

## Linguistic Market and Education: A Qualitative Investigation of Language Attitudes of Students and Teachers in Pakistani Madrassas

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### Abstract

*Globally, madrassas have become a key focus of researchers and scholars to identify and locate their socio-educational role and responsibility. In the context of Pakistan, majority of the studies however are driven by the security perspective in which attempts have been made to investigate and thus establish their involvement in training non-state actors and religious extremists i.e. Taliban on the Pak-Afghan border. There is a general dearth of in-depth studies conducted inside madrassas in Pakistan and majority views are based on sensationalized media reports. Also rare are research studies that focus these 12,979 religious seminaries from the perspective of educating about 2 million Pakistani citizens. Guided by the theory of linguistic market of Pierre Bourdieu, this study aims at investigating the language attitudes with a view to explore avenues for effectively incorporating English in the curriculum that in turn will enable them to assimilate in the country's job market. Based on 42 in-depth interviews conducted in six madrassas in the war-torn province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the data reveals the virtual absence of English in the curriculum. It also reveals that Arabic reigns supreme as the fountain source of religious knowledge. English is viewed by many as language of opportunities and passport to success however. The study concludes that consistent and informed policy decisions by the government are needed to reform religious education. It further concludes that the policy of English for All has the potential to bridge the existing gulf between religious and secular education in the country.*

**Keywords:** Pakistan, Madrassas, Language Attitudes, English, Arabic, Urdu, Pakhtu

### Study Background

According to National Education Census (NEC, 2005) a total of 12,979 madrassas educate more than 1.5 million students across the country. Mostly financed by charitable organizations, government *Zakat* funds and well-to-do individuals, madrassas mostly attract poor students in their ranks (Abu-Nimer & Kadayifci, 2011; Ali, 2009; Blanchard, 2008). Researchers also tend to place love for religion as prime reason for joining madrassas (Eteraz, 2009). These institutions attempt to ensure free provision of lodging and food during the course of education (Coleman, 2010; Zaidi, 2013). In the context of the study, madrassas focus on Pakhtu, Urdu, Arabic and Persian with less or no space for English language learning and teaching (Rahman, 1999). Thus, the linguistic capital they accumulate in madrassas, the students rarely find means to compete in the English-oriented labor market and fall short of contributing their part in the country's progress (Ali, 2009). Government has made several attempts to introduce madrassa reforms which have embraced only a tiny section of them (Butt, 2012). In the current scenario, research scholars have conflicting views regarding future of madrassas (Zaidi, 2013). One group advocates strict action against them and view their abolition as the best way while the other group stands for effective reforms through state's interference with the assistance of international powers (Butt, 2012; Nelson, 2006). The researchers do not intend to contest the stance of the first group but finds the other more rational and realistic owing to the overall economic conditions of Pakistan. This study then is undertaken to explore avenues for improvement in the quality of madrassa education from a sociolinguistic point of view. It is an endeavor to explore ways and means to effectively incorporate English language learning and teaching in madrassa education through a bottom-up approach (Nelson, 2006).

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Historical failures or inadequacies can best be accounted for by taking into account the views of the stakeholders and this is one of the reasons that this study investigates and measures attitudes towards the language inside madrassas.

Language attitudes permeate our daily lives and we hold them at all levels (Johnson & Boynton, 2011) including spelling, words, accent, dialects and language. They relate to phenomena both sociolinguistic and social psychological informing us about how we position ourselves socially (Garrett, 2010). One of the major goals of a sociolinguist is to construct a 'record of overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes' (Labov, 1984, p. 33). Other goals include the affect of attitudes on behaviors and experiences allowing speakers of a particular variety to fare better or worse in 'linguistic markets' that may lead to avoidance or promotion of that variety. An attempt to probe and establish the factors responsible to give rise to these attitudes is also important (Crano, Cooper & Forgas, 2011). Attitudes vary at ethnic, professional, regional and social levels because they reflect a group's learning and are therefore, vital in the appreciation of differences within and across communities (Noursi, 2013). The investigation and analysis of attitudes is therefore important for successful planning and effective policy formulation as they mirror 'community's thoughts, beliefs, preferences and desires' (Osam & Agazade, 2004).

