An Ethnographic Study of Attitude to English in Bangladesh

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)
in English Language Teaching (ELT)

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Dedication

Dedicated to

Allah the Almighty

& my Family – no thanks or acknowledgement is enough to convey the

due respect to whose sacrifices, help, and support

Declaration

I, hereby, declare that the thesis titled "**An ethnographic study of attitude to English in Bangladesh**" is my original research work. No part of this research has been submitted previously for the award of any degree, diploma, fellowship, or any title of recognition from any other university or institution.

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Supervisor's Certificate

This is to certify that the thesis titled "**An ethnographic study of attitude to English in Bangladesh**" by Saleh Ahmad for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has been carried out under my supervision. No part of this research has been presented for any degree, diploma or fellowship from any other university or institution.

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Abstract

The objectives of the study included an in-depth exploration of people's attitudes towards the roles and usage of English in daily life, as well as their aspirations for learning the language and their thoughts and perceptions about the current state of English language teaching in Bangladesh.

At the outset, a qualitative pilot study was conducted in a rural area to investigate ordinary people's perceptions of English as an international language. The experience of the pilot study allowed the researcher to obtain ethnographic research experience and try out the research design successfully. The study followed a social constructivist paradigm and applied qualitative ethnographic research tools to explore the selected phenomena in a rural area in Bangladesh. The researcher lived there as a participant observer for two prolonged periods and interviewed more than sixty-three participants and observed the community of the area to collect primary data through the ethnographic tools of the interview, group discussions, individual discussions, field notes, memos, photographs, audio and video recordings, classroom observations, scrutinizing the ELT materials and dealt with the data in Creswell's (2014) rigorous coding and triangulation procedure and presented the findings through interpretative thematic analyses.

The research was unique in that it focused on social and economic aspects rather than the conventional academic context found in previous studies. The key research was carried out in a distant rural area in the Eastern part. It examined the locals' attitudes and opinions of English in both academic and non-academic settings. Apart from academic contexts, English was partially found in usage alongside Bangla in the marketing, medical, and financial sectors. However, it was not as prevalent in

the two major fields of farming or agricultural business. Because there were few examples of a direct link between English and individual socioeconomic progress, it was evident that the people in rural areas held a mythical association between the two. However, even with a favourable attitude, the quality of English Language Teaching (ELT) was very frustrating at the schools, college, and madrasahs.

The findings and interpretations refer to a focus on developing objective-based and practical life-oriented curricula to combat negative attitudes toward the mainstream education system, ensure equity for the underprivileged people, and harness their enthusiasm for English to turn it into a tool for rural socio-economic development.

Abbreviations

ASEO	Assistant Secondary Education Officer
BCS	Bangladesh Civil Service
CEC	Communicative English Course
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
DFID	Department for International Development
DSHE	Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EGP	English for General Purposes
EIA	English in Action
EIL	English as an International Language
ELL	English language learning
ELT	English Language Teaching
ELTIP	English Language Teaching Improvement Project
ESL	English as a Second Language
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FL	Foreign Language
GoB	Government of Bangladesh
GT	Grammar Translation
HSC	Higher Secondary Certificate
HEQEP	Higher Education Quality Enhancement Project
HSEP	Higher Secondary Education Project

ICT	Information and Communication Technology
JSC	Junior School Certificate
LEP	Language in Education Policy
LP	Language Policy
LPP	Language Policy and Planning
NAEM	National Academy for Educational Management
NCTB	National Curriculum and Textbook Board
OBE	Outcome Based Education
PSC	Primary School Certificate
PTI	Primary Training Institute
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Project
SEQAEP	Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project
SESIP	Secondary Education Sector Investment Program
SL	Second Language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
TESOL	Teaching English to the Speakers of Other Languages
TQI	Teaching Quality Improvement
TTC	Teacher Training College
UEO	Upazila Education Officers

Annotations

Imam   the person who leads the prayers in a mosque.

Madrasah   a religious education institution.

Maktab   an arrangement for the basic Quranic and Islamic teachings for children in the mosques

Member   a political person in a rural area who represents the inhabitants of a village or ward to the Union Parishad (UP)

Tempo   a three-wheeler public transport

Union   a geographical area under a Union Council/ Union Parishad which is the smallest rural administrative and local government unit in Bangladesh. It includes few wards or villages. A Chairman and nine male and three female Members form the Union Parishad (UP)

Upazila   a sub-district, an administrative unit in Bangladesh

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CHAPTER ONE
Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

The presence of English for more than two and a half centuries, including a colonial history of around two centuries, in Bangladesh of around one hundred of sixty million people, is expected to produce several complex issues of multiple dimensions to be dealt with in an ethnographic attitudinal study towards English. The term attitude is widely referred to as a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to something (Bengoechea & Simón, 2014). Many researchers emphasised the significance of the factor of attitudes and beliefs of the language learners to be able to adopt appropriate language education policies and plan and implement consistent language instructions (Coronel-Molina, 2009, 2014; Gabillon 2005; Johnson, 2013; Makrami, 2010; Ricento, 2013). Moreover, if it is done in a remote area, it becomes more adventurous for the researcher as the study takes him so close to the genuine condition of a phenomenon. Though it is challenging in terms of access or rapport-building due to the conservative nature of the community and other technical and financial points, it is satisfying for the researcher. Because the ethnographic methods give the researcher the freedom to embrace newly discovered aspects of the topic of the study and evolve the study gradually as the ethnographer dives deeper into the psychic-ocean of the community and its people who have individualistic differences.

This type of ethnographic study on the English language and English Language Teaching (henceforth, ELT) may present the much-needed multifaceted picture of the target group of people of the local context to design a policy considering the social, psychological, economic, educational factors, institutional strengths or drawbacks, and the achievements and failures of existing or previous

relevant policies or projects. That is why, Hymes (1980, 2010) focused on the importance of ethnographic research to form the foundation of his real long-term goal for the social change in education (Hornberger, 2009; Van-der-Aa & Blommaert, 2011). Hence, the current study harnesses his propositions as a strong argument to review the attitudes of the Bangladeshis towards the roles and dimensions of the English language.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The study of attitude towards the English language is related to many socio-cultural, educational, economic, and individual psychological, and biological factors. The learner's attitude to learning of a second language (SL) or foreign language (FL) (mentioned as L2, henceforth) is related to several factors. Those factors include the individual differences of the learners, such as, age, motivation, learning styles, personality factors, the social and economic background of the learners, the English teacher's skills and knowledge, his/ her judgments about the uses or roles of that language, the international status of its native speakers' community, or its attachment to any other extra-linguistic factor/s like international power politics, economics, individual social socio-economic status, or even religion and these factors may influence the success or failure of learning L2 (Al-Qahtani, 2016; Ellis, 2007, 2008, 2015; Hamid, 2009; Harmer, 2007; Khasinah, 2014; Ahmad, 2010, 2014).

It is obvious that a particular region, urban or rural, is expected to have its own socio-cultural and economic conditions. An L2 learner's language attitude towards the L2 can be influenced not only by the socio-cultural setting of its native speakers' community, but also by his/her own socio-economic background. Because, attitudes "form a part of one's perception of self, of others, and of the culture in which one is living" (Brown 2000, p.18). An L2 learner may be required to impose elements of

another culture into one's own life. On the other hand, learners' attitudes towards the target language, its speakers and their culture are generally taken to be shaped by the social settings of the learners (Ellis, 2008). Ellis (2008) supports the Socio-educational Model suggested by Gardner (1985) which also points out that 'the learners' social and cultural milieu determine the extent to which they wish to identify with the target-language culture (their integrative motivation) and also the extent to which they hold positive attitudes towards the learning situation. Both contribute to the learners' motivation, influencing both the nature and the strength. It is argued that the positive attitudes towards the native speakers or the speech community of the target language are linked to successful language learning (Dörnyei et al., 2006). But the success in developing the conditions of the ELT despite several large projects has been questioned by local English as a Foreign Language (Henceforth, EFL) experts and researchers (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014; Das et al., 2014; Rahman, 2015).

Apart from that, the majority of the common Bangladeshi people, who are not directly related to English teaching or learning, may possess attitudes towards the roles of English language in socio-economic development. Many of them may not be able to avoid the English language due to their jobs or businesses. As Graddol (2006) states with data that "English is widely regarded as a gateway to wealth for national economies, organisations, and individuals. If that is correct, the distribution of poverty in future will be closely linked to the distributions of English" (p. 38). Though a wide range of studies on different aspects of the ELT has been carried out in the country so far, few of them focused on the different sectors outside the academic contexts in the Bangladeshi rural communities where the English language is used. Again, the question arises whether English is used in the rural communities or not. In the same line, more questions come up: if it is used there, then what is the extent to which it is

used and in which domains. All these questions are so pertinent to depict the linguistic scenario of the country. Again, very few ELT studies have the applied ethnographic methodology to explore the academic scenario in Bangladesh. Another question is whether the English language has left any impact on the socio-economic advancement in rural Bangladesh at micro level; if yes, then, to what extent it has contributed to the development (Earling et al., 2012; Rahman, 2015).

Hence, this current study wants to explore the 'lived experiences' in the rural area from both inside and outside the compounds of the educational institutions to find the answers to those burning questions.

1.3 Rationale and Significance

Some studies (Rahman, 2015; Erling & Seargeant, 2014) show that it is a common belief among the mass people of Bangladesh that it is very important to learn the English language to gain higher economic and social status. The range of uses and users of English in present world is becoming greater and more complex day by day due to the social and economic changes in the national and international scenario. In the same line, a lot of efforts and investment have been exerted after the betterment of the ELT conditions and the English curricula at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels for more than three decades. But the claim to calculate the output of such vast efforts for that long time has become an important issue.

1.3.1 Pragmatic Significance

It is often asserted that any language policy, especially regarding the education system, has to take into account the attitude of those who are likely to be affected (Baker, 1992). In the long run, no policy will succeed without doing one of three things: conformation to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuasion of those who express negative attitudes about the appropriateness of the policy; or endeavour

to remove the causes of the disagreement (Rahman, 2008). The reason behind the mismatch between the claimed importance given to English and the extent of achievement of teaching and learning English is not answered yet clearly.

The language identities and needs of the people of Bangladesh, which is a lower middle-income country with one of the largest ESL/ EFL learning populations in the world, are to be explored to find out how the promises of English materialize for them (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014; Hamid, 2010, 2015; Hossain & Tollefson, 2007; Rahman, 2015). The importance of this type of research to dive deep into the social psychology in the Bangladeshi context can be analysed by following another recent research that was carried out in India by the British Council, the report of which states, "second language learners and users are socially situated beings with diverse needs, wants and identities" (British Council, 2016, p.5). The data-based information and clear understanding of the English language learners' needs and identities are important for the ELT stakeholders in Bangladesh as well.

Moreover, it has become important now to gauge the gap between the reality and the myth about the contribution and usefulness of learning EFL for individual socio-economic development in the majorly agricultural communities in Bangladesh. Because, in a recent research, Erling, Seargeant & Solly (2014, p. 15) have argued that "Despite the strong associations made between English-language ability and development, there is at present only limited evidence showing a causal relationship between the two". Hamid and Jahan (2015) also have raised the issue of English as a social divide in recent research. That is why, the point of the relationship between attitude, which is both cognitive and affective (Baker, 1988), and the social development has become very important to be explored deeply.

In addition, it is logical to put forward effective suggestions before national

educational policymakers for the syllabus and curriculum design and implementation in the light of explored and explained ethnographic macro- and micro-sociolinguistic data collected from rural and urban areas. So, there is a question – whether the local policymakers have carried out adequate research in this regard to gather the required primary data to analyse it and form a solid national education policy based on the findings and suggestions.

Because, plenty of research has been carried out in the country on ELT syllabus design in contrast to a little amount of research in different fields of applied linguistics, such as, in socio-linguistics and psycho-linguistics during the first decade of the twenty-first century (Ali, 2011; Ali & Walker, 2014; Haider & Chowdhury, 2012; Hamid & Baldauf, 2008; Hassan, 2014; Hossain, 2012; Karim, 2015; Khan, 1999; Maniruzzaman & Hoque 2010; Mohanlal & Sharada, 2004; Rahmatuzzman, 2018; Sultana, Sultana, & Zakaria, 2019; Ullah, 2015; Wali, 2018). It is evident that without exploring and analyzing macro and micro-sociolinguistic data from a context, and mere changes or modifications to national education syllabuses and curricula for ELT by the national policymakers cannot make education policies effective and successful. In general, language planners need to follow policies that support the direction in which people are already moving, socio-psychologically and linguistically. Macro-sociolinguistic decrees will only meet with opposition, if micro-sociolinguistic grassroots concerns are ignored. Rahman (2015, p. 62) also has claimed that "it is yet to determine what are the exact causes ... [behind the failure and how to]... bring in 'change' in terms of enduring impact". The current research endeavours to find those causes, not in the ELT methodologies, but rather in the field of Applied Linguistics, particularly in the fields of socio-linguistics, psycho-linguistics, and ethnography.

