

Early Language Exposures and Accumulation Processes: Socioeconomically Divided Educational Systems

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Abstract

An integrated curriculum in primary education is one way of balancing equal exposures for all learners across socioeconomic classes nevertheless school streams situated across stratification systems vary greatly in terms of curriculum they deliver. Curriculum variations lead to disparities in the exposure and accumulation levels effecting outcomes. This research aims to study the nature of variations in English curriculum used in schools and the reasons for differences and its persistent existence in educational institutes. The research looked into reasons for disparities and uncovered the hidden curriculum themes across socially stratified schools in Pakistan. This qualitative study used phenomenological methods to gather data through demographics, interviews, and document analysis. Fifteen education specialists were interviewed whereas English curriculum and textbooks across school systems used for class five were analyzed. Students from stratified educational systems have accumulation of certain kinds of language competencies, attitudes, behaviors, cultural knowledge, and problem solving skills. It is the accumulation of these differences, year after year, in the form of curriculum that either project as advantageous or disadvantages overtime. Through curriculum, school systems infuse different experiences that children face as soon as they enter school which develop as patterns of experiences that accumulate overtime. The results will not only highlight how and why curriculum differs across low cost, middle cost and high cost schools but will also elaborate what teachers can do with this information to support learning processes.

Keywords: curriculum, socially stratified schools, hidden themes, variation, equity, disparity

INTRODUCTION

Curriculum is a complex phenomenon and covers a variety of solid facts, ideas, concepts and implications. Curriculum is defined as *'an interrelated set of plans and experiences that a student undertakes under the guidance of the school'*. It is not only the essential knowledge of a subject but includes the 'totally of leaning experiences' through which students attain general skills and knowledge (Marsh and Willis, 2009). The process of curriculum implementation is continuous which takes into account goals, teaching styles and content selection, learning, outcomes, evaluation and redesign. Since curriculum as a whole determines the experiences and skills that are handed over in schools that children take along with them as foundation stones on which the lifelong success depends therefore, the value of curriculum cannot be undermined.

Curriculums are based on visions and goals hence, they are not only important but also very sensitive and political in nature. The visions guide the whole process of curriculum implementations and outcomes that determines the skills and abilities of learners. An important part of a curriculum is often the hidden curriculum in education that operates side by side the obvious curriculum and deals with the unsaid implicit academic, social, and cultural messages communicated to students while they are in school (Hidden curriculum, 2014). While the curriculum

includes the intended outcomes with selected content it triggers hidden curriculum concepts that students absorb in schools side by side based on how the curriculum content is processed. It involves interaction of students with peers and teachers, behaviors and attitudes students pick by being a part of a certain institution that may set them apart from practices carried out in other institutes. The problem with hidden curriculum is that it usually operates as a continuous underlying process of a system and remains unchallenged. Hidden Curriculum becomes important because 'students are being evaluated on their embodied cultural capital, institutional cultural capital and their knowledge of hidden curriculum' (Smith, 2013). The cultural and social norms within one institute form a culture of status quo and capital whose embodiment through ones language, interaction and behavior demonstrate how far the visions of the institutes is being translated through the content.

There are a number of factors, which influence the process of curriculum planning, development and implementations. These factors involve a range of social, economic, technological, psychological and political factors. These factors operate in ways to provide specific experiences to students.

Gavin, Whitworth & Philip, 2009 point out that one of the major challenges facing twenty first century 'is

the development of a more equal and pluralistic society' which enables learners of all backgrounds and experiences equally to participate actively in society at large. Practically providing equal opportunities involves ensuring one national vision, which penetrates across all primary schools in terms of the outcomes it produces through curriculum and by treating all students equally in providing them equal exposure to the content delivered to them. This is to that that the content meets their educational needs regardless of their backgrounds and the parents' abilities to finance their schooling and that it enables all learners equally in terms of skills and knowledge they are to attain by maximizing their abilities.