Madrassa is viewed by many as an institution that serves as a nursery for training religious enthusiasts and to preserve Islamic teachings. The proponents of madrassa have a ready list of Muslim scholars from the sub-continental history to justify the claim. Without debating the historical achievements of madrassa graduates, there are others who lament the downfall of its fortunes and the overall decline in the trend towards religious education. The reason of downfall may be the hostile policies of the state that favor English system of education. The issue here, however, relates to the value of learning in madrassa and its usefulness in the context of public life (Glinert, 1999). Muslim societies, till the nineteenth century, gave respect to religious scholars as there was no significant differentiation between education and religious devotion. It was therefore usual for the religious scholars to dominate and monopolize the religious sentiments of the masses (Zaman, 2009). Much has changed with the advent of science and technology in this digitalized life and attention is required to address the changes and meet the challenges ahead with particular reference to English language in the *Madares* of Pakistan.

### **Problem Statement**

English language enjoys wide recognition and is a principal means of communication and business across Pakistan (Akram & Yasmeen, 2011; Rahman, 2005). Although the country's constitution of 1973 upholds Urdu (article 251) yet the global importance of English gives it unique place in the country's official correspondence. Perception regarding its importance is confirmed by the presence of English language institutes and the ever growing trend in spread of English-based private sector educational institutions. It also owes much to the fact that English has become lingua franca for most of global political, economic, social interactions (Shamim, 2011) and working language of international organizations like UNO and its allied agencies to which Pakistan is an active member. Having said this, it surfaces as language of opportunities and has an instrumental value in meeting global challenges, a fact endorsed by the state in its education policy 2009. However, the students of madrassas (religious seminaries) in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa have insignificant exposure to the language and most of their working hours are spent in acquisition of Skills in their native language Pakhtu, National language Urdu along with Arabic and Persian serving as religious symbols. For the purpose of the study, madrassas include institutions that provide formal religious education such as Ibtadiya/Sunviya/Hifiz etc. The mosque schools where only recitation of the Quran is focused are not included (NEC, 2005, (Rahman, 2005)). This research study intends to investigate language attitudes to contribute to the reform agenda and to equip the learners to play an active role in the uplift of the country's economy, to enable them to compete in the global market and to allow them to raise their social status and position in the mainstream society. However, the specific objectives of the study are as under:

### Objectives of the Study

Following are the major objectives of the study:

- To investigate attitudes of madrassa students and teachers towards languages
- To measure the students and teachers level of appreciation of Arabic and English language
- To find out the comparative importance of languages in the scheme of religious education

### Methods and Procedure

#### Nature of the Study

This research study is based on qualitative research design to investigate language attitudes, with particular focus on perceptions regarding English in comparison to Arabic.

#### Population and Sampling

Target population of the study is madrassa teachers and enrolled students in Dars-e-Nizami. In other words, they include students above *mutawasitah* or grade 8 including '*thanviyah-e-ammah*' (grade 9 & 10), '*thanviyah-e-kassah*' (grade 11 & 12), '*aliya*' (year 13 & 14) and '*alimiyah*' (year 15 & 16) (see also Borchgrevink, 2011, p. 2). A survey based on the official information available in the form documents and reports is conducted to identify the total number of madrassas in the area of study. The researchers have mainly relied on the Pakistan Education Statistics (2011 <http://www.statpak.gov.pk>) and National Education Census (2005) for ascertaining the number of madrassas and the number of enrolled students.

#### Locale of the study

The study is delimited to three districts of Malakand Division in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa including Dir Lower, Malakand and Swat. The field data is based on the information collected from six madrassas selected through convenience sampling with two each (one rural and one urban) from every district. The total number of respondents interviewed during the field study is 42 (30 students and 12 teachers) purposively selected (Kemparaj & Chavan, 2013) after identifying the potentially willing respondents who could 'provide substantial contributions to filling out the structure and character of the experience under investigation' (Polkinghorne, 2005, p. 139).

#### Tools of Data Collection

The data is collected through the method of in-depth interviews with the help of interview guide (Turner, 2010) which requires specification of topics and issues in outline form in advance and allows the interviewer to decide sequence and working of questions during interview. Rationale of this method, according to Patton (1980 as cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000) is that it provides large amount of data in quick session. Further, 'the outline increases the comprehensiveness of the data' along with making data collection systematic by allowing the interviewer to anticipate and thus close logical gaps in the data. In addition, the interview remains 'fairly conversational and situational' (p. 271).

#### Analysis and Ethical Issues

Investigation of attitudes towards English rests on the widely accepted assumption that they predict people's behavior (Osam & Ağazade, 2004). This study follows a bottom-up approach guided by the view that attitudes measure, predict as well as lead to change in behavior towards the attitude object (Myers, 2005). Lastly, pseudonyms are used for both the madrassas and the interviewees in fulfillment of the researchers' ethical responsibility. The coding process is an adaptation from Roney (2000) which is appended at the end.