In addition, most of those limited studies, which have been carried out in applied linguistics in Bangladesh, used mostly secondary data rather than primary data. For example, Imam (2005, p. 272) carried out a rich study in the field and stated, "the point here is before jumping into any decisions regarding English language education a country should first make a decision regarding the extent to which the English language is needed for that particular nation and what can be done to safeguard the country's own interest." But that study also could not gather primary qualitative data without which the solid data-based recommendations cannot be put forward.

Most of the studies on the English language in Bangladesh, except a few recent ones, have been carried out in schools, colleges, or universities and the major part of them are done in urban areas. The common people from non-academic sectors of the communities were not reached extensively. For this reason, a vast portion of Bangladeshi rural people was unable to express their views and thoughts about current domains and uses of the English language in a country despite the fact that three fourth area of the country is rural (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2014, p. 25).

Another important side of the study is the inclusion of explorations of the ELT in the madrasa system. Different sources show that the madrasah students comprise at least one-fifth of the total number of students in the country (Hoque, 2008, p. 32). This percentage is generally considered to be more in the rural areas in contrast to the urban areas of the country. This large number of *Qawmi* and *Alia madrasahs* cannot be ignored while observing the rural picture of the ELT in Bangladesh. Because they comprise at least one-fifth of the rural educational institutions currently (Roy, Huq & Rob, 2020).

Moreover, it is tough to collect ethnographic primary data in the Bangladeshi

rural context. The trend of research in Bangladesh is not rich enough to attract the rural English teachers and most of the researchers dwell in the urban area, as it has been virtually observed. The present conditions of the English language in the rural areas of the country have not been explored and well known like the urban conditions of this phenomena to the stakeholders and researchers of the field.

That is why, this research project is expected to explore the rural life to establish a generalised idea about the wider population of similar rural areas and present necessary primary data-based suggestions to the concerned stakeholders to prepare the national education policy that would address the needs of both of its three-fourth rural and one-fourth urban in a balanced way. The suggestions in the conclusion are expected to be applicable to wider national and similar international contexts.

1.3.2 Epistemological Significance: Social Constructivism and Ethnography

One of the greatest challenges in this study has been to find a suitable framework that connects five different points – ethnographic method, philosophical view, sociology, psycholinguistics, and education. Because the term 'attitude' has been discussed through different lenses in the fields of sociology, psychology, and education which are available in the next chapter (see Gardner, 1985; Lambert, 1972; Jacob 1987; Baker, 1992; Eagly and Chaiken, 1993; Perloff, 2003; Sarnoff,1970; Chapman and McKnight, 2002; Fuson, 1942; Roos, 1990; Allport, 1935; Campbell, 1950; Hogg and Vaughan, 2005; Skehan, 1989; Gardner and MacIntyre, 1993; Oxford & Shearing, 1996; Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Ardeo, 2003). It was a key issue in the current study to find a philosophical view that not only fits in those fields but also suits ethnographic research methods.

An argument by LeCompte & Schensul (2010) show that both ethnography

and constructivism can fit well in a study of this type. He argued for the use of constructivism this way:

> Constructivism comes from and is used most often by educational researchers, sociologists, and psychologists. It is concerned with schemas, cognitive maps or patterns in the minds of individuals and is similar to Jacob's (1987) notion of 'patterns of behaviour'. (p. 63)

The role of ethnography goes well with the philosophical paradigm of constructivism, as LeCompte & Schensul's (2010, p. 5) definition of ethnography reflects the view of constructivism: "Ethnography takes the position that human behaviour and the ways in which people construct and make meaning of their worlds and their lives are highly variable and locally specific".

One of the specialties of current research is that the researcher was looking for a paradigm shift in ELT research scenario in Bangladesh. A wide range of literature was searched for the answer in this regard. Berns and Matsuda (2010, pp. 6-13) reviewed the history of applied linguistics and suggested that linguistics, although central to the study of language-related issues, must be synthesized in a complementary manner with the approaches of other disciplines in order to comprehend fully any specific problem (viz. issue or theme) related to language and education. When there is an instance of recurrent failure of ELT policies, it becomes important to look back at the studies carried out over a long time, which may demand a research-paradigm-shift. LeCompte and Schensul (2010, p. 35) have argued for this type of shift for the quick advancement when traditional paradigms fail to deal to the research problems. In an influential research, Barden and Tormala (2014) also have examined recent studies investigating the role of meta-cognitive factors in this field and called for future research into some remaining questions in the field of attitudinal

research.

Another important point is the role of English language as a colonial instrument as Bangladesh. Bangladesh was a colony of the British Empire for about two centuries and there was an accusation against early anthropological works to have a bias towards the then British colonial power. As an anthropologist or ethnographer, the researcher of this study will try to explore the attitudes of common people, apart from the educationalists, towards this point. Kroll-Zeldin (2016) has put it this way:

> While anthropologists initially participated in the colonial project and later reproduced colonial relationships in their research projects, contemporary anthropological literature that is critical of the discipline's historical roots developed alongside de-colonial and postcolonial responses and critiques of colonialism and its ongoing legacy. (p.1)

The ethnographic research is important to collect primary data in Bangladeshi rural context. Because it is technically more effective to apply ethnographic methods to access the conservative people of rural areas and to elicit primary data than to do questionnaire based survey. It becomes more important when the researcher wants to investigate attitudes towards the phenomenon like a colonial legacy in a country. Some researchers suggested English as an imperialist tool or cultural hegemony (Hossain & Tollefson, 2007; Majhanovich, 2009; Pennycook, 2001, 2011, 2017; Tollefson, 2000, 2008). For example, Imam (2005, p. 482) has seen this education policy as a colonial extension: "This is a direct result of the colonial tradition itself with its long usage of English as a tool of divide-and-rule". Similarly, Chowdhury and Kabir (2014) also have traced that "residual colonial mentality still strives in postcolonial Bangladesh" (p. 13). Both of the studies pointed to the privileged class or the policymakers of Bangladesh. On the other hand, some other researchers have

argued that English is not seen to be a colonial anymore in the age of so-called globalization (Crystal, 2003; Hamid, 2010). But the question is whether the Bangladeshi rural people (not the policymakers or the privileged class of people) see English as a colonial tool or not which is expected to come out in this research.

Recognizing the attraction towards English, Tembe and Norton (2008) have argued that language learning projects in development contexts must be carefully aligned with community needs and aspirations. They suggest that ethnographic research approaches can be used to align with the education programmes with local ideologies and learners' aspirations. Similarly, Erling et al. (2012), who have carried out a short ethnographic project to find the role of English in socio-economic development in rural Bangladesh, have also suggested that the ethnographic approach should be followed in future research to gain insights into the local needs of the rural people who comprise more than three-fourth of the total population of the country.

1.3.3 *Personal Motivation*

This research followed the researcher's personal interest to listen to the unheard voices of the common people outside educational contexts who live in the rural areas that constitute three-fourths of the country area through the multi-vocalic perspective of constructivism that is often combined with interpretivism. This is the reason why the language of the dissertation is mostly subjective. Creswell (2014) has put it forward this way:

> Researchers recognize that their own background shapes their interpretation, and they "position themselves" in the research to acknowledge how their interpretation flows from their own personal, cultural, and historical experiences. (p. 30)

In a nutshell, the pragmatic, the epistemological and personal points of significance have given a strong motivation to carry out this interesting research. To address all the above issues, the thoughts and beliefs regarding the roles and current uses of English need to be explored deeply and elaborately through appropriate research methodology by staying in touch with them and understanding these factors from psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic and ethnographic points of view. The variations and complexity of attitude towards English demand a shift of two types in research in the field, as Kachru (1992, p. 362) has put them forward this way:

> What is needed is a shift of two types: a paradigm shift in research and teaching, and an understanding of the sociolinguistic reality of the uses and users of English. We must recognize the linguistic, cultural and pragmatic implications of various types of pluralism.

1.4 Research Objectives

For the reasons stated above, the purposes of the current study have been to explore the attitudes of the rural people towards English language itself, the presence of English language in the lived experiences outside the academic context, the correlations between the role of the English language and the socio-economic development, and the condition of the learning and teaching English in the academic arena through an ethnographic approach. To attain the objectives of the study, the following research questions have been dealt with according to the ethnographic approach as the bases of exploration and interpretation in the study.

Research Questions:

RQ 1. What are the attitudes of Bangladeshi people towards the usage of English in the rural area?

RQ 2. What are the prevalent beliefs among the Bangladeshis about the relationship

between English as an L2 and the socio-economic development in the rural

context?

RQ 3. What is the present status of English Language Teaching (ELT) in the

Bangladeshi rural context?

1.5   Research Design

This research has been ethnographic and exploratory in nature. It has explored

and analysed qualitative data in two stages: a pilot study and the main study. The

main study area covered a rural community in the eastern border area of Bangladesh

after the pilot study was done in another community in the central part of the country.

The rationale behind the selection of two rural sites in this ethnographic study

included manifold reasons: firstly, three-fourths of the country is rural and secondly, it

was necessary to gain ethnographic research experience in a rural area in a pilot study

before the main study, and thirdly, to find the research gaps of previous studies.

The shift in research paradigm in ethnographic and educational research,

which has been proposed in a monumental 2011 issue of *Ethnography and Education*

(Bagley, 2011), was kept in mind while adopting methods. That proposal emphasises

on data driven performative methods, such as images, video, audio, field notes,

interviews, and participatory observation, to capture the complex living experience of

the 21st century in Bangladeshi communities in this research project.

As it is an ethnographic study, the researcher of this study will act as a

participant-observer to observe the behaviour of participants of the selected

communities 'to establish the meaning of a phenomenon' from their views to explore

and construct the themes about the shared patterns of attitudes and behaviour over

time regarding that phenomenon. The findings will be presented through an

interpretivist thematic analysis of the qualitative data about attitudes towards English by following the qualitative approach as suggested by Creswell (2009, 2014).

1.6 Background of the Study

1.6.1 Demography of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a small country of 56,977 square miles with more than 169 million people which makes it one of the ten most populous countries in the world (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2020, p.4). It is the most densely populated country in the world except for the small city-states. It lies in the northeastern part of South Asia, surrounded by India on the west, north and northeast while Myanmar is on the south-east and the Bay of Bengal is on the south. The capital and largest city of Bangladesh is Dhaka which has a metro population of more than seventeen million. It has become a lower-middle-income country in 2015. The country is governed by a Parliamentary Form of Government. Though it has seven administrative divisions, the country is centralized in the capital city. The Local Government bodies deal with socio-political issues and those bodies are constituted by the representatives directly elected by the people. Only 28% of its total population lives in the urban areas after an increase of only 19% in four decades (Khan, 2016). Agriculture is the third largest sector the contribution of which to the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is 14% and this sector employs about one-third of the national labour force (Bangladesh Bank, 2020, p.13). The top most contributing sector is the industry sector with a 35% share of the national GDP. A large part of the industry sector also is based on agriculture in the riverine country of more than two hundred rivers. That is why the GDP growth rate of Bangladesh mainly depends on the performance of the agriculture sector. Due to natural calamities like flood, cyclone, or drought, the loss of production in both food and cash crops are almost a regular phenomenon.

The scenario of the education sector has not developed to the extent at which it should have done in five decades after independence of Bangladesh. The official primary school age in the country is 6 to 10 years. In 2010, about eighty-five percent of the children in that age group attended primary school according to the government body named Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS, 2013). The last Literacy Assessment Survey (LAS) 2011, which was published by the BBS in 2013, counts the literacy rate to be 53.7 percent in the country. The literacy rate is 65.6 percent in urban areas in contrast to 50.6 percent in rural areas (BBS, 2013, p.13).

The most important reason for school dropout was poverty although it has reduced to a great extent in last two decades due to different government and non-government initiatives to break the vicious cycle of poverty and education ("Preventing dropout", 2011). The government introduced the policy of Education for All in 1990 to cover mainly the rural areas. Different other initiatives including free primary education, the Food for Education (FFE), the Female Secondary Education Project (FSEP), and the Stipend for Education Project of 2002 to give scholarships for attending the school had a strong positive impact on the educational advancement (Kusakabe, 2013). But these steps fall short to eradicate illiteracy in the country. Molla (2007) analyses the data on the dropout rate in Bangladesh and observes that 24% of the enrolled 94% of children drop out before the completion of compulsory primary education in the country. The dropout rate is 84% higher in the rural areas in Bangladesh according to the UNESCO mainly because of poverty and an uncertain future of the investment after education (Molla, 2007). As a result, 75% of the adolescents cannot pursue higher education. But it is reported by the World Bank data that it is one of the lowest investing countries to spend after its education and only 1.5% of the GDP was spent in 2015 in Bangladesh for education (UNESCO, 2015).