Pakistan is an interesting context for studying primary curriculum that exists in different school systems. These school systems are based on socio-economic divisions in the society, unlike primary schools in other parts of the world. The topic is of specific interest due to the recent increase on the importance of enhanced student outcomes, assessment practices and teacher accountability. Regardless of many teacher trainings, investments and improvement programs in primary schools across the country in the past many years the outcomes remain unsatisfactory; this is specifically the case with English language course. The fact that English language skill is a doorway to success and upward mobility, it is necessary to excel in it. On the contrary, disparity due to social stratification is deliberately introduced into a child's life from the very beginning through the social and educational systems where it not only becomes deterministic of the abilities of children but also places them in a system where the surrounding determine how far on the success ladder will they climb. As they move along the system, lack of learning the language skills becomes an obstacle towards growth, so much so, that later it decides which college or university they will attend, or not attend, so to say. Likewise, the language skills determines the overall academic success and employment opportunities in one's life. Basic language skills, when introduced properly at an early level can lessen chances of failure and build ability to counter adverse risk factors. Similarly, with improved language skills the chances of social inclusion, mobility and success can also increase. There is thus, a need for universalization specifically of the language skills. The fact that this universalization is not achieved is because of the many hidden reasons that lead to a persistent divide in the language abilities among students studying in different educational institutes running consistently in many underdeveloped countries across the world. This is to say, that the divide is deliberate and is not a mere outcome of circumstances. Since English language is one of the most important discipline in primary education as it sets pace for the level of

linguistic abilities one has which serve as a key determinant of educational success in the end hence, proficiency in language ability cannot be ignored due to its relation to overall educational success.

Vision 2030 clearly defines that a major goal of education systems in Pakistan is to achieve one curriculum and one national examination system under state responsibility. The national policy of education 2009, in Pakistan too clearly emphasizes the need for equality in education system specifically in primary education, which if implemented can have a tremendous influence on the education. If this goal is achieved it will remove the social apartheid. Emphasizing the need to developing an integrated curriculum of English language for students belonging to diverse socioeconomic and cultural backgrounds is a major concern behind this research paper. Through curriculums schools can and do play a major role in becoming this enabler. If this were true, the opposite of this would mean that schools, as institutions can also become means of reproducing and maintaining inequalities. Nevertheless, if schools claim to follow the national agenda of reducing inequality then by hypothesis all students across all schools situated across different social stratification segments should produce almost similar results. One of the major aim of this research was to verify this supposition. Likewise, through this research school visions, curriculum themes and standards of English textbook are compared across the stratified school systems that exist in Pakistan to uncover the possible reasons behind this practice. The paper will also analyze curriculum to see how hidden themes are incorporated in a child life at very early age and how curriculum themes are being systematized overtime to introduce and maintain a difference in the exposure children receive.

Policy and curriculum

Pakistan National education policy (2009) states, 'educational system is supposed to ensure the right of an individual to grow in income and stature' on the basis of excellence in education (p.12). National educational policy holds two roles of education that are prioritized; one education as a key driver of economic growth and second education as means to social advancement. However, the report talks of equity only in terms of gender related equity not equality of educational system. Similarly, enrollment is emphasized more than equality of exposure or quality. This means that a lot of ground and empirical work has to be done to inform the policy for realizing the 2030 visions in these manifestos.

In addition, the study contributes to informing teachers in seeing the implications of their practices and the possibility of benefits intervention models can make in reducing their students' performance gaps through reflective instruction. The contributions

of this study would be of interest to scholars working in a range of areas associated to language learning, socio economic and cultural studies. Moreover, the results would be informative to the larger society with a number of questions that need to be addressed at national level in hope of a possible egalitarian society that is in line with the national agenda.

Statement of the problem

Stratified school streams are an image of socioeconomic and cultural divisions of the society in educational institutes. Through implicit curriculum practices within these schools the chances one has towards complete educational success and enhanced outcomes becomes despaired. Socio-economic conditions accompanied with the institutional inequality introduce inconsistencies in learners that reinforce a persistent difference in language communicating abilities. Curriculum variations continue to exist across stratified school systems that lead to disparities in the exposure and accumulation levels of the learners, which influence outcomes negatively in the long run.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Graddol (2010) quotes Macaulay who stated that a class must be formed who can be a link between us and those we govern; a class of persons who is English in tastes, opinions, morals and intellect yet local in blood and color. He further added that English should not just be seen 'as a useful skill, but as a symbol of a better life, a pathway out of poverty and oppression' (p. 124). He stressed that the distribution of English is unevenly disseminated across various socio-economic groups and since it is a tool for power, access and means of economic growth so it is bound to increase gap. Moreover, he said that English is a basic skill for employment and social inclusion so its importance cannot be denied if national progress is to be made and steps have to be taken at all levels. English had been a prestige symbol ever since Pakistan came into being however, it is still creating divisions in the society through schools that have translated this thought in their curriculum. What is most unfortunate is that these divisions are being created and maintained year after year in primary schools throughout the country without being challenged.