#### Data Analysis and Discussion

The field data collected through interview method is thematically coded and presented in this section with the voices of the participants serving as empirical data providing the depth and detail

of their experiences. They also include direct quotations of students and teachers (see appendix for identification keys). The analysis and discussion section is guided by the objective to investigate language attitudes, language options and their relevance to the job market.

### **Dars-e-Nizami in Madrassas**

Majority of madrassas offer admissions to students at primary level in basic courses parallel to the ones offered by public schools. The main difference between the two is the religious content which forms the major portion of the teaching material in madrassas. Once admitted, the students learn the basics of religion by taking different courses and are later on admitted into Dars-e-Nizami. One teacher pointed to the learning of Arabic from nursery as a distinguishing mark of language education in religious seminaries (2T09-F32-U8M).

The traditional 8-year Dars-e-Nizami course is divided into eight darajāt or grades. Each grade is numbered in Arabic as *oulah* (first), *saaniah* (second), *salisah* (third), *Rabiah* (fourth), *khamisah* (fifth), *saadisah* (sixth), *sabiah* (seventh) and *Dora Hadith*. The whole course is divided into four parts or levels. These levels include 2-year *Aammah* (equivalent to SSC), 2-year *Khaasah* (equivalent to HSSC), 2-year *Aaliah* (equivalent to BA) and 2-year *Aalamiah* (equivalent to MA).

An introduction to Dars-e-Nizami is important to appreciate the language attitudes of the interviewees and their educational background. The institutions where data was generated for the study did not offer English for academic progress and looked at Arabic as the fountain source of all knowledge. The absence of English language in madrassas, as referred to above, was understandable in the context of 8-year curriculum- Dars-e-Nizami. Apart from the first two grades (darajāt), it had no English at all. The courses taught were predominantly in Arabic with Urdu translations and scarce Persian texts while Pakhtu served the medium of instruction. Students of all age groups having passed 8<sup>th</sup> grade from any school or madrassa were eligible for admission into the course (Dars-e-Nizami). Once admitted, the students had to appear in an exam equivalent to SSC (Secondary School Certificate) from Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE) that included English as a subject (2T09-F32-U8M).

### **The Role of Language and our Life**

Language plays an important role in our lives. Students need to know the importance of language in general and the significance of different languages (Khan et al., 2013). It is the responsibility of language teachers to arrange orientation sessions for them. Such sessions are helpful for students to make informed choices and to keep pace with the world (Mercer, 2011). Attitudes and motivation also rely on the need and importance of different languages (Ming, Ling, & Jaafar, 2011). To see if such practices existed in madrassas, we designed a question to know if such orientation sessions formed regular part of language courses? The purpose of this inquiry was to know the motivation level of students towards the languages that existed and mattered in their education and professional careers. The data generated through interviews revealed that no special importance was given to teach and instruct students about the role of different languages. There were no separate sessions arranged for beginners about the role of language in life. Further, Arabic was given prime importance for religious reasons and was idealized for eternal success. Students were motivated to learn Arabic and all other languages were addressed in a secondary manner. Urdu was also given importance for two reasons: first, it was the national language of Pakistan and second, majority of the classical Arabic texts had been translated in it that added to its demand in comprehending the otherwise vague classical Arabic texts.

However, the non-existence of formal orientation sessions must not be generalized. There were other madrassas in metropolitan centers like Lahore and Karachi where special arrangements were made for the purpose (Zaidi, 2013). In response to my question, many participants did not give concrete reply. One student referred to his experience of attending such sessions at a madrassa in Lahore, however. According to him, “Yes, when I was in Lahore, our teacher spent three days on it and then he went on to teach basics of Arabic language. We were told that English was ruling the

world but Arabic was also the second best. So this was how we were given orientation about different languages” (1S05-M33-R8H).