1.6.2 Present Linguistic Scenario in Bangladesh

English can be considered more as a foreign language (FL) than a second language (SL) in Bangladesh whereas Bangla is the state language and the dominant language to be used for interpersonal communication.

About 98% of the Bangladesh population is ethnic Bengalis with the remaining 2% made up of the Biharis and other ethnic tribes (Jones, 2008). English is widely used in non-government and business institutions Bangladesh. Around 18% people can speak English according to an estimate in 2009 (Euromonitor International, 2010).

Both Bangla and English are compulsory to be learned and used from primary to higher education level. The Government of Bangladesh (GoB) recognizes 27 ethnic groups under the 2010 Cultural Institution for Small Anthropological Groups Act. But according to Banglapedia, there are about forty tribal groups whose total population is about 2 to 3 millions (Tribal languages, 2016). The minorities in Bangladesh include indigenous people in northern Bangladesh and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, such as, the Chakma, Marma, Tippera, Tanchangya, Kuki, and Bawm. The Mymensingh and Sylhet region is home to a large Garo, Khasi, Manipuri, and Khajon population, while the Shantals are found in the North.

Arabic is an important language in this Muslim majority country as it is related to the Islamic jurisprudence and practices. It is taught as a foreign language in several types of Islamic educational institutions including about thirty thousand *madrasah*s and thousands of *maktabs*, the exact numbers of which are still not clear (Abdalla, Raisuddin & Hussein, 2004).

Hindi has become a popular language and culture in the country due to the influence of the entertainment media of the neighboring India. A community of

around three hundred thousand Urdu-speaking Pakistani Bihari people is also found in Dhaka, the capital of the country. In addition, few researchers have questioned about the linguistic identity of the people who use the regional varieties of Bengali language, such as the Sylheti dialect of Bengali language (Sultana, 2012).

1.6.3 Socio-political History of Languages in Bangladesh

The English language has a colonial legacy in Bangladesh. English had been given much importance as the medium of instruction during its colonial history of 190 years under the British Empire and two-and-a-half decades of the Pakistan period. Bangladesh was a part of the Indian subcontinent where the missionaries and traders introduced English in the first decade of the 16th century (Kachru, 1983). In the next phase, the local educated Indians took English as the gateway to enter into the western scientific knowledge (Ahmad, 2005; Rahman, 2006). Later on, the British implemented such an educational policy in India which would create a group of educated Indian supporters of the British Empire to build a strong colonial legacy in India through that privileged class. Lord Macaulay proposed that national education policy which was passed in 1835. Many critics discussed about Macaulay's infamous Minutes (Ahmad, 2008; Pennycook, 1997; Evans, 2002, p, 271). The Minutes stated the purpose of the British education policy in India:

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters
> between us and the millions we govern; a class of persons Indians in
> blood and color, but English in tastes, opinions, morals, and intellect. To
> that class, we may leave to refuse the vernacular dialects and render them
> fit vehicles for conveying western knowledge. (as cited in Ahmad, 2005,
> p.9)

As the British education policy in India becomes successful, many Indian started using English in 1920s. Ahmad (2005) states about the uses of English in India in the early19th century:

> The colonial rulers and their local representatives, official servants, highly educate persons, and other elite persons used English for administrative, educational and commercial works, job, and for communication between rulers and their representatives. (p. 9)

Urdu became another chapter in the history of the people of this country after the partition of 1947 which resulted in the births of India and Pakistan. The part of the region, which is presently known as Bangladesh, was known as East Pakistan as a part of the Muslim majority newly born state of Pakistan. Like the colonial powers, that try to impose own language on the colonized, the Pakistani politicians tried to impose Urdu as the state language on the Bengali-speaking people of East Pakistan. Though 98% of people in East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) and 55% of people of whole Pakistan used Bangla as their mother tongue (Young, 2020) and merely 7.6% of people used to speak Urdu, some Pakistani politicians tried to use the Urdu language as the tool to suppress the Bengalis (Census of Pakistan Population 1961, p.1134).

After the partition in the subcontinent between India and Pakistan, English became more influential in commercial and educational activities in the Pakistan period although only 3.12% of total population of Pakistan had some command of English according to the 1951 census whereas in unprivileged East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) the percentage might be assumed to be lower than the other part of Pakistan (Musa 1996, pp. 66-67). But English continued to be a symbol of prestige during the Pakistani regime and was consequently adopted as the official and national language (Banu & Sussex, 2001). The rulers, high govt. officials, and elite people

used it as a prestigious foreign language for beneficiary purposes. It was also the medium of instruction in academic works at higher levels.

But the love for mother tongue emerged as a guiding force for the people of Bangladesh, the then East Pakistan, in the 1960s. The naming of the country at its birth in 1971, as the consequence of many movements including the language movement in 1952, may indicate the importance of Bangla language in its socio-economic background (Islam, 2000). After the liberation war in 1971, the first government emphasized the use of Bangla in every sphere of socio-economic and administrative sectors. The nation had an Islamic image of Bengali identity during the partition of Pakistan from India in 1947 which shifted gradually to an image based on the Bangla language and culture through the language movement of 1952 and the liberation war of 1971 (Sareen & Rahman, 2005) and especially through the declaration of Bangla as the only official language and medium of instruction everywhere in the country after its independence.

The status of English as an official language is also contradictory to the constitutional status of Bangla as the only official language. Though Bangla is used as the official language in the government offices, English is widely used in non-government or private organizations, especially in the flourishing multinational organizations where it is the only language used in official documents. English is used even in the High Court division, which is a matter of much dispute in the country. Shahed and Rahman (2007) have framed it this way:

> All this proves one fact: the role and function of English in contemporary global agencies have effectively implanted its value in the Bangladeshi public psyche. The concept of 'colonial touch', as it seems, has taken an automatic retreat owing to the multidimensional status of English in the

broader domains. Nobody supports the depreciation of English at this

point. (p. 7)

1.6.4 English in the National Education Policy in Bangladesh

At present, both English and Bangla languages are taught as compulsory

subjects right from the beginning of primary level through the undergraduate level of

academic studies. Bangla is the medium of instruction up to class twelve whereas

English is widely used as the medium of instruction at undergraduate and

postgraduate levels in the country. But the proficiency of the learners of English is not

so high in comparison to the degree of importance it is given (Rahman, 2015; Rahman

& Pandian, 2018). One of the major reasons behind the poor condition of ELT in the

country even after five decades of independence is the long absence of a research-

based and steady Language in Education Policy (LEP) during the first three decades

and its ineffective implementation afterward.

In the first decade after independence, despite the emphasis on the use of

Bangla everywhere in Bangladesh, English was not removed from the national school

curricula. The report of the first Education Commission of Bangladesh was published

in 1974 which recommended:

> It is not necessary to learn any language other than Bangla up to class V.
> From class VI to class XII, however, a modern and developed foreign
> language must be learnt compulsorily. For historical reasons and for the
> sake of reality, English will continue as a second compulsory language.
> (Bangladesh Education Commission Report 1974, p.15 as translated in
> Ahmad, 2005)

Though few educated professionals felt the need of English to cope with other

nations and for scientific advancement, the emotional and political factors influence

the subsequent governments to ignore the importance of effective steps to increase the

standard of teaching and learning of English as a foreign language (EFL) and the use of English in official jobs. The Report of the English Teaching Taskforce 1976 claimed, "At least 70% of the trainees at the Teacher Training Colleges are not proficient in material beyond that used in the textbooks for class 7, yet they are expected to teach up to class 10" (Rahman 1999, p. 15). Still the middle class had a soft corner for English. Added to that, the roles of English language and English speaking countries in international arena inspired Bangladeshi people, its government and policy makers to face the challenge of English language as the medium of communication in the new global political settings of super powers in the 1980's. The situation became more challenging after the fall of the USSR from its dominating position in the 1990's. The importance of English language grew rapidly in all the spheres in Bangladesh, also. As English is the most dominating language used for communication in the western economic block and the dominance of the USA and the WTO over the world politics is gaining strength fast since the fall of the USSR, the importance of English is increasing with it in national and international spheres of Bangladesh.

Emphasis on Bangla in the newborn state of Bangladesh was a very important milestone in the national language policy. Though English continued to be the medium of instruction at university level due to scarcity of books and other materials in Bangla, the learners at Secondary and Higher Secondary levels were left attended to grew up with weakness in English. The standard of English Language Teaching (ELT) and learning was going downwards very fast.

Table 1.1

Changes in the National Policies Regarding the English Education in Bangladesh

1972 Qudrat-e-Khuda Commission. *Law to implement Bangla language everywhere*

1974 Report of the National Commission on Education *suggested English as a compulsory subject from year 6 to 10*

1975 *Setup of English Language Teaching Task Force*

1977 Kazi Zafor Commission Report

1983 *Setup of NCTB*. **Mojid Khan Education policy report**

1986 *Graded English textbooks for school years 3 to 12 were completed by NCTB. English to be introduced from year 1 to 12.*

1988 Mofiz Uddin Education Commission

1994 *Reintroduction of English at the tertiary level*

1997 Prof. Shamsul Haque Commission *recommends English from year 3 in schools*

2001 Prof. M.A. Bari Commission

2003 Prof. Moniruzzaman Miah Commission *recommends to prepare a uniform National Language Policy*

2010 Prof. Kabir Chowdhury Commission *focused on enhancing quality of teachers, especially of tertiary level*

Note: Adapted from "English language policy initiatives and implementation in Bangladesh: Micro political issues" by S. Rahman, 2015, *Asian EFL Journal, 88,* p.65. Copyright 2015 by Asian EFL Journal.

Despite the status of Bangla in the national constitution as the only official language of the country, the government of the country announced the Bangla Bhasha Procholon Ain (Bangla Implementation Act) in 1987 to make the use of Bangla

compulsory everywhere except foreign missions and defense sector. Thus, 'English lost its previous status as a second language and came to be treated as a foreign language' (Rahman, 2006, p.24). It caused a drastic fall in the English competence among the university graduates. This forced the Government to introduce English as a compulsory subject at Degree (pass course) level later on. Even fourteen years after the first efforts of the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) to publish graded textbooks and emphasis of English teaching and learning, the ELT quality remained very poor. A report on a baseline survey undertaken by the NCTB was published in 1990, which claimed that no improvement was made during that period:

> In non-government rural schools where over 95% of students at class 6 and 8 are failing to reach the expected standards of proficiency and over 70% of these students in classes 6 and 80% at class 8 have a command of language which is close to non-existent. (Begum, 1999, 16)

One of the reasons, as suggested by the educationists, was the absence of modern education policy in the country. The education commission, headed by M. Moniruzzaman Miah, reported in 2003:

> This may sound odd to know that even after 30 years of independence, Bangladesh government failed to form a 'National Language Policy', except various Education Commissions recommended a few suggestions on language policy. Because of this reason, we do not have any particular 'uniform language policy' in the country…it was found that even in Dhaka University, different departments under the same faculties were following different language policies on the language issue. (as cited in Ahmad, 2005, p.13)

The National Education Policy 2010 (Ministry of Education, 2010) focused on the quality improvement of the teachers at the tertiary level. But none of those education commissions' reports during the five decades after independence could

present a complete and consistence policy about English to be implemented at the different levels and streams of the education system and other sectors of Bangladesh (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014).

At present, Bangladesh cannot be considered a genuine ESL context. Neither does it qualify as a purely EFL one. As Bowers (1986) in his study on ELT observed that ESL was lapsing into EFL in Bangladesh which was supported by Begum (1999, p. 215) as well. After another decade, the same status of English was found by Ahmad (2008) also. There is a debate on the issue of whether it is the SL or FL in the country. To avoid the confusion, the present study follows Ellis (2008) in this regard. Ellis (2008) took the same stance in his book on Second Language Acquisition (SLA) by stating in its introduction that SLA would be alternatively used for foreign language learning as well. That is why, the terms – the second language (L2) or EFL – have been used alternatively to refer to the English language in this study.

1.7 Current Status of English in the Education System in Bangladesh

The Bangladeshi education system has three stages currently: primary (Class I-V), secondary (Class VI-XII), and tertiary levels. English is a compulsory subject from primary level to degree or undergraduate level. Again, there are different streams of the education system in the country, such as, the NCTB English or Bangla version curricula, the Islamic education based madrasah stream, the English medium stream that follows foreign curricula, etc. Rather than focusing on social or soft skills or employability factors, the school education system is heavily examination oriented. The major national public examinations before the tertiary level include the Primary School Certificate (PSC) examination of Class V, Junior School Certificate (JSC) examination of Class VIII, Secondary School Certificate (SSC) examination taken

after Class X, and Higher Secondary School (HSC) examinations held at the end of Class XII.