Qadeer (2006) pointed out that here is a 'tripartite' division existing in educational institutes in terms of curriculum that is the English medium schools, vernacular schools and madrassas. English medium schools are for the prestigious upwardly mobile class, vernaculars cater to the lower classes and traditionalists'. He further lamented on the increasing differences of the society that is faced with 'divergent pulls' leaving society in a constant process of taking decisions regarding which to incorporate in education. Although, there are modest improvements

in the overall lifestyles but the country remains poor and the social and economic disparities have become sharper. While a third of the population is completely sodden and forgotten in poverty the others are explained as, 'the floating up or filtering down processes has been functioning for only some segments of lower/middle and not across the board. The rich have gained dis-proportionality. However, the salaried middle class are always struggling to meet their needs' (Qadeer, 2006, p. 269). Moreover, the bureaucratic elite reproduces opportunities for those they desire which helps in reproducing gains for this group, it includes land lords and military coups who continue to hold on to 'power and consequently riches'. Thus, any analysis that attempts to take a complete picture of the society in terms of social classes is only a partial reality as it is clear from the above observation that a large group does not have access to the educational institutions as such.

Researchers have noted that different classes are exposed to different experiences with respect to language. Education & Socioeconomic Status (2014) indicated that children from low-SES households and communities develop academic skills more slowly compared to children from higher SES groups (Morgan, Farkas, Hillemeier, & Maczuga, 2009). Bernstein (1962) found out that different environment in which children were raised lead to a difference in their use of language. He further pointed out the use of restricted code by working class boys and elaborated code by middle class boys. He pointed out that the two classes though had access to the same language yet the preference was different.

Before looking at how curriculum is distributed across different stratified schools, it is important to highlight distribution of language across different social classes in Pakistan. The distribution of English across different social classes is treated differently since it is seen as the language of power. Family trends related to language learning and how much they invest in this skill also vary with the different social classes. A general division of social class in urban areas and educational trends may be divided into upper, middle, lower and underclass. Each class has unique life style, preferences towards education based on the benefits they can receive; appreciation for English language also varies based on their exposure. Schools in Pakistan are divided into a stratified system that more or less reflects an image of economic, social and cultural divisions of the society that have directly transferred to schooling. Therefore, schools become means to providing different experiences of language to students and are institutions that are not neutral.

In order for people to advance economically, education has become a prime medium that helps

move along the mobility ladder. Within educational settings, language is a prime tool of empowerment as all education revolves around language as a medium of information gain, which in turn is related directly to employment gains. Through the vernacular medium, of Urdu, Sindhi and Pashto in different areas of the country the larger population studies and gains information through these languages, however, a parallel system of private schools caters for the needs of the upper class. At public expense the upper strata of the class distinguishes themselves by going to different educational systems as noted by Rehman (2002) who further pointed out how by allowing a vernacular system side by side to the westernized schooling the upper class further creates stratified schools and covers this in policy and practice politically. Subsequently, as English is the language of power in the country, it is 'rationed out' very thoughtfully to different groups in the society. Furthermore, Institutions define 'social reality and structural experiences. No institution and group is neutral and according to the conflict perspective, an instrument of class domination' (Hughes, 2002, p. 120). This explains the fact that institutions operate to reproduce inequality and also to the fact that the existing systems have varied visions and curriculum. Moreover, language is treated differently in these streams of schools. The lack of neutrality is obvious from the existence of different education systems in the country. The schools can be divided as Government/Public, private schools including madrassas and missionary and military schools (Mohiuddin, 2007).

Curriculum involves the overall body of knowledge and skills alongside with reasons and beliefs for ways to conduct teaching to achieve educational objectives. The overall goal of curriculum is to provide learning opportunities to students through content and learning process. Syllabus, textbooks and materials to fulfill curriculum benchmarks are often reflective of the impact of curriculum on learning and achievements. However, the overall goals and beliefs of curriculum for each system of schooling provide the ideologies and philosophies behind their motivations to provide students with particular kind of exposure. Curricula reflect sociocultural artifacts that reflect local beliefs and values and they are mostly imported from abroad. It is the broadest organization of instruction, involving teaching, evaluating and learning of English (Murray & Christison, 2011). Curriculum approach may be, linguistic based (structural, academic function, vocabulary, skills), content based (situational, integration of language and content), learner centered (competency, standard, outcome based). The choice of Curriculum and its implementation may have a significant impact on pedagogy and learning within any school system through school vision and goals that are significant and help shape everyday practices of instruction and

learning. In schools teaching is primarily based on the kind of school it is, for instance school designed for the upper class, middle class and lower class.