### **Languages Understood by the Participants**

Firsthand knowledge of the linguistic background of the participants is important to appreciate the depth and details of the analyzed data (Roney, 2000). Realizing the responsibility as researchers to make the data more comprehensible, we made it part of the introductory description of the interviewees. They were all Pakhtuns speaking Pakhtu language. A few of them who belonged to far-flung areas of Swat district also spoke or at least understood Kohistani language. Kohistani or Kalam Kohistani also called *Gawri* is spoken in the northern Pakistan. Kohistan is a Persian word that means land of mountains and Kohistani can therefore be translated as the language of people living in mountains. Kohistani can also popularly refer to one of the thirty languages spoken in different areas of Pakistan and Kashmir. Spoken in the upper parts of Swat with its centre in Kalam village, this is also called Kalami. It is also referred to as *Bashkarik* or *Gawri* or *Garwi*. However, these names are rarely known to the speakers themselves and they simply call their language Kohistani. The same language is also spoken in the remote areas of Dir Upper. In those areas, Kohistani speakers were in majority and it was also used as medium of instruction in state-run schools. To introduce the participants from the point of view of their language use in different domains, they used Pakhtu with family members, friends, peers and acquaintances. In the performance of their religious duties and rites, they used Pakhtu and Arabic. Muslim prayer was recited in Arabic and so were Quranic verses and supplications with their translation in the native language at times. In multilingual situation, Pakhtu was replaced by Urdu for all practical purposes. Religious rituals including recitation of the marriage contract (*nikah*), *Eid* prayers, and sermons (*khutbaat*) were also recited in Arabic and translated in Pakhtu for comprehension.

The details about the linguistic background were obtained from the participants at the start of the interviews. There is no doubt that such information was similar in all cases except for those who also knew Kohistani language, it was helpful for me to confirm the sociolinguistic background of the participants. Starting with such free flowing and easy questions was also supportive of the interview process and to allow the interviewees a breathing space. While asking questions regarding the level and extent of understanding different languages, it was revealed that some students could not express themselves in Urdu, Arabic, Persian or English. Leaving aside the mother tongue- Pakhtu, it is safe to say that Urdu was the most widely understood language in the context while next in row was Arabic. With Persian and English at the bottom, the replies of the teachers were also in the same sequence but they had greater level of understanding of the languages. To appreciate the level of understanding of languages, one teacher said that he could understand Arabic, Urdu, Pashto and also understand English to a very little extent (5T30-M29-R8M). A student interviewee was the view that he understood Pakhtu, a little bit of Urdu and Arabic because they had been learning it for the last eight years (1S05-M33-R8H). In a query regarding command over the languages, a student replied, “As far as command is concerned, I do not know much of Arabic as you know that it’s under process [referred to its learning as prominent part of Dars-e-Nizami]. English is also under process [attended English language class in school section] and Urdu is somehow more familiar” (6S38-M20-U3B).

In asking questions about the languages understood, interesting information from participants was obtained that would otherwise have not been revealed during the process of interviews. We came to know about participants who had a fair amount of knowledge of English and Persian in addition to other languages. For instance, a teacher when asked about his mastery of languages revealed that he also knew about English and upon inquiry, it was known that the teacher had completed his Dora Hadith (8<sup>th</sup> grade of Dars-e-Nizami) from Darul Uloom Haqqania Akora Khattak, Nowshera in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He had also done some courses during his student life from a private English language institute (1T02-M27-R8M). Further, it was revealed that he was a private candidate of MA in English from University of Malakand where the one of the researchers was teaching. It, therefore, provided a chance to further investigate his educational background. It was known that he had ample knowledge of English that was otherwise rare in madrasa community.

He also informed that his younger brother was student of BA at that time. More importantly, when he was asked about his family members, it was known that he had a humble background with his father as a truck driver who had never been to school during his life. In short, majority of the interviewees understood Urdu with little practical knowledge of other languages. A strong tendency towards understanding English was also found but due to scarcity of resources and opportunities, many interviewees had not learnt it.