The largest general stream is the one which follows the government NCTB twelve-year curricula (with Bangla and English versions) up to Higher Secondary level, leading to the Higher Secondary Certificate (H.S.C.), which is known as a 'board examination'. The number of students was about 28 million in 2018 (Bangladesh Educational Database, 2018). The H.S.C., with three subdivisions of science, humanities, and commerce groups, is the standard requirement to pursue undergraduate studies in the country. English is given high importance in this stream of education system in which the English for General Purposes (EGP) curriculum is followed.

According to the number of students, the second stream is the madrasah education system which follows Islamic curricula and focuses more on Arabic language and Islamic studies. The approximate number of students studying in this stream is about 15 million (Three of Four Madrasa Students, 2018). The *madrasah* stream is divided into many diverse subdivisions, the major two of which include the *Aliya Madrasah* and the *Qawmi madrasah* streams. Most of the madrasahs are situated in rural areas. The *Aliya madrasah* curricula merges traditional Bangla medium schooling with an extra care for Islamic studies. The *Aliya madrasah* was founded by the British colonial regime in 1780 ('Madrasah", 2018). There are about ten thousand *Aliya madrasahs* in the country, which are controlled by the government Madrasah Education Board now. English, as a subject, enjoys a lot of attraction in this madrasah stream although most of them cannot provide quality English education (Roy, Huq & Rob, 2020; Kusakabe, 2013).

But the bigger stream with about thirty nine thousand *madrasahs* and *maktabs* is the *Qawmi madrasah* stream which was founded by the anti-British Islamic scholars in the mid-nineteenth century in India. The exact number of *Qawmi madrasahs* could not be figured yet because the government does not control and finance these madrasahs. (Masum & Shaon, 2018). The *Qawmi* curricula basically follow the Darul Ulum Deoband madrasah of India which more strictly follows the Islamic rules and focuses almost entirely upon the Sunni Islam interpretation of an education system. The *Qawmi* curricula give less space to the subjects like science and English than the *Aliya* curricula. The NCTB has provided English textbooks designed for the madrasahs though how much those institutions use them is still not clear.

According to the number of students, the stream of vocational/ technical institutions comes after the madrasah stream. This curricula of the stream have a limited focus on the English language compared to the general stream of education in Bangladesh.

The other streams of education include the English medium schools that follow the curricula of England, America or Australia. It gives the highest standard of English education, using English as the medium of instruction, in the country, as it appears virtually. The number of institutions in this stream is increasing day by day due to impact of globalization.

Again, there is a rising concern about the demotivating impact on the students of the English medium schools, that follow foreign curricula. Some of them look down upon the local culture (Hamid, 2010). A similar negative attitude towards the Bangladeshi culture was found even in the students of the English version which follow the local NCTB curriculum. As Hamid (2010, p.14) presented the view of a

student of the English version towards the students of the Bangla version at a renowned school in Dhaka: "They are just different, we don't share the same culture, you know?" The question whether the foreign pedagogy and curriculum are contributing to the cultural hegemony or not is often raised in the academia of the country.

However, the importance of English in educational, commercial, and other official activities in the country is increasing due to impact of globalisation. There are several projects to train the teachers and develop the quality of English education in Bangladesh. The millions of EFL learners here are also showing stronger motivation with a positive attitude towards its learning. The government and non-government academic institutions pay much attention now to improve the standard of EFL teaching and learning.

But the present level of proficiency of most of the users of English, be a student, a job holder at a high position, or a businessmen, is miserable. Despite investments from different quarters, national and multinational, the quality of English competence and performance has been assumed to be decreasing gradually (Ali & Walker, 2014). The EFL learners show a poor level of motivational intensity mainly due to scarcity of skilled teachers and inappropriate syllabus design, which have a direct negative effect on their proficiency in it. Two decades back, the Bangladesh Educational Statistical Book 1995 shows that about 90% of examinees failed in English in the two public examinations, SSC & HSC. In the recent years, though the pass rate has increased in the national board examination at the school level to such an extent that it is now about 90%, the quality of ELT and the English proficiency of the students of high school and college students are still poor (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014; Rasul, 2016; Shurovi, 2014).

Bangladesh ranks 63rd in the 2018 English Proficiency Index among the listed eighty eight non-English speaking countries (EF Education First, 2018). A particular piece of news on the admission test of the University of Dhaka held in 2014 revealed the poor condition of ELT in the country ("Poor English teaching", 2014). The report said only two candidates could achieve the minimum score in the admission test to take admission into the English Department at that university in 2014. It clearly indicates that the quality of the English education, especially the standard of formal language assessment in the public examinations, in Bangladesh has dropped to an alarming level as a byproduct of the ongoing practice to show a high level of success rate in the government board examinations.

1.8 Major Initiatives to Develop ELT Conditions

The importance of English as an academic subject was not rejected in any of the national education policies of the country. But there were only few effective steps found to be taken in the 1970s and the 1980s. The first important step to uphold English by the government was taken in 1986 in which the subject of English was made compulsory from Class 1 in the national school curriculum. In the late 1990s, another significant step taken by the government was to bring changes in the pedagogy by starting the implementation of the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach replacing the traditional Grammar Translation (GT) method at the school level. The NCTB gradually published the new textbooks titled *English for Today* to be followed at the schools according to the CLT approach. The ELT classroom practices were basically teacher-centered according to the Grammar Translation method unlike the CLT approach during the 2000s. But it has been found by some researchers that the teacher-centered approach has not been replaced yet by the learner-centered approach of CLT completely (Rasul, 2016).

The government has been arranging several in-service training programs for the English teachers, especially since the adoption of CLT two decades ago. The English teachers of primary, secondary, and higher secondary levels attend those training mainly at the Primary Training Institutes (PTIs) and Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs) under the supervision of the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (locally known as the DG). But those training programs were found to be inadequate and ineffective which called for foreign donor-funded ELT projects (Ali & Walker, 2014; Hamid, 2010). The National Academy for Educational Management (NAEM) also has been providing ELT training to them. Several factors including the mismatch between curriculum and assessment system and heavily examination-oriented education system caused the failure of the efforts to improve the condition.

The major projects to develop the condition of English education in the country include the Orientation to Secondary School Teachers for Teaching of English in Bangladesh (OSSTTEB), the English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP), the Teaching Quality Improvement projects (TQI-I and TQI-II), the English for Teaching, Teaching for English (ETTE), the Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project (SEQAEP), the English in Action (EIA), the Higher Education Quality Enhancement Project (HEQEP), and the Secondary Education Sector Investment Program (SESIP). Funded jointly by the Bangladesh government and the ADB, the SESIP, as a follow-up project of Secondary Education Development Project (SEDP) and Higher Secondary Education Project (HSEP), is one of the largest ELT projects that is designed to run from 2013 to 2023 to make the secondary education more skills-based and job-market oriented. The government has taken another initiative with the objectives and targets of National Education Policy 2010, Vision 2021, and Vison 2041 in view – the Strategic Plan for Higher Education

(SPHE) (2018-2030) to implement the Higher Education Acceleration and

Transformation Project (HEAT).

Table 1.2

Timeline of Some Educational Projects in Bangladesh

Projects	Funded by
1. OSSTTEB (1990 – 1995)	DfID and Bangladesh Government
2. ELTIP (1997 – 2010)	DfID UK Govt
3. SESIP (1999 - 2005)	ADB
4. TQI-SEP (2005). TQI-II (2012-2017)	ADB and CIDA
5. SESDP (2007– 2013)	ADB
6. SEQAEP (2008- 2014)	World Bank
7. EIA (2008 – 2017)	DfID
8. SESIP (2013-2023)	Bangladesh Government and ADB
9. HEAT (2018-2030)	Proposed by the Bangladesh Government

Note: Adapted from "English language policy initiatives and implementation in Bangladesh: Micro political issues" by S. Rahman, 2015, *Asian EFL Journal, 88.* Copyright 2015 by Asian EFL Journal.

The ELTIP (1997-2005) was a milestone in the history of the ELT projects in the country as it advocated for the adoption of the CLT strongly. But the project was not successful as it was expected due to several reasons including the shortage of funding by the donor for its smooth running and ending. The English in Action (EIA) was introduced by the same funding organization that stopped funding ELTIP without showing an acceptable cause. There is a question on how the foreign aided projects were designed, directed, and what was the output of the investment. Lack of proper policy and inefficient management are major issues at the implementation level of some projects (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014; Hamid & Baldauf, 2008; Shahed, 2018).

Some researchers also questioned the integrity and transparency of some national

ELT projects (Karim, Mohamed, Ismail, & Rahman, 2019; Rahman, 2015).

In the national language policy, English did not have a stable position in

Bangladesh. As Ahmad (2005, pp.13-14) states, "there is a mass English-phobia

among common EFL learners of all ages. The two facts, whether English should be a

compulsory subject and at what level it should be initiated, have been reviewed and

changed several times." Some researchers also argue that most of the English teachers

still follow Grammar Translation method despite the government instruction to follow

the communicative approach (Ahmad, 2005; Rahman, 2006; Rahman, Pandian, &

Kaur, 2018).

1.9 Different Dimensions and Perspectives of Research on English and its Roles in the Society

The studies of English are found in diverse interrelated fields of research or

schools of thought that include the corpus linguistics, the analysis of synchronic and

historical linguistics, sociology of language, lexicography, linguistic varieties, applied

linguistics, language teaching and learning methods and approaches, linguistic

futurology, critical linguistics, etc. The debates on the varieties of English and

linguistic imperialism have been in vogue during the last four decades. The roles of

English education have also been viewed from different angles: as a tool of colonial

hegemony or socio-economic development.

The terms like Native Speaker vs. Non-Native Speaker (NS-NNS), English as

a Native Language (ENL), English as a Second Language (ESL), English as a Foreign

Language (EFL), English as an International Language (EIL), World Englishes,

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), English for Academic Purposes (EAP), English for

Specific Purposes (ESP), English Language Teaching (ELT), Teaching English to the

Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), Language Policy and Planning (LPP), along

with so many other terms, have been widely used in the closely related fields of

research on the English language.

According to Kachru's (1990) model of three circles of 'World Englishes',

Bangladesh is in the outer circle. English plays important roles in social interaction,

economic activities, academic circle, literary creativity, and, more recently, it is

gaining popularity as popular culture in the countries of the outer circle (Kachru &

Smith, 2006, p. 5). Like the other important countries of this circle, these

characteristics of a linguistic community of outer circle are found in this country as

well.

Recently the dimension of the studies on the English language has been

directed towards varied pragmatic aspects including the role of English as a

marketable skill or as tool socio-economic development. It is no longer seen as a

colonial tool. Rather than that, it is suggested as a tool for economic, social, or

international development due to the impact of globalization. Erling, Seargeant &

Solly (2014) suggest that English was sometimes seen as a panacea for all the

problems by some people who found it as an elite thing in the rural setting of

Bangladesh.

In addition, a complex view of EFL, that sees it both as an imperialistic tool

and a necessary thing, was found by Canagarajah (1993) in the South Asian context.

On the other hand, many critics have found English as a 'neo-colonial' tool of cultural

hegemony and marginalisation. Kachru's (1990, 1992, 1996) concept of *World*

Englishes, Philipson's (1992, 2009) *linguistic imperialism* and the treatment of these

two concepts by Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (1994), Crystal (2003), and

Widdowson (1997), as an influential figure of the IATEFL and the TESOL, have

already made these issues quite popular.

The role of English in the socio-economic development of Bangladesh and the output of the funding to improve the conditions of ELT also have been questioned in some studies (Hamid, 2015; Karim, Mohamed, Ismail, & Rahman, 2019; Rahman, Sing & Karim, 2018; Sultana, 2018). Focusing on the social factors, Hamid (2011) and Hamid and Baldauf (2011) have presented how the rural learners struggle to learn English and fail to achieve English fluency which is taken as a 'gateway' to materialistic success.

1.10 Conclusion and Dissertation Outline

It has become crucial to explore the attitudes of the English teachers for the improvement of ELT in Bangladesh. Without considering the prevalent attitudes and beliefs of the students and teachers of English and the common people towards the roles of English in the society, it will be unwise to frame a solid policy and planning regarding language in education policy. Ali and Walker (2014, p. 33) also strongly suggest, "Imposition of what we believe on the teachers might conflict with their own beliefs about learning and teaching. This is a conflict that makes the improvement of ELT impossible." To justify that urgency, the rationale and significance of the current study have been presented in this chapter with the background information, a brief history of the presence of the English language in Bangladesh, national language policies, and the major projects that were related to the development of the status of ELT.