Since the educational systems reintroduce class stratification where 'schooling works as a mechanism for allocating children to positions in the class structure and in legitimizing the structure of social division' (Carnoy, 1975) so, it is not surprising that these differences are maintained through many implicit practices.

METHODS

This research followed the approach of phenomenology as a methodology. In order to understand the participants' perspectives it was necessary to engage with them both in formal and informal settings hence, a specific effort was made to interview the participants while they were in the specific schools and also to interview participants outside the school settings. Phenomenology provides instances of individual experience that were understood and interpreted likewise. Kate and who have recommended a systematic procedure to analyze data under phenomenological approach which is based on different steps such as reading for meaning, dividing the text into meaningful units, expressing the meaning in a more transferrable method and formulating a structure that highlights the experience in the narratives and illustrating the themes in details. The tools used to gather data are based on phenomenological approach and included interviews, collection of demographics and textbook analysis.

Interviews: Interviews in phenomenology are of specific importance due to the quality of the in-depth data that can be understood through the information provided by interviewees. The interviews are focused on learning about the participant more and more impartially. The information provided sheds light on personal and cultural experiences of the participants. The role of the researcher is of significance to an ethnographic interview where the researcher as an interviewer does not merely receive confirmation to research but is also prepared for 'shock' (unexpected responses) and for being reflexive (Atkinson, Coffey, Delamont, Lofland, & Lofland, 2001). The purpose of using interview is based on the value of credible information that can be attained through it.

The interviews used in this research are semi-structured interviews with some of the key questions written to start dialogue, as the interview progressed more questions and concerns were discussed. The time of the interview was fifteen to twenty minutes. The concerns and issues discussed were focused towards the kind of information the interviewee was able to provide with respect to their specific experience. Semi structured interviews provided an in-depth understanding of the practices and

perceptions of the participants. A total of 45 interviews were conducted over the period of two years. The sample of the interviewee was based on a diversity of participants that included educational specialists, parents, English teachers, students, ministry and Government officials, political persons, and people from education based NGOs. The Interviewee list included Dr. Imran (Secretary Minister of Education) and team members who spoke at the behalf of education minister of Pakistan, Aneela (Director National Education Assessment system/NEAS), Zamurad Khan (President of Pakistan People Party, Rawalpindi, Political personal/Ex-Member of National Assembly who is involved in educating orphans and poor), Naveed Iqbal (Grandson of Muhammad Allama Iqbal who gave the very idea of Pakistan), Ikram Aslam (Pakistan Tahreek-e-Insaf, Party worker situated in UK who spoke on behalf of Imran khan), Zakiashahnawaz (Population Welfare minister), Saleem Tariq (In-charge selection committee for interviewing deserving students in University), Ali Hameed (President Shaor Society that is involved in educational programs), Faisal Mushtaq (Executive Director, Roots schools system), school principals included principal of SLS, Miss. Humera in roots, Mrs. Aluda khanum, retired principal from Fedral school systems, currently principal at Base International school and 35 teachers of primary schools in Rawalpindi area. Ten teachers were selected from elite and high paid schools, ten from middle paid schools and ten from low paid schools. The interviews were carried out ethically with the prior permissions from the participants. The interviewees were assured of confidentiality and ethical reporting. Moreover, the interviews were recorded in most cases however, in a few cases in which the interviewee requested not to be recorded their responses were noted down. Likewise, they were free to speak in the language of their choice with no pressure to speak in English.

Analysis of the qualitative data was based on Merriam's (1998) techniques. It was based on the five steps of analysis that are narrative, generating categories with various themes and patterns through coding, interpretation in light of the research objectives, confirmation, presentation and discussions.

Documents Analysis: School visions and curriculum related document analysis formed an important part of the research as it helped in providing an account of reality which is less influenced by the researcher. The writer of the document interacts with the topic and the content becomes a direct reflection of the writers' views, feelings and abilities. It also included fifth class English textbook analysis and comparison across different streams of stratified schools. This tool was used due to the astute information that it is

capable of reflecting about the writer. This study used document analysis technique to examine in-depth features of various situations hence, it was not merely a source of data rather a way to look into the underlying goals and motives followed by each school. Documents served as a resource to allow understanding and interpretations of school streams.

