and significance of this depleting cultural heritage.

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