The writing style in qualitative ethnographic research is often found to be more subjective than a common quantitative or mixed-method research. The findings are supposed to be written in the past tense in the findings part in the second type of research paper whereas an ethnographic paper is often found to use the Present tense

in the findings and other sections to make the writing livelier. As per the APA 7 Publication Manual (2019), both the Present Perfect Tense and the Past Tense have been used in the chapters of this dissertation.

The next chapter, "Literature Review", examines some of the major relevant texts, theories, and studies on language attitudes from different dimensions. The third chapter, Research Design, and Methodology, elaborates on the research methods and findings of the pilot study. The following Chapter Four, Ethnographic Profile of the Study Area, delineates the ethnographic profile of the research settings. The next part, Chapter Five, presents the data analysis of the Focus Group Discussions. The sixth and seventh chapters interpret and analyse the findings thematically. The last chapter puts forward the implications, recommendations, and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The term 'attitude' refers to the human disposition to have or express a feeling or a thought about a person or entity in a favourable or unfavorable way (Ajzen, 2005; Crano & Prislin, 2008; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). It has been taken as a behavioral, a mental entity, or a socio-psychological construct by the mentalists, the behaviorists and the social psychologists respectively and these schools vary from each other to a great extent. Moreover, the dimensions of study of language attitude have gone through a lot of changes as the study of language, which is not considered an isolated field of knowledge presently, has been turned into a 'transdisciplinary' subject in which attitudinal study is not purely a subject of psycholinguistics anymore. This approach can analyse an issue in a way that integrates multidimensional perspectives. This transdisciplinary view enables the researcher to apply varied research tools to analyse a multidimensional problem holistically (Hult, 2010). One of the leading figures who led the path of advancement in this regard was Halliday, who widened the scopes of linguistics first in the United Kingdom and then in Australia. In the United States, Dell Hymes established sociolinguistics as a legitimate discipline and initiated the trend of employing the research techniques from anthropology into language study, namely, the ethnography of communication (Berns & Matsuda, 2010, p. 4). Taking these varied perspectives into consideration, it can be stated that the study of attitude draws from and impacts many other areas of scientific research, among them are linguistics, cognitive, and behavioral science, psychology, social psychology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and education. As a recent development, attitude is going to meet ethnography in this research.

According to Bohner and Dickel (2011, p.392), "An attitude is an evaluation of an object of thought. Attitude objects comprise anything a person may hold in mind, ranging from the mundane to the abstract, including things, people, groups, and ideas" and this definition is generally accepted by many researchers though the elaborate models of the attitude vary considerably from each other. The study of attitude in general began with the bahviourist view, considering it as a learned characteristic, which was later on challenged by the mentalist or cognitive theorists about it. Fasold (1987) stated about this second view, "Most language-attitude work is based on a mentalist view of attitude as a state of readiness; an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response"(Coronel-Molina, 2014, p.3). The social psychological view of attitude is the next perspective in the timeline that some linguists have adopted to deal with language as a multidimensional and complex phenomenon. The social constructivist view takes the social and psychological factors in consideration while dealing with the issues of linguistics with goes well with the ethnographic way of analysis of a phenomenon. That is why, the social constructivist view of language attitude has been taken as the most updated and complete epistemological ground of the current study.

2.2   Attitude in Social Psychology and Social Constructivism

The term of attitude is explored as the most pervasive theme of modern social psychology (Gardner, 1985; Mckenzie, 2010; Schwarz & Bohner, 2007). In social psychology and sociolinguistics, which are closely related to each other, the term of attitude has been discussed and analysed elaborately by different researchers in varied ways. According to Garrett (2010), "it has been a core concept in sociolinguistics since Labov's (1966) seminal work on the social stratification of speech communities,

and how language change is influenced by the prestige and stigma afforded by speech communities to specific linguistic features". Sociolinguists have been exploring language varieties extensively since then. Not only Labov, Spolsky (1969) also correlated various linguistic traits to social identity. In addition, he has contributed a lot to the study of language policy (LP). Spolsky (2004) analysed three aspects of the LP of a speech community: the language beliefs and ideology, the language practices, and the planning or efforts to modify or influence those practices.

One of the premier researchers in this field is Gardner (1985) who defined the term of attitude this way: "an individual's attitude is an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent" (Gardner, 1985, p. 9). He presented a socio-educational model that interrelates the social and individual-learner factors to the learning of the EFL. Gardner and Lambert (1975) and Gardner (1985) also interlinked psycholinguistic factor of motivation to the attitudes towards other ethnicities and language learning contexts.

But the above theories, models, or ideas were not based on any philosophical basis. The Constructivism is a more complete theory in education that adds the internal and external factors and gives a comprehensive shape to the analysis of how the phenomenon of 'learning' takes place as a part of the concept of 'knowledge' of human being. It postulates that learning or knowledge is built upon the previous experiences.

But Constructivism can be subdivided into three categories: Piaget's cognitive constructivism (1936, 1957), Vygotsky's (1978) social constructivism, and radical constructivism (McLeod, 2012, 2019). In this current study, the theory of social constructivism has been adopted. The difference between the categories are related to

the individual and social orientation of the concept. Piaget (1957) discussed about the cognitive aspects of knowledge and learning whereas Vygotsky (1978) considered the cognitive functions as the result of social interactions.

Social constructivism is one of the theories that came up to meet the gaps of analyses of previous several theories. It goes well with an ethnographic research on Social Psychology and education . According to this theory, an individual constructs shared-knowledge which is the result of social interaction and language use. This view of co-construction of meaning within a social activity is supported by Vygotsky (1978), Bakhtin (1984) and Lantoff (2000) (Doolittle, 1999; Sealey & Carter, 2004b). Hence, this theory has been adopted in the framework of the current study.

2.3 Components and Formation of Attitude

As there is no fixed unanimous definition of attitude, the concepts of the components and formation of attitude also varies from one another. Most of the bahviourists deal with attitude as a single unit whereas the mentalists consider it to be consisting of three components: cognitive component (information or knowledge), affective component (such as, feeling), and conative component (action or behaviour) (Galloway, 2011; Gardner, 2006; Garrett, Coupland, & Williams, 2006; Roos, 1990; White, 2013). That means, an individual knows or believes something who possess an emotional attachment to it and, therefore, may act accordingly. These three things are closely connected to each other and often presented with many synonymous expressions by the researchers. Similarly, Coronel-Molina (2014, p. 10) analyses that there are many researchers "who do not specifically say they are using a mentalist approach" despite that fact that they "mention these three components".

Figure 2.1

The Multicomponent Model of Attitude
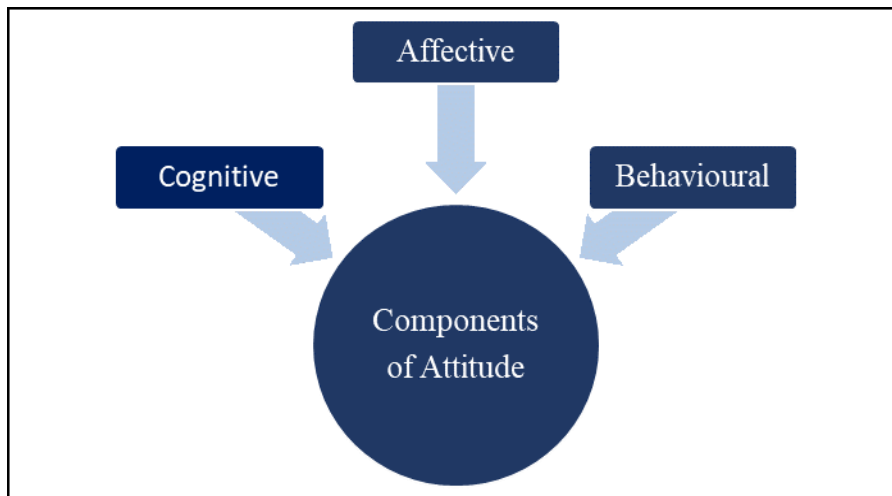
A widely known model about the components of attitude is the multi-component model by Zanna & Rempel (1988) which proposed that "attitudes are overall evaluations of an attitude object that are derived from cognitive, affective and behavioural information" (Hewstone, Stroebe, & Jonas, 2012, p. 494). The critics who deny this model argue that it is not necessary that all these components will be present always. In addition, these components cannot be distinguished from one another in many cases.

In comparison to the previous model, the environmental factors are given much importance in social psychology. The linguists of this group believe that the environmental or social influences play the most important roles in the formation of attitudes (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Schwarz & Bohner, 2007; White, 2013). The importance of the contextual factors in this regard is beyond question.

However, a different view about the development of attitude was found in Nujraeni, Kamaruddin, Hamsa, & Salam (2015, p. 779): "First, attitudes develop in the process of want-satisfaction. Second, attitudes of the individual are shaped by the

information to which he is exposed. Third, the group affiliations of the individual help determine the formation of his attitudes. Fourth, the attitudes of the individual reflect his personality". Here, the development of attitude has been analysed at the individual, group, and broader social levels.

2.4 Functions of Attitude

The reasons for which attitude is important may vary to a great extent. The most important functions of attitude, as presented by Katz, McClintock, and Sarnoff's (1957) quartet of functions as the earliest attempts to do it, include knowledge function, utilitarian function, ego-defensive function, and value-expressive function (Williams,

Chen, & Wegener, 2010). An individual organizes and structures own living environment with the help of knowledge function. An individual categorizes environmental stimuli (such as, good or bad) which dependent upon contextual factors. Attitudes supply "a cognitive schema, i.e., attitudes provide a simple structure for the individual to categorize and cope with an otherwise complex and ambiguous environment" (McKenzie, 2010, p. 24). The next function, according to them, is the utilitarian function that helps someone to support self-interest by identifying the stimuli as positive or negative. The third one is the ego-defensive function that aids to go against external threats to protect self-concepts. The last one, the value-expressive function, assists in the process of self-expression.

Another categorization of the functions was found in Albarracin, Johnson, & Zanna (2005) who presented three types of it: an object appraisal function, an externalization function, and a social adjustment function. The first one combines knowledge function and utilitarian function. The second category, the externalization function, is similar to the ego-defensive function. The third idea is the inclusion of

social adjustment function and emphasis on how it controls attitudes to facilitate, maintain, or disrupt social relationship. According to William, Chen, & Wegner (2010), the third one was the most important one which was presented first by Smith and his associates in the 1960's.

However, the functional approach to persuasion attracted more attention as it was very difficult to identify and measure attitudes according to the aforementioned two theories. As Crano & Prislin (2008, p. 10) stated, Watt, Maio, Haddock, and Johnson took "theorizing about attitude functions beyond enumeration of motives (functions)" by presenting a hierarchical framework and showing "how some functions may be nested within others". The mixed-up attitudes are also common in many cases. Again, the functions can be interrelated to the stability and change of attitudes.

2.5 Stability and Change of Attitudes: Theories and Models

The observation about attitude change has been a major point of debate since the 1950s. Actually, it is related to varied views about the definitions of attitude which differ on the point of the formation and stability of attitudes. The topic of attitude change has been dealt with here from a perspective in which all the theories and models have been divided in two groups on the basis of two things – firstly, whether attitude is a stable or changeable entity or not and secondly, the ways of measurement of explicit and implicit attitudes. Out of these two most prominent perspectives on attitude representation, one is the *construction perspective* which conceives of attitudes as evaluative judgements that are constructed based on situationally activated information and the other being the *memory perspective* (as in the MODE and MCM models) that treats the attitude as 'mental file-drawer' which assumes that evaluations or judgements are stored readily in memory and retrieved when needed from the long-

term memory structure (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Schwarz & Bohner, 2007). Again, these models are analysed as either *single-processed* or *dual-processed* models on the basis of how explicit and implicit attitudes are measured.

The first group is followed by Schwarz (2007), Gawronski & Bodenhausen, (2006), and Conrey & Smith (2007), among others. In Schwarz's (2007) constructionist model, attitudes are seen as evaluative judgements that are constructed in currently accessible information of a situation or context. Similarly, as Gawronski & Bodenhausen (2007) presented in the associative-propositional evaluation (APE) model, attitudes are constructed according to the situation. However, Glaser, Dickel, Liersch, Rees, Süssenbach, & Bohner (2015) sum up the two processes by integrating implicit and explicit measures of attitudes:

> The first process is associative change, which encompasses changes in
> involuntary or spontaneous affective reactions towards attitude objects
> that can be better assessed with implicit than explicit measures of attitude.
> The second process is propositional change, which involves personal
> approval of cognitions and evaluations of the attitude object that can be
> better assessed with explicit than implicit. (p. 259).

Similarly, Conrey & Smith (2007) also emphasized that "attitudes are 'time–dependent states of the system' rather than 'static things' that are 'stored in memory".