Demographics: Statistical study of demographics about the students who accessed a specific school was used to categorize schools in the categories of high paid, middle paid and low paid schools. Demographics included information of different characteristics of the participants in the research. They included information based on which the researcher could judge the particular socio economic class of the participants. The participants were assured that the information will be confidential and were guided while completing the forms.

The sample of schools was reorganized based on the fee differences they had. A total of thirty schools were visited for data collection. The schools were categorized as high paid, middle paid and low paid based on demographics of the students and fee structure. The schools that took fee between 20 to 500 Rupees was categorized as low paid, between 500 onwards to 2500 as middle paid and above that as high paid schools.

DISCUSSIONS

The interviewees threw light on the current educational scenario and the influence of curriculum on the experiences of the learners. The data not only highlighted how and why curriculum differs across low cost, middle cost and high cost schools but will also provided useful insights and reasons for such practices.

One of the major theme that emerged from the data was that of **stratification in society** as a universal phenomenon however, its strong influence on education was strongly felt and pointed out by all the participants. Naveed Iqbal, the grandson of Alama Muhammad Iqbal said this is 'an international problem and not unique to us'. The President of Pakistan People Party, Rawalpindi Zamurad Khan, who is a Political personal, Ex-Member of National Assembly and also involved in educating orphans, said, 'the influence of stratified system on education is quite influential specifically as education has taken up the shape of industry and form of a developed business'. He however, had positive views regarding socioeconomic classes and divisions and said that 'he knows many individuals who are helping the society change and influence positive change regardless of belonging to low classes', hence he was of the view that while potential exists in every individual regardless of SES yet, English is creating a 'divide' in educational settings.

The interviewees commented on the **educational system in the country** highlighting some of its problems. Miss Aneela, the director NEAS stated, 'education is not our nation's priority', and although she said 'many programs are being run yet the monitoring is poor due to which the country's educational system remains ineffective'. She also added that the lack in monitoring is often blamed on lack of resource and other such reasons however, there is a deliberate negligence on the part of the decision makers in the country. Likewise, the standard of textbooks is different across primary schools where different curriculum visions are being followed, the content of textbook varies across board. Naveed Iqbal added that there are 'three educational systems with huge gaps, we want to close the gaps but we don't know how to and we have not been able to, although there are boards of teacher trainings everywhere yet we don't see a change'. He emphasized that, 'we have not been able to because of our political system that does not support equality, we have three elements in the society, there are the richest who have O/A levels after which they go abroad due to the wealth of their parents and they are a class within their own rights, the metric system is very broad and can be very bad and very good and it has the basic germ that we could develop progress from and then there is the madrasa system and mushroom private schooling that take little fee and do not teach a thing and parents have to send their children to tuition centres'. He called the educational system and said that it's 'a tripod and we need to put a lot of effort to close the gaps and frankly there is a huge gap that people in the society want to retain'.

An interview with the President Shaor society, a non-governmental organization, Ali Hameed was conducted due to his recent interest with the education imparted to slums in the nearby areas of Rawalpindi with the help of foreign aid. During his interview he emphasized the role of education and said that he is 'not satisfied with the overall education system as it is different for different SEC and nothing is being done to equalize it. The curriculum is different and so is the teaching methodology'. He held political turmoil of the country responsible for de-prioritizing education in the country and said 'we need to improve on emergency basis with provisions at Government and individual levels, while programs like Alif Alilaan are playing a significant role they are not enough'. Moreover, the programs are being run and managed by the middle class man who is not very resourceful nor very powerful.

The diversity of educational system was discussed with each interviewee, they presented their view regarding diversity of the educational systems and its influences based on their specific experience. Faisal Mushtaq, the Executive Director, Roots schools system said that 'the basic reason is the diversity of

education system that creates differences in educational outcomes and students arriving in universities are coming from systems that take different fees that ranges for 50 rupees to 2000 dollars hence private schooling is not an urban elite phenomena, it is a rural urban phenomena'. He added that, 'since curriculum is different hence exposure is given more in private schools yet commitment is found to be of a lesser degree in private school students, whereas, the government school students are passionate yet they lack economic support'.