### **Learning Different Languages and the Students**

As said earlier, the students were faced with a multilingual situation and had to learn different languages during the course of education. Arabic and Urdu remained important for academic progress while the existence of English in the beginning and Persian at advanced level could not be overlooked. Despite the presence of these languages, madrassa community placed more value on native language on the ground that mother tongue education was more rewarding. They also held Arabic in greater esteem and considered it a sign of religious scholarship. They kept it close to their hearts and also spoke approvingly of Urdu and Persian. They also did not hesitate in acknowledging the importance of English language in the contemporary scenario but did not convincingly justify its exclusion from Dars-e-Nizami. They found themselves in awkward position to defend the status quo but argued for giving importance to Arabic and Urdu instead. While expressing their priorities, most of them were satisfied with the options they had. When they were asked to talk in the context of the global role of Islam, they accepted the superiority of English over other languages including Arabic. Most of them admitted the global role of English in spreading the message of Islam but attempted to defend the nature and scope of Dars-e-Nizami at the same time. A teacher explained, “It is a very clear fact that every syllabus or curriculum has its own aims and objectives. The main objective of Dars-e-Nizami is to enable us to reach the core of our Islamic values in the form of the Quran and Hadith. We spend 8 years to achieve this objective. Now the language of these texts is Arabic and our mother tongue is Pakhtu so it can be understood that our primary focus remains Arabic. Then our national language is Urdu so we teach here in Urdu and use our mother tongue for explanation” (6T37-M30-U8M). In another instance a student tried to justify the policy of madrassas and said, “I believe that we should have excellence in Pakhtu language as it’s our mother tongue. Then we should also learn Arabic as I said that it’s from this language that we derive our religious identities and ideology. The more you know about it the more you will get closer and closer to your essence and religion. And then for spreading the right word, we know that English is the most widely used language, so we also need to learn it for the good of all. We claim that Islam is natural to us and has superiority over other religions so we cannot rely only on Pakhtu or Arabic for preaching the Word of God. It is necessary to learn English for this purpose to be heard far and wide” (1S05-M33-R8H).

The interviewees did not display visible discomfort while expressing their linguistic preferences. They felt at home while talking about and defending their choices. They had loaded replies for questions that related to Arabic in particular. To them, it was a religious duty of every Muslim to love and learn Arabic. They asserted its superiority as the language of Paradise. When asked to compare Arabic and English, a visible split appeared in their views: the social self and the religious self. In the former, they did not deny the importance of English but the religious self dominated the attitudes. This was better explained by a teacher when he said, “I think that I should learn any and all languages. And especially Arabic language must be learnt. Our holy Prophet (peace be upon him) says that love Arabic, it is my language, the language of the holy Quran and the language of Paradise. As it is related to our religion so it must be learnt. Apart from this, Urdu is our national language, so we also need to learn it. English is a language that is used in many parts of the world. Thus, it also must be learnt for the purpose of preaching and spreading the message of Islam” (1T02-M27-R8M). With particular reference to the learning of English, majority of the interviewees did not deny its importance and a teacher explained that there was no harm in the learning (4T23-M33-R8S).

The above extracts reveal that the participants did not negate the value of learning English language. They considered it important for survival in the contemporary world. Such views forced

the researchers to further investigate the status and role of the language at institutional level. We did ask about the same and came to know about the various reasons that could be quoted to justify the value of English in contemporary madrassa. Here, we discuss the attitudes of the participants towards English language in the presence of Arabic that enjoyed greater respect and prestige in the madrassas.

### **Language Understanding by the Participants (easy or difficult): Arabic or English**

During discussion over learning different languages, some of the participants compared the learning process and expressed their experience of learning different languages. They were questioned about which language they found easier. Overall, majority were of the view that Arabic was morphologically and grammatically more complex. They also talked about the rich vocabulary of Arabic in comparison to English. One participant referred to the religious compulsion of avoiding mistakes in Arabic that made it more difficult. In other words, Muslims believe in prescriptive nature of Arabic grammar in relation to religious texts (Rahman, 2000). They do not approve of experimenting with its grammar and consider it sinful and unbecoming of a good Muslim to mispronounce the words of the holy Quran or Hadith. The same was explained by a teacher interviewee and said, “I think Arabic is difficult in comparison to English. If you focus on actual Arabic according to the rules of its grammar then it really is challenging. It is also because Arabic has got many words for a single concept at different times. Then you also need to be careful to avoid making any mistake” (4T23-M33-R8S).

Likewise, an interviewee student who was doing English language course was asked the same question and his reply was thematically similar to the above one. He was of the view that the complicated scheme of the use of diacritic in Arabic made it a difficult language where a slight mistake could change the semantic horizons of a word. (4S27-M20-R6H). The views of some participants were different and had religious overtones. They found Arabic easier as it enjoyed a special status- language of the holy Quran. According to the researchers, such views were less practical and more religious. To illustrate one student said that Arabic was easier to learn (3S19-M22-U7B) while a teacher was of the view, “It’s the language of the holy Quran and those who want to learn it can do it very easily... Arabic I think is the easiest. One can easily get used to it. It’s too natural for us to learn Arabic. English is also not difficult. One can learn it easily. The environment also matters. Personally, I like English very much. I really take interest in learning more and more of it. I want to be expert in it so that I may say and read everything. The reason behind this thinking is that we should learn it to preach Islamic values globally” (2T09-F32-U8M).