Unlike the aforementioned constructionist view supporting the context-sensitivity of judgements, there are other models, such as MODE and MCM, which assert evidence for the stability of attitudes. The MODE (motivation and opportunity as determinants) model presents attitude as a stable entity towards an object which is linked to a global evaluation. Similarly, the MCM model (meta-cognitive) also makes structural assumption. But "it includes the possibility that an object is linked to more than one summary evaluation with varying associative strength" (Bohner & Dickel,

2011, p. 394). But the constructionist view of attitudes is taken to be both powerful in its explanatory range and highly parsimonious by recent researchers (Crano & Prislin, 2006, 2008; Glaser et al., 2015).

The MODE and MCM are dual-process models. Crano & Prislin (2006) explained them well:

> If receivers are able and properly motivated, they will elaborate, or systematically analyse, persuasive messages. If the message is well reasoned, data based, and logical (i.e., strong), it will persuade; if it is not, it will fail. Auxiliary features of the context will have little influence on these outcomes. (p. 348)

2.5.1 Classical and Operant Conditioning

An important part of the literature on attitudes ranges from the two theories of classical and operant conditioning to the elaboration likelihood model (ELM) and the heuristic/systematic model (HSM) and beyond. The classical conditioning refers to "the phenomenon whereby a stimulus that elicits an emotional response is repeatedly paired with a neutral stimulus … until the neutral stimulus takes on the emotional properties of the first stimulus" (White, 2013, p. 29). Pavlov's experiment using dogs is often used as an example of classical conditioning. Pavlov played an audio tone as the stimulus before the dogs' feeding time. The repetition of the audio tone over time caused the dogs to salivate, irrespective of the availability of food. Another conditioning which influences attitudes is coined as the operant conditioning. The operant conditioning is often associated with positive and negative reinforcements and punishment which are discussed in the bahviourist theory by Skinner (1948). According to this theory, if a particular bahviour is followed by pleasant consequences as a positive reinforcement, it is likely to be repeated. On the other hand, it is followed by negative or unpleasant consequences, it is less likely to be

repeated. Skinner experimented this process in the biological research with animals, where a particular behaviour was repeated by the animal being rewarded with food, or when a repeated behaviour causes reduction of punishment.

The existence of classical and operant conditioning among humans were questioned in some research (Brewer, 1974). However, it is also suggested that human responses and reactions can also be influenced by more factors apart from those two types of conditioning. The social environment in which an individual lives contributes to the formation and change of attitudes. Wider society norms and beliefs largely influences our attitudes which may take place from very young age (White, 2013).

It is generally taken that humans are not born with particular attitudes. Rather attitudes are widely believed to form in the course of time except few researchers who assert that some different types of attitudes may be inherited (McKenzie, 2010, p. 21). But some researchers including Martin and Tesser (1996) and Barkow, Cosmides, & Tooby (1992) have propagated the genetic influence on attitudes. According to Vogel & Wänke (2016):

> Evolutionary psychology explains human behaviour (including personality, preferences etc.) as mechanisms that evolved through natural selection. According to this perspective, modern humans inherited the behaviour (or more precisely the genes for the behaviour) that increased early humans' selective fitness and enabled them to reproduce successfully. (p. 58)

2.5.2 Attitude Strength

The initial assumption about attitudes were that they always guide bahviour which was found to be wrong later. However, some researchers acknowledged that

"some (but not all) attitudes do so, just as some (but not all) attitudes are resistant to change, and are persistent over time" (Crano & Prislin, 2008, p. 9). And this perception gave rise to the notion of attitude strength which can be defined as "the extent to which attitudes manifest the qualities of durability and impactfulness" (Krosnick & Petty 1995 and Bassili 2008 as cited in Bohner & Dickel, 2011, p. 394). The strong attitudes are more stable over time and even in the face of changing situations. That is why, they can be recalled from memory repeatedly. On the other hand, comparatively weaker attitudes are less accessible and thus more susceptible to changing situations. A similar view was expressed by Schwarz & Bohner (2007) also: "strongly held attitudes have been found to be more stable over time and less likely to change in response to persuasive messages. Moreover, they are better predictors of bahviour than weak attitudes" (p. 9).

It is important not only to identify attitudes but also the strength of attitude in an attitudinal study. To Perloff (2003), intensity is very important in this regard. He suggested that strong attitude are more likely to affect judgements, guide behaviour, persist itself and resistant to change. There are some factors that contribute to the strength of attitudes (McKenzie, 2010, p. 25). Some recent research suggested that the individual's higher genetic ability and living with more attitudinally homogenous social networks show stronger and more stable attitudes whereas someone having negative attitudes towards an entity are less likely to have further experience with that entity than the other people who have positive or ambivalent attitudes towards it (Bodenhausen & Gawronksi, 2012; Visser & Mirable, 2004; & Fazio, Eiser & Shook, 2004 cited in White, 2013, p. 32).

2.6 Attitude Related Terms

Attitude is a term in common usage which overlaps other terms. In different contexts, these terms are used almost interchangeably with 'attitude': habits, values, beliefs, opinions and ideologies. Habits are learned and these are also stable and enduring like some attitudes. Another term that is closely related to attitude is values. To Oskamp (1977), values are "more global and general than attitudes, and the most important and central elements in a person's system of attitudes and beliefs" (Garrett et al., 2006, p. 10). Belief is the third term widely used beside attitude under different rubrics and categories such as metacognitive knowledge, mental and social representations, self-concept beliefs, self-efficacy beliefs, self-control beliefs, and attributions (Gabillon, 2005). In addition, opinion is also used interchangeably with attitudes. But it is a cognitive construct which is more discursive than attitude according to Baker (1992) and Perloff (1993). Again, Roos (1990) distinguishes attitude (as a part the subconscious part on mind) from opinion (which is the conscious expression of a belief) which is often not a true reflection of the attitude. Because the opinion could be influenced by several situational factors. Another emerging relevant term in sociolinguistics is ideology that interrelates politics and the social factors of language, especially in multilingual situations.

2.7 Approaches to Measure Attitudes

2.7.1 Attitude: Explicit vs Implicit

This explicit-implicit distinction is related to measurement of attitude. Explicit attitude is measured by self-report instruments, e.g., questionnaire and the scales related to it were by far the most popular measures used. On the other hand, implicit attitudes cannot be measured by the commonly used tools and required the application

of tools like the implicit attitude test (IAT) by Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz. (1998) and the two main purposes of the implicit measures, as Bohner & Dickel (2011, p. 395) analysed, were to minimize motivated response biases and to investigate aspects of attitudes that are not open to introspection. The explicit and implicit attitudes can be measured in the direct and indirect approaches respectively.

2.7.2 Direct Approach

In the field of language attitudes, both quantitative and qualitative methods have been adopted so far around the world. In a seminal discussion, Garrett (2007) expressed its reason this way:

> Because attitudes are a mental construct, there can be uncertainty whether our research data truly represent the respondents' attitudes. This concern generates much methodological debate. There are essentially three research approaches, usually termed *the societal treatment approach, the direct approach* and *the indirect approach*. (p. 116)

The direct approach is applied mostly in large-scale surveys where the respondents are asked to report about their attitudes themselves directly. Major data-elicitation techniques in direct approach include the use of a set of questionnaires and interviews. O'Raigain (1993) tried to collect data about the attitudes to the promotion of minority languages in his research. Gardner & Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985) used Likert Scale to study the attitudes related to second language learning. Presto (1989, 1999) instrumented perceptual dialectological and folk-linguistic techniques in his research. Moniruzzaman (1999), Rahman (2006) and Ahmad (2007, 2011, 2017) adopted Gardner's (1985) Attitude-Motivation Testing Battery (AMTB) to explore attitudes to the EFL among the young-adult and the adult learners in Bangladesh.

2.7.3 Indirect Approach

But many researchers do not rely on the data of the self-reported attitudes by the respondents as they are susceptible about the variation among overt and covert attitudes. One major reason is the response biases. The responses of the participants may show 'acquiescence bias' which means that kind of responses which the researchers are looking for. In some other cases, the respondents may express 'socially desirable responses' as they may think that they should ideally have some particular type of attitudes. Due to this type of problems of overt responses, the researchers try to collect covert responses.

Being aware of the problems of response-biases, Lambert and his colleagues developed the Matched-Guise Technique (MGT) in a renowned research in Montreal in the 1950s. They used the same person to act as different speakers to record their vocal guises who produced the required speech style or accent and asked the listener-respondents to judge the accents. All speech features apart from the particular accent under investigation were controlled out so that any differences in the evaluative responses by the listeners had to be due to their judgement of the guised accents differently. Many researchers including Zahn & Hopper (1985) Edwards & Jacobsen (1987, Street et. al. (1984), Levin et. al. (1994), Giles & Sassoon (1983, Seggie (1983), Dixon et. al. (2002), and Parton et. al. (2002) also followed indirect approaches in their sophisticated statistical analysis to deal with accent, style, prestige variety, lexical diversity, etc. (Garrett, 2007, p. 117).

One much applied way has been the use of attitude-rating scales that use some sophisticated statistical analysis. Zahn & Hopper (1985) observed that the common evaluations of language focus basically on the three primary dimensions: superiority (of any ability or achievement), social attractiveness and dynamism. Particular

language variety, in comparison to other varieties, has been associated with 'attractiveness', 'higher social class', 'prestige', or 'competence' in different researches including the studies by Edwards and Jacobsen (1987) in Canada and by Garrett et al. 2003 in Wales, and by Street et al. (1984). Garrett (2007) discussed a number of studies on language accent carried out in indirect approach: Levin et al. (1994), Giles and Sassoon (1983), Seggie (1983) (which ocused on white-collar crime in Australian forensic linguistics), Dixon et al. (2002) (who found a Birmingham (UK) accent attracted higher guilt ratings than RP), Kalin et al. (1980) (regarding evaluations of job candidates), and Parton et al. (2002) (examining the speech styles in job interviews).

2.7.4 Societal Treatment Approach

The current study has followed the ethnographic societal treatment approach which has been adopted in few language studies. In this regard, Garrett (2007, p.116) observed, "It is fair to say that studies in this category, which often delve deeper into the socio-cultural and political backdrop to attitudes, have tended to receive insufficient foregrounding in contemporary mainstream reviews of language attitudes research." This category typically includes qualitative observational studies or the analysis of public domain, the discourse of government or educational policy, media, literature, organizational behaviour, etc.

In the existing literature, a number of studies have been found in which the researchers have argued for the suitability of qualitative methods and the societal treatment approach by showing the limitations of quantitative survey-based attitude research. For example, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggested that qualitative methods of taking interviews should be used more than the quantitative rating scales. Likewise, Coupland and Jaworski (2006) placed qualitative research methods over

quantitative ones as he found the latter to take the risk of pre-specifying and restricting the variations of judgements. Garrett (2007, p. 120) also found contrastive results in a series of studies which showed "some generalizable patterns in their quantitative data" which missed the insights into the teenagers' "inter-group relationships and identity negotiation" explored in the qualitative data.

2.8 Classic Dominant Views, Theories, and Models

The oldest schools were bahviourism and cognitivism. Most of the behaviourists present attitude as a quality which individuals do not possess since birth rather it is a learned characteristic of a human being. Pavlov (1849–1936), Thorndike (1874–1949), Watson (1878–1958) and Skinner (1904-1990) were the most influential figures during the early period in this field. Behaviourism was dominant in the field of psychology especially in the middle of the twentieth century.

Behaviourism, according to *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, "is an attitude – a way of conceiving of empirical constraints on psychological state attribution. [it] is a doctrine of doing psychological or behavioral science itself" ("Bahviourism," 2019, para. 1). Psychological behaviourism tries to understand "how environmental events control behaviour, discover and elucidate causal regularities or laws or functional relations which govern the formation of associations, and predict how behaviour will change as the environment changes" ("Bahviourism," 2019, para. 5). A second branch of bahviourism was the radical bahviourism which was propounded by Skinner (1974). He discussed an individual's interactions with and reinforcement from environmental stimuli that controls his behaviour. Similarly, McKenzie (2010, p. 21) observed, "The behaviourist view of attitudes argues that they can be inferred from the responses that an individual makes to social situations." In this approach, attitude is taken as a *hypothetical construct* which cannot be directly

observable; rather it can be inferred from the summative evaluation and responses by individuals towards a particular object (Bohner & Wanke, 2002).

Individuals may show inconsistency between own attitude and the behaviour. Someone may behave in a way that is inconsistent with the claimed attitude. That is why Romaine (1995) argued, "Most public opinion polls actually show a gap between what people claim they support in principle and what they are actually prepared to do" (p. 317).