An interview with Miss. Aneela, was carried out who was the director of national education assessment system. She monitored schools throughout Pakistan, worked with curriculum designers, and monitored the effectiveness of the government schools and was able to provide a comparison of different school systems and their performances. Overall her team was responsible for monitoring learning achievements of elementary students and they were responsible for improving curriculum, textbook and learning material and instruction methodologies of teachers. With their work they directly dealt with the policy makers to influence a change in policy. According to her, 'diversity in education exists due to the difference in curriculum, which is good yet implementation is an issue'. She talked about NEAS findings about 'ghost schools' that operate throughout the country because of the low performance of government schools. She also said 'private schools are both good and bad but they keep the ball rolling and it is not possible to demolish their growth yet they too need to be systematized as individual schools create obvious class difference with their curriculums, teaching methods and exposure levels they provide to students'. She further added earlier government schools did well but with the rising business like private schools government schools have a reduced status now'. She added that government is strong and with decisiveness can influence and enhance the maximum population that has access to government schools yet 'politics is involved' in their decisions.

The interviews pointed out that the main causes of the diversity of educational system across different fee taking schools was curriculum. Variation in curriculum and teaching were considered to be the prime causes of difference in academics generally and linguistic performance specifically. In this regard, Dr. Imran, secretary education minister said, 'basic standards in curriculum' are different across school system which is the main reason for problems in education, which has not been our priority'.

Curriculum is of significance as it is influential in all aspects of academic and individual grooming of students as it forms experiences and equal chances of success. The participants were fully aware of the value of curriculum to their teaching and its impacts

on outcomes of their students. One teacher pointed out 'that the curriculum in her school was based on international standards and had defined goals where the teachers were specifically instructed to follow them'. Teachers from medium paid schools pointed out that curriculum in their schools was designed by the school board and the textbooks were revised however, they also pointed out that in classrooms 'teachers did not follow the curriculum yet focused on teaching students only the exam syllabus to pass the students'.

Faisal Mushtaq, chairperson roots system said that, 'education cannot be equalized yet it can be universal in values and curriculum'. He emphasized 'the uniformity of curriculum' that he said may lead to equalizing social classes however, he said 'the system of the world is based on this distinction'. He said that, 'teachers are becoming teachers by default not by design, more of a teacher less society'. Moreover, he spoke of missionary schools, private and low paid schools and the difference of curriculum and teaching in these systems. Miss Aneela too emphasized the role of teacher in implementing curriculum standards yet lamented the differences in curriculum and school expectations of children being different across different socioeconomic classes.

The role of politics was highlighted in interview responses by the interviewees as a significant cause in stratified schooling and difference in curriculums. In this regard Dr. Imran, secretary education minister said that 'there is so much politics in education that the top management does not want to change and a lot of social pressure is involved, at times I do not foresee any change'. He blamed the overall instability of the country for the fact that education is not prioritized as it is in the neighboring countries.

Naveed Iqbal, who is the grandson of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, discussed in detail the role of politics in academia in general. He has worked closely with the politicians of the country in 90's for many years and his views regarding the social structure of the country and its influence on education were of significance and insightful. He traced the history of the development of different social classes in the country and their manifestations through educational institutions as their prime platform in the interview. He also spoke at length about the role of politics and those in power in the current condition of education in the country. He referred to the 'feudal culture and religious control as allies who work to keep the masses uneducated' and added politicians to this category of powerful. He said that, 'the most powerful keep a closed door exclusively for themselves to enter and I call the feudal the upper class of Pakistan'. He added that 'with time the power shifted to the middle classes in the form of military and forces where the middle class found out that they

have little chances to move up so these people legitimately went up the ladder through forces'. Since 'English is of great value to this class, though the upper class did not like it yet gave way to the entry of middle class'. In this day and age the forces are non-political apparently yet, as the rank system is followed so the higher ups become political'. According to him, 'it is the ambitious people in socioeconomic and cultural classes that use different instruments to move up and keep the door closed for the rest, education first and English next happens to be an instrument for these ambitious people'.

The interviewees gave different responses regarding the solution to the issues and challenges of stratification to education and linguistic development. The difference in responses stemmed from the diversity of experience each interviewee had. According to the interviewees 'public private partnership must be emphasized' and 'monitoring' of the current system is required to enhance the status of education. The interviews point out that 'a single person cannot regulate the system as the rich schools have turned into business institutes hence, a collective effort is needed'. The interviewees remained positive regardless of all the problems the nation is facing in education, and confess that education 'is becoming our priority with a lot of knowledge coming in from our students who are returning from foreign' yet 'we need to overcome the lack of trust between government and private educationists who seem to be competing rather than working together and pose danger to each other'. They add that 'curriculum documents and textbook decisions should be taken at national level and the visions schools follow must be decided collaboratively'. Alluda khanum, said, 'we need a generational change that is prone to learning and as language learning is a process, it requires practice and time that business like schools cannot provide. She emphasized 'though stratification can never end in Pakistan yet education should not merely be Job focused specifically in schools but in building individuals and the nation who have all the skills necessary to compete'.