Thus, there were two different and polarized approaches to interpret the learning experience of different languages. Some interviewees were of the view that English was easier while some saw divine assistance in facilitating learning of Arabic language. To note, majority of the respondents found the grammar of Arabic more complex in comparison to English that made it less easy. Overall, Arabic language was given more importance primarily for religious reasons and that same love is described in the coming part of the analysis.

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, madrassa students and teachers have predominantly progressive attitudes towards the role and importance of different languages. They have developed this sense primarily from their social surroundings and their peers. The madrassas do not specifically tend to offer a holistic view and is geared up to promote Arabic. This has also been historically true as in the past madrassas mainly served a counter strategy of the religious class to resist the spread of English language and culture in the British India. With the advent of modern science and technological tools much has changed however. Despite consistent effort of madrassa elite to inculcate unflinching support for Arabic, they have not succeeded in resisting the inroads that English has made in the economic and political domains in the country. Anti-Islamic rhetoric against English persist reinforced by the idea of associating Arabic with God and religion. Madrassas have successfully maintained the love for Arabic on religious grounds.

The findings of the study reveal that madrassas do not provide ample opportunities to students in getting basic knowledge of English language. They do not have reportedly trained teachers recruited for the purpose. Further, Dars-e-Nizami heavily relies on Arabic and Urdu alongside mother tongue of the students. The absence of English as a compulsory subject in the curriculum is also responsible for pushing it aside. For all practical purposes, English remains under the rug and students do not feel the drive towards its learning. In some madrassas, English language classes or evening time arrangements are not enough to justify the endeavor. Similarly, as is evident from the analyzed data, the teaching contents of subjects taught in Dars-e-Nizami are bulky and cumbersome that prevents motivated students to find time for learning English language. Most of their day time is spent in memorizing their lessons and to learn them by heart. The meager free space they get in the evening may not be desirable for important job like learning a foreign language and that too in the absence of relevant experts.

### Recommendations

In the light of the above observations, it is safe to assume that once graduated, majority of madrassa students fail to find good jobs and means of survival in different fields (Abu-Nimer & Kadayifci, 2011). English becomes a nightmare for them wherever they go. As already discussed, job market heavily relies on English language skills and deprived of this precious commodity and capital (Tan & Rubdy, 2008), they fail to fare well. In consequence, majority students find madrassas and mosques as safe heavens to spend the rest of their lives. At the same time, the educational system also fails to utilize their professional competence for nation building in a meaningful manner.

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**Appendix**  
**Interviewee Identification Key**  
**(10 Character Code)**

Character key	Description	Details
1 <sup>st</sup> Character	Madrassas (Pseudonyms)	1 Minhaj Ul Quran Ouch 2 Jami'ah-tul Banaat Chakdara 3 Jami'ah Ulum ul Quran Sakhakot 4 Darul Ulum Qadria Dargai 5 Jami'ah Ashrafia Tindodag 6 Darul Ulum Arabia Manglawar
2 <sup>nd</sup> Character	Participants	T=Teacher S=Student
3 <sup>rd</sup> & 4 <sup>th</sup> Characters	Participant's Number	Ranges from 01 to 42 (Total participants)
5 <sup>th</sup> Character	Gender	M= Male F= Female
6 <sup>th</sup> and 7 <sup>th</sup> Characters	Age	e.g. 15, 22, 35
8 <sup>th</sup> Character	Location of the Madrassas	U= Urban R=Rural
9 <sup>th</sup> Character	Grade / Daraja of Dars-e-Nizami (All teachers will be marked 8 as all of them had qualified it).	First= 1 Second= 2 Third= 3 Fourth= 4 Fifth= 5 Sixth= 6 Seventh= 7 Eighth= 8
10 <sup>th</sup> Character	General education	L= Below secondary S= Secondary H= Higher Secondary B= Bachelor M= Master

Source: Roney, (2000, p. 311). Adapted by the Researchers

- e.g.
1. 4T25-M44-R8M = Darul Ulum Qadria Dargai, Teacher, 25<sup>th</sup>  
Interviewee - Male, 44 - Rural, 8<sup>th</sup> Grade / Daraja, Master
  2. 2S12-F18-U3S = Jami'ah-tul Banaat Chakdara, Student, 12<sup>th</sup>  
Interviewee - Female, 18 - Urban, 3rd Grade / Daraja, Secondary