Some of the most widely cited statements about attitude were given by Allport (1935, 1954) whose widely quoted definitions include: 'a learned disposition to think, feel and behave towards a person (or object) in a particular way'(cited in Garrett, 2010b) and "a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (cited in Gardner, 1985, p.8). Sarnoff's (1970) definition has also been accepted by a large number of researchers which asserts that attitude is "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" (Jones, 2012, p. 238). But we respond not only to external events or to physical conditions like thirst or hunger but also to our perceptions of these events. This recognition of internal sources of factors are put forward by the mentalist or cognitive view in contrast to the bahvioural view. Quinto (2015, p. 4) distinguished the mentalist view from the behaviourist view of attitude this way:

> On one hand, the behaviourist view holds that attitudes must be studied by observing the users' responses to languages during actual interactions. On the other hand, the mentalist view holds that attitudes are mental states which are not directly observable but are instead inferred from users' behaviour or self-report

The cognitive view emphasizes intrinsic (internal) sources of motivation, such as curiosity, interest in the task for its own sake, the satisfaction of learning, and a sense of accomplishment (Pineda, 2011, p. 37). In this approach, attitude may refer to the self mental starting point as well as the way others judge a person's overall mood (Chapman and McKnight, 2002).

Dörnyei (2001) also believed that cognitive view focused on "how the individuals' conscious attitudes, thoughts, beliefs, and interpretation of events influence their bahviour, that is, how mental processes are transformed into action" (Pineda, 2011, p. 37). From the mentalist or cognitive point of view, attitude refers to 'likes and dislikes' which equates attitudes with evaluative judgements. Attitudes are dispositions to approach a thing or person favourably or unfavourably. It is a natural quality of a human to evaluate surrounding physical or abstract entities. Evaluation is "a fundamental and immediate reaction to any object of psychological significance" (as Jarvis & Pretty, 1996; Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957; Zajonc, 1980 cited in Ajzen & Cote, 2010, p. 289). As Ajzen & Cote (2010) observes, the evaluative responses cannot be observed directly which can only be inferred from observable responses to the object, such as, "verbal expressions of like or dislike, physiological reactions, cognitive biases reflected in response latencies, or overt actions in relation to the object" (p. 289). Many psychologists (e.g., Campbell 1950) defined 'attitude' simply in terms of the probability that a person will show a specified behaviour in a specified situation.

Cognitive psychology gained its importance as a reaction to the overemphasis on the external bahviour and the absence of the recognition of internal processes in the behaviourist approach. The main difference between the bahviourist and the cognitive psychology is that the behaviourist approach focused on the external factors

(like stimuli/ responses) only whereas the mentalist or cognitive approach emphasizes on the construction of meaning of an entity (e.g. attitude) in the individual mind which is an internal process. Chomsky is one of the opponents of behaviourism who found the behaviourist models to be incapable of explaining various facts about language acquisition including case of the rapid acquisition of language by young learners. The mentalist or cognitive psychology gained popularity in the late 1980's.

The behaviourist view has been criticized widely because of "its view of attitude as the only dependent variable and therefore, the sole determinant of the behaviour of an individual (i.e., that there is a perfect correlation between attitude and behaviour)" (McKenzie, 2010, p. 21). It is widely considered as a hypothetical construct which is used "to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour" (Baker, 1992, p. 10). It is a psychological construct which cannot be observed and measured directly, and, for this reason, we have to infer them from emotional reactions, statements etc. (Oppenheim, 1992). According to Hogg and Vaughan (2005) also, "An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (p. 150). When this 'internal state of readiness' is aroused by stimulations, it affects the responses of the individual. Eagly and Chaiken also (1993) argue for "the existence of attitudes at the level of latent psychological processes" which are "more than mere conceptual conveniences designed to describe broad stimulus-response correlations as believed by behaviourists" (pp. 6-9). Focusing on the social aspects of attitudinal phenomena, Smith & Hogg (2008) described how attitudes are inextricably related with group membership in the social identity theory. Because the norms, values, persuasive communication prevalent in the in-group of an individual are more influential than

those factors prevalent in out-group sources. Furthermore, attitudes and bahaviours are normatively consistent and "individual attitudes of group members are manifested in collective action when both are derived from and contribute to salient social identities" (Smith & Hogg, 2008, pp. 337-343).

It can be assumed by many people that an individual's attitude towards a particular thing may influence the behaviour of that person about that particular thing as well. That's why, although the behaviourist view of attitudes has largely been discredited by many mentalist researchers, "it should not be completely discounted because attitudes are often thought to directly influence behaviour" (Perloff, 2003 cited in McKenzie, 2010, 21). Moreover, "it can also lead people to assume that they can confidently infer someone's attitude from the way that person behaves" (Garrett, 2003, p.7).

The MODE model, which is presented already, assumes that attitudes guide bahviour "either through spontaneous (automatic) or deliberate (reasoned) processes. The former depends on the strength of the attitude-evaluation association (accessibility); the latter is activated by strong motivation and the opportunity to engage in conscious deliberation" (Crano & Prislin, 2008, p. 11). Ajzen (1985) presented another prominent deliberative process model in the theory of planned bahviour (TPB) which propounds that bahvioural intentions are derived from attitudes and overt actions are thought to originate from it (Ajzen, 2005). It posits that the bahvioural intentions are "derived from considerations of attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived bahvioural control" (Crano & Prislin, 2006, p. 361).

But the common wisdom that higher incentives lead to more attitude change was forcefully challenged with the advent of the theory of 'cognitive dissonance' (Festinger, 1957) which proposes that people prefer to keep their beliefs, attitudes and

behaviour aligned. According to the theory of cognitive dissonance, "inconsistent relations between two cognitions are states in which one cognition implies the opposite of the other" and it discussed the counter attitudinal bahviour, difficult decisions, and ill-invested efforts of human being (Festinger, 1957, p. 13).

The opposite position to the dissonance theory was taken by Bem (1967) in his self-perception theory which suggests that we infer our own attitudes on the basis of our behaviour and the situational constraints. The elaboration likelihood model (ELM, Petty & Cacioppo, 1981) and the heuristic-systematic model (HSM) (Chaiken, 1987) suggest that persuasion increases cognitive effort resulting in focal attitude change (Glaser et al., 2015). The classic persuasion theories have identified crucial boundary conditions for the change of a focal attitude.

Another model was the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) (as in Figure 2.2) by Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) which considered two-fold bahvioural intentions as an intermediate step rather than focusing directly on behaviour. The TRA explains

Figure 2.2
Theory of Reasoned Action
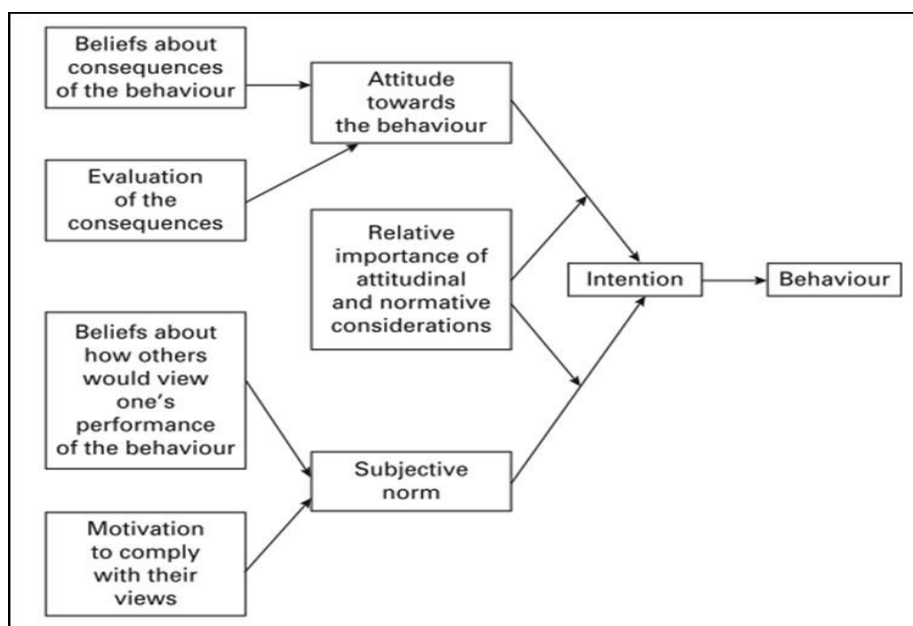
human bahviour under volitional control and, hence, deals with the relationships

between attitudes, beliefs, subjective norms, intentions, and bahviour:

> Firstly, there is the person's attitude to the behaviour itself, influenced by
> their beliefs about the consequences of carrying out the behaviour and
> their evaluation of the consequences. Secondly, there are the person's
> normative beliefs about how other people would judge such behaviour
> (with hostility or with approval, for example), along with the degree to
> which the person wants to take their views into account. (Garrett, 2010, p.
> 38)

Figure 2.3
*Attitude-Behaviour-Context Theory (Adapted from Guagnano, Stern &
Dietz, 1995)*
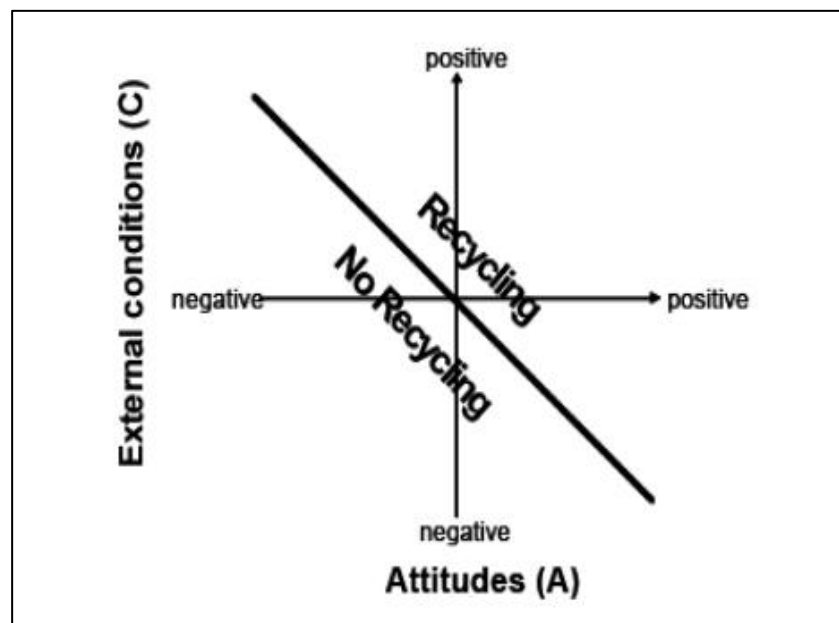
To overcome the internal-external dichotomy, Stern (2000) presented a model

called the Attitude-Behaviour-Context (ABC) Model. It suggests that particular

behaviour (B) of an individual is an interactive product of attitudinal variables (A)

and contextual factors (C). Personal beliefs, norms and values as well as general pre-

dispositions are attitudinal variables or internal factors and the social, economic,

political, legal, and personal physical factors are external contextual factors that interplay to influence behaviour of an individual.

2.9 Language Attitude in Sociolinguistics, Social Psychology, and Ethnography

When the views of the behaviourists and the mentalists were found to be short to explain complex attitudinal phenomena, the social aspects related to it came forward which formed stronger concepts in the field of social psychology. McDowell (2018) observed, "As part of a reaction to the formal rigor and social detachment of Chomsky's theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics emerges in the mid-twentieth century to assess the role of language in social life" (p.1).

Though language attitude (LA) may simply refer to attitudes towards a particular language, it may also indicate to some relevant concepts regarding language according to sociolinguistics. For example, it may refer to attitudes of the native speakers of a language to its varieties including styles and accents, or the non-native speakers' attitudes towards another language, its varieties or its native speakers or even their culture. People's attitudes towards language varieties and their behaviour are likely to differ according to the complexity of domains in which language is used. People evaluate languages and accents in different ways including "cultural factors, familiarity, vitality and prestige, pedagogical context, race, proficiency, and motivation" (Galloway, 2011, p.41).

An in-depth discussion about the importance of attitude, assessment of attitude, orientations and bahviour was provided by Romaine (1995). The researcher focused on bilingualism and language choice and shift also and stressed on the necessity of taking the attitudes in consideration while language planning.

"Most of the work conducted into language attitudes over the years has been

situated in group-focused empirical work in the fields of sociolinguistics and the social psychology of language" as it is suggested by Garrett (2010, p. 41). In sociolinguistics, the majority of research have been done on the varieties of language including accent and style. In contrast, social psychology focuses on wider concepts like social, cultural, educational, economic, or political aspects of language. The LA studies may be concerned with broader areas including the treatment of an SL or FL, language use, language maintenance and planning efforts.