Overall the interviewees said that there exists a great difference in students, who come from different schooling as they are taught different levels of skills that lead to a divide and the impact lingers on as the student enter education in later years. Moreover, the participants pointed out the potential of government role and private partnerships in overcoming the gaps while emphasizing the inculcation of appropriate language skills at school level through uniform curriculum. Similarly, the role of teacher catering for the linguistics needs of student with the textbook, teaching methodology and curriculum was considered important to enhanced linguistics outcomes and overall improvement of student skills.

RESULTS: Summary Of Curriculum And Vision Documents And Textbook Analysis Across Stratified Schools

The visions for the sample schools was categorized into high paid, middle paid and low paid schools and studied with respect to the curriculum goals and visions. Common curriculum features and language skills emphasized were extracted to point out prominent features of visions and curriculum across different stratified schools. The curriculum is not same across school systems and is separated in terms of aims and purposes that guide the whole process of teaching and learning in schools. The curriculums documents and visions refer to the difference of curriculum experiences that the sample studied receives. Each category of school has devised a different curriculum and focus on different language skills. Moreover, the themes and contents in textbooks that set ideological grounds at primary school level too vary.

The curriculum in low paid schools is oriented towards purposeful and quality education with a focus on community and national values. The specific language skills emphasized in low paid schools are reading and writing. In low paid schools the visions were not clearly stated however, included words such as 'Purposeful, quality, healthy educational environment national values, community, culture of innovation, learning'. The language skills emphasized across low paid schools included reading, writing primarily as most textbook content included exercises that involve read and answer exercises, fill in the blanks, sentence making, grammar practice (verbs, adjectives, nouns, articles, tense, negatives, interrogatives, punctuation) true false, matching lists, spellings and story writing. The themes emphasized in syllabus included patriotism, Religious holidays, family, school, seasons.

The curriculum in middle paid schools is oriented towards the same values as the low paid schools and also includes ethics, religious aspects and a focus on compatibility with the wider world. The visions included terms such as 'Education suited to our cultural, historical/ religious framework, empower and equip,, the country and the wider world, affordable, accessible and quality education, basic knowledge of skills explorative mind, moral and ethical values, National objectives. The specific language skills emphasized in middle paid schools are reading, writing and speaking. However, it was observed that speaking though was mentioned in curriculum as a skill to be emphasized was not taught or practiced in language classes. Language practice was carried out through Translation, Read and answer, fill in the blanks, sentence making, vocabulary, grammar practice (verbs, adjectives, nouns, articles, tense, negatives, interrogatives, punctuation), true false, matching lists, spellings,

translation, essay and story writing. The themes found in the textbook content were related to Patriotism, Religious holidays, family, school, basic activities, seasons.

The curriculum in high paid schools is oriented towards specifically developing English language skill with improved teaching, management and monitoring. Moreover, these schools have a focus on developing independent individuals, who are competent with the international world. The terms found in curriculum vision document included terms such as Cambridge, Reggio Emilia approach, Scottish Curriculum, UK National Curriculum, international standard, develop a first language competency of English, excellence through quality management, quality teacher teaching, diverse community, global, entrepreneurial centered achievement, development of attitude, skills, knowledge, high academic standard, inclusivity, acceptance, respect, and responsibility, a deep understanding of the traditions and values of our community, distinguish themselves academically and become conscientious citizens of a greater community, confident and personally fulfilled.

The specific language skills emphasized in high paid schools are speaking, listening, reading, and writing. The skills were practiced through literature, critical thinking and problem solving ability with special focus on at least one of the four language skills. Language was practiced through Activity books, comprehension, proverbs, idioms, vocabulary, Language rules, grammar (parts of speech and their categories), Functions of language to create a dialogue, communicative competence, conversation, responding critically, recalling incidents through speaking, identifying /differentiating sounds, pronunciation w.r.t stress/intonation, example based inductive exercises with a focus on discovery, Recalling, brainstorming, planning, sentence structures, subject/verb agreement, creative/imaginative writing, and Completing incomplete paragraphs. The themes found in textbook content included Biography, opinions, facts, reading for entrainment/ expression/ information/ discussion/ explanation and ethics/priorities. It is interesting to note that some schools which are categorized as high paid and studied for this research also include specific terms as 'our community' and 'our culture' which refers to the specific efforts by these school system to maintain themselves as a distinct class that is unique in terms of the kinds of material and cultural exposures and privileges they provide to their learners.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this data are helpful specifically for teachers as they can see the relation of what goes on in class with the level of skills the student take along

with them. It is clear that education policy of the country has the utility of education focus that may be used by educated individuals to mobilize their status upward nationally and internationally to enhance the economy of the country. In light of the above discussion, it is clear that a quality education must keep equity as its prime focus in terms of the kind of exposure it provides to boost the human and economic capital of the country. There are many hurdles in reaching this goal. One of the most important questions that lacks empirical grounds and enough force to influence policy is the disparity created by socially stratified school systems, which reproduce inequality repeatedly through curriculum differences to derail individuals' chances to mobilize and the nation's chances towards a successful and stabilized economy. It is important to point out here that the ultimate goal of quality education is not to provide means to individuals merely to mobilize them economically but to form an educated class that can help support the uplift of the society at large through intellect, knowledge and skill at large. Education should promote national unity instead of creating obvious gaps and disparities among masses. However, the educational scenario in Pakistan is far from providing equal education to all and requires extensive reformations. It is important here to understand that since it has been pointed out through these statistics the value of education as means of mobilizing upwards so the existence and pressure to control this means to maintaining and sustaining stratification naturally grows in the society. This was seen in the array of different stratified school systems operating in Pakistan each of which provides different kinds of exposure, and thereby, reinforcing the societal inequalities within education.

Status accumulation happens in terms of the inculcation an individual receives from the constant exposure of material and cultural resources. These resources vary in their availability across socioeconomic classes hence, the experiences they create also vary. Educational institutes are expected to neutralize the background difference by equalizing the experience individuals receive through their interaction with curriculum content. Hitherto, the research findings point out that the diversified education is based implicitly on socio economic criteria of stratification across school systems. Moreover, specific efforts were made to maintain and provide a unique material and cultural exposure and privileges at institutional level to students in high paid schools that already belonged to a high class. This material and cultural exposure was missing in low and middle paid schools although, it was these two classes that needed it the most.

Finally on the basis of analysis and other situational factors, it is concluded that English curriculum has been widely diversified in nature and scope and has

become on major reason for the divide in the experience learners receive at schools. The interpretations of the data also highlighted why specifically English language learning takes place as means of creating and maintaining stratification and how this practice takes place through a deliberate difference in visions, curriculum and textbooks. It is through curriculum difference that transfer in experience and builds on overtime the divide is maintained deliberately. Student from stratified educational systems have accumulation of certain kinds of language competencies, attitudes, behaviors, cultural knowledge, and problem solving skills. It is the accumulation of these language competencies, attitudes, behaviors, cultural knowledge and problem solving skills, year after year and over time in the form of curriculum that either project as advantageous or disadvantages for them in the long run.

Likewise in schools, the patterns of social stratification are reintroduced in new ways. Although, institutions define social reality and structural experiences but, they should not reward those who already possess a linguistic competence and fail to provide it to those who are in need of it (Kissell, 2007). Different school systems infuse different experiences that children face as soon as they enter school which develop as patterns of experiences that accumulate overtime. No institution and group is neutral and according to the conflict perspective, an instrument of class domination (Hugher, M., p. 120), hence specific efforts are made to maintain differences in curriculum experiences. Since English is considered to be the criteria of school success and a privilege which some enjoy whereas as other do not or cannot (Elvin, 1965) hence, the linguistics competence of students' also varies. It is due to this elevated position and utilitarian role English plays in raising one's status with enhanced chances of better employment that the skills handed over to different social classes not only varies in the ability yet, this ability is maintained through implicit practices of curriculum.

Limitation of the study

This research yielded significant contributions to the existing body of knowledge however, it is not completely without limitations. The limitations are controlled, as much as was humanly possible nevertheless, the study findings can only be generalized for English language skills and cannot be generalized for other subjects such as mathematics, physics etc.,. Similarly, other areas that curriculum indirectly infuses such as attitudes, behaviors, cultural knowledge, and problem solving skills that project as advantageous or disadvantages overtime are further areas that need to be explored. Politics in the Linguistic market that create language variations

and related concepts are potential areas for future research.

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