The wide dimensions of the research on the LA has been discussed by Baker (1992) elaborately. The following scopes of language attitudes research have been explored in the different studies over the years: language variation, dialect and speech style; specific minority languages, language lessons, the perceptions of the parents about it, language usage, language preference, etc. He also carried out a study of the education of the language of Welsh and found the attitude towards that language to be an important input factor. High achievement in a language program on the Welsh language was found to be positively correlated to the attitude towards that particular language.

The LA research sometimes investigates how the properties of the context, in which a language is used, influence the evaluative judgements by the users (Hymes, 1972). For example, Received Pronunciation (RP) accent is associated with prestige, intelligence, a good job, etc., in many situations (Garrett, 2007). In terms of everyday use of language, our use of particular words and pronunciation may have an effect on the attitudes of other people towards us. That is why, we may change our language in order to gain particular reactions from others. Hence, Garrett et al. (2006, p. 27) stated that "attitudes may be seen in terms of input and output, completing a cycle of influence between language variation and social cognition."

Saville-Troike (1989) explored LA from the ethnographer's perspective dealing with social roles, speech registers, language varieties, nd perceptions of different social categories and analysed "how such perceptions influence interaction within and across the boundaries of a speech community" (Coronel-Molina, 2014, p. 33). The study explained our understanding of functions and patterns of language use and language maintenance and shift as well. She characterizes three types or focuses of LA studies. The first type of studies explore the general attitudes towards language varieties and language skills whereas the second type deals with the stereotyped impressions towards language, their speakers, and their functions. The third type focuses on applied concerns (e.g., language choice and usage, and language learning).

2.10 Language and Identity

Language can be viewed as a part of individual identity or a tool for the socio-economic development or an instrument of social exploitation or divide. Hence, the first language or second language of a person is related to that person's identification at individual or social level. It is not only a medium of communication, but also an instrument of asserting one's identity or one's distinctiveness from others. That is why, a common language is defined as "the ideal vehicle to express the unique character of a social group, and to encourage common social ties on the basis of a common identity" which "can be a robust marker of social identity, capable of binding and dividing groups and that its salience may displace other (e.g. ethnic or religious) identities" (Jaspal, 2009, pp. 17-20).

Sociolinguistics is the primary field in which the question of language and identity has been addressed. Apart from that, different socio-psychological theories of identity may "complement and enrich the ongoing, primarily sociolinguistic, debate on the relationship between language and social identity" (Jaspal, 2009). In this field,

the concept of social identity has been attached to the notions of 'self' and 'identity'. The 'self' is generally taken as a set of cognitive representations reflecting a person's personality traits, organized by linkages, across representations created by personal experience or biography whereas 'identity' is believed to be a tool (or in some ways a stratagem) by which individuals categorize themselves in the world (Owens, 2006, pp. 205 -220).

The most influential theory in this regard is Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (SIT), which emerged in the 1970s, and was further developed by Tajfel & Turner into the Self-categorisation Theory in the 1980s. The SIT refers to the idea that an individual's perception about the self is formed a member of a social group. As White (2013) supported Turner (1999), "emotional and value significance given to certain group memberships are treated as psychologically meaningful, as an expression of how people define themselves socially and of their understanding of the reality of their intergroup relationships"(p. 34). The variety of language used while interaction indicate to the social relationship. Dialect usually involves forms or accents that help identify a certain ethnic, religious, or social groups. Individuals may switch between or choose different language varieties such as, dialect, accent or word choice according to the relationship among the interlocutors. The same person may prefer to use even different languages in different situations (Lantolf & Pavlenko, 2001).

However, a different point of view, chosen by Tollefson (1991), was the historical-structural perspective which sought for "the origins of constraints on planning, the sources of the costs and benefits of individuals' choices, and the social, political, and economic factors which constrain or impel changes in language use" (Hamid, 2009, p. 51)

Another poststructuralist theory was propounded by French linguist Bourdieu who viewed language as symbolic capital and the site of identity construction. To him, language is a tool of power-politics through which an individual pursue own interest and linguistic utterances or expressions can be understood as the product of the relation between a *linguistic market* and a *linguistic habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991; Corsaro & Bourdieu, 1992).

As language is a social phenomenon, the linguistic identity is closely related to the social identity. The relationship between language and ethnic identity has been asserted by many writers including Cho (2000) and Baker (2001) (Jaspal, 2009). Furthermore, the mother-tongue is said to be a particularly important aspect of (ethnic) identity since both are frequently viewed as being immutable and inherited from birth (Fishman, 1990). Not only the language, but its variety also is found to be an important factor and salient marker of social identity. In a good deal of research, the accent or variety of a language is associated with social class or the social identity of the speaker (Hamid & Jahan, 2015; Lai, 2010; McKenzie, 2008; Nurani, 2015). Crystal (2003) also asserted that "There seems to be something about the intimate relationship between language, thought, individuality, and social identity which generates strong emotions" (p.140).

Tollefson (1991) discussed beyond individual learner variables and argued for historical-structural perspective. As Hamid (2009, p. 51) quoted him, this approach "seeks the origins of constraints on planning, the sources of the costs and benefits of individuals' choices, and the social, political, and economic factors which constrain or impel changes in language use".

The existing literature in this regard include the dominant approaches of social sciences that depict the relationship of the society and its people from different

perspectives. In those approaches, the 'society' is described by the 'macro' concept of 'structure' and 'human being' is termed as 'agency' mostly. But the definitions and features of the two terms – 'structure' and 'agency' - are not the same in them, and they vary according to the perspectives of those approaches. The *structuralist* approach accounts that human beings are controlled or determined by the social world. Durkheim, Parsons and Lévi-strauss suggested this view. Lévi-Strauss (1958, 1966) asserted that "the underlying structures of cultural codes are responsible for the surface variety of human mythologies" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, p.7). On the other hand, the *interactionist* approach emphasizes on the role of agencies or individuals to define the relationship between the society and the agencies. Here, the society is taken to be the accumulation of habit and routine or as the discursive product of social conversation. The third one is the *structuration* theory of Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) who rejects the supremacy of structural forces and suggests the 'dualism' of agency and structure. To him, structure and agency are intrinsically united through social practices. The fourth approach is the *realist* accounts in which both structure and agency possess distinct properties and powers. Both of them play important roles with own properties in varied ways. The distinct properties of social structures are anteriority, enablement and constraint whereas the powers of agency include self-consciousness, reflexivity, intentionality, cognition, emotionality, etc. The people or agency "alter or reinforce the fitness of social arrangements they encounter for the realization of their own interests" (Sealey & Carter, 2004, p. 11). However, The current research follows the interactionist view which goes well with the ethnographic approach.

2.11 Attitude and Other Factors in Second Language Acquisition (SLA)

As a branch of cognitive science, second language acquisition (SLA) refers to

the process through which an individual acquires or learns any language. Different cognitive, affective, individual, or social factors are involved in the analysis of SLA studies. It is found in plenty of research that students' attitude is one of the main factors that determine their success in language learning. Learners' attitudes towards the target language, its speakers and the learning context may all play some part in explaining their success or failure (Candlin & Mercer, 2001). That is, 'language attitude' involves not only a learner's attitudes to the learning or the target language (henceforth, TL) but some other factors also, such as, his/ her judgements about the uses or roles of that language, the status of its native speakers' community or the target language community (TLC here after), or its attachment to any other extra-linguistic factor/s like international power politics, economics or even religion. The evaluation that a particular language is harsh, sweet, difficult, easy, international, local, prestigious or vernacular is due to the variation of attitudes towards the language (Baker, 1992). In addition, the major dimensions along which the views about languages can vary are social status and group solidarity.

Even a person, who is not a learner of a particular FL, may show a firm approach to the communities of native speakers of that language. In addition, this approach at the micro-level might be found at macro level of a community. If the language is the first language in more than one of the most influential countries, then this communal attitude to that particular language may involve some extra-linguistic factors like national politics, economy and even religious beliefs.

Language policy of a country also has a strong correlation to language attitude. To illustrate, as language policy changes the attitude of the speakers towards a particular language, similarly, attitudes might change the direction and success of the implementation of a policy. For example, the change of status and attitudes to

English in Malaysia from British colonial period till date is changing due to the drastic change of national language policy and vice versa (Nero, 2014; Tollefson, 2008).

Stern (1983) presented three types of attitudes in second language learning situation – attitude towards the TLC, attitude to the learning of a specific language or the TL, and attitude to languages and learning the languages in general (Rahman, 2005).

The importance of positive attitude in learning an SL/ FL has been suggested in substantial studies (Gardner, 1985; Huensch & Thompson, 2017; Kudo, 1999; Lai, 2010; Liu, 2010; Papapavlou & Mavromati, 2017; Rahimi & Hassani, 2012; Tanni, 2015; Tódor & Dégi, 2017). Brown (2000, p. 181) described several studies about the effects of attitude on language learning and concluded that "positive attitudes towards the self, the native language group, and the target language group enhanced proficiency."

Motivation is a psychological constructs which is closely related to attitude. A person's attitude to a particular language influences the level of motivation in and activities by the learner's self and the extent to which the learner learns the language. Many linguists, including Dörnyei (1994, 2001a, 2001b), Ellis (1994, 1997), Oxford & Sherin (1994, 1997), Schuman (1978, 1986), Gardner and Lambert (1985) also consider foreign language learning as a socio-psychological phenomenon and 'motivation' as a key to the language learning process. It is suggested by these researchers that attitude influences language learning and positive attitude towards the TL and the TLC is beneficial to SLA.

Changing learners' negative attitude, fostering positive attitude influences motivation for language learning. Hence, motivation is one of the key factors that

determine why, how and to what extent an FL learner learns a language (Ahmad, 2014). Accordingly, Brown (2000) points out that "negative attitudes may lead to decreased motivation and, in all likelihood, because of decreased input and interaction, to unsuccessful attainment of proficiency" (p. 181). Hence, well motivated, less motivated and negatively motivated students have different perceptions of their class, teacher and curriculum. Their perceptions are responsible for determining their attitudes. An individual's perception of the class, perception of the teacher, peer group, syllabus and his/her awareness for the needs effect his/her attitude to language learning. Even when there is no issue of learning, an individual may have an attitude to a language. Besides the intellectual perspective, the nature of language learning has psychological and social aspects and depends primarily on the learners' motivation and attitude to learn the target language (Padwick, 2010 cited in Abidin, Jafre, Pour-Mohammadi, & Alzwari, 2012).

The leading figures in this field are Gardner and Lambert (1972). Gardner presented the first version of Socio-educational Model in 1985 which emphasized the role of motivation in the SL classroom setting. The model claims the ability of the students to master a second language is not only influenced by the mental competence or, language skills, but also on the students' attitudes and perceptions towards the target language. Gardner's finding regards the importance of integrative motivation as being more influential in providing learning opportunities than other kind of motivational orientation.

Gardner (1985) pointed out that "the learners' social and cultural milieu determine the extent to which they wish to identify with the target-language culture (their integrative motivation) and also the extent to which they hold positive attitudes towards the learning situation". Gardner and Lambert (1972) focused on two types of

motivation- instrumental and Integrative. The characteristics of instrumental

motivation include 'a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages

through knowledge of a foreign language' whereas integrative motivation involves

learners' "willingness or a desire to be like representative members of the 'other'

language community". Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) equated instrumental

motivation with giving students a financial or materialistic reward for performing a

task successfully (Ahmad, 2017). It usually refers to practical purposes of learning a

language such as in order to get a better job or to pass examinations (Ghazali, Setia,

Muthusamy, & Jusoff, 2009). Maniruzzaman (1999) discussed some relevant studies

carried out from 1960s to 2000s. As he analysed, to achieve proficiency in an SL/ FL,

some of the earlier studies including Anisfield and Lambert (1961) and Gardner and

Lambert (1960) found integrative motivation to be more effective than instrumental

motivation, whereas the studies including Gardner and Lambert (1972) (investigated

in Canada), Lukmani (1972) (done in India) and Cooper and Fishman (1977) (carried

out in Jerusalam) found vice versa. But Mulla (1979) (explored out in Makkah) or

Wong (1982) (done in San Francisco) found no significant difference between these

two types. The definition of the types of motivation is a crucial factor here. Rahman

(2006) finds a better explanation from Agnihotri and Khanna (1997) who found

varied types of instrumental motivation in the Indian context, such as, 'integratively

instrumental, 'instrumentally instrumental', 'manipulatively instrumental', and

'instrumentla despite resentment'. But Gardner's (1985) overemphasis on integrative

motivation has been criticized by other linguists on the ground that it is not necessary

that everyone, who values another community positively, wants to learn its language

and vice versa (Ahmad, 2017). Hence, the second version of the Socio-Educational

Model by Gardner (2006) analyses that integrative motivation has three variables,

attitude towards the learning context, and motivation along with language aptitude, which collectively contribute to SLA. It asserts that both integrativeness, high levels

Figure 2.4

Gardner's Socio-Educational Model, 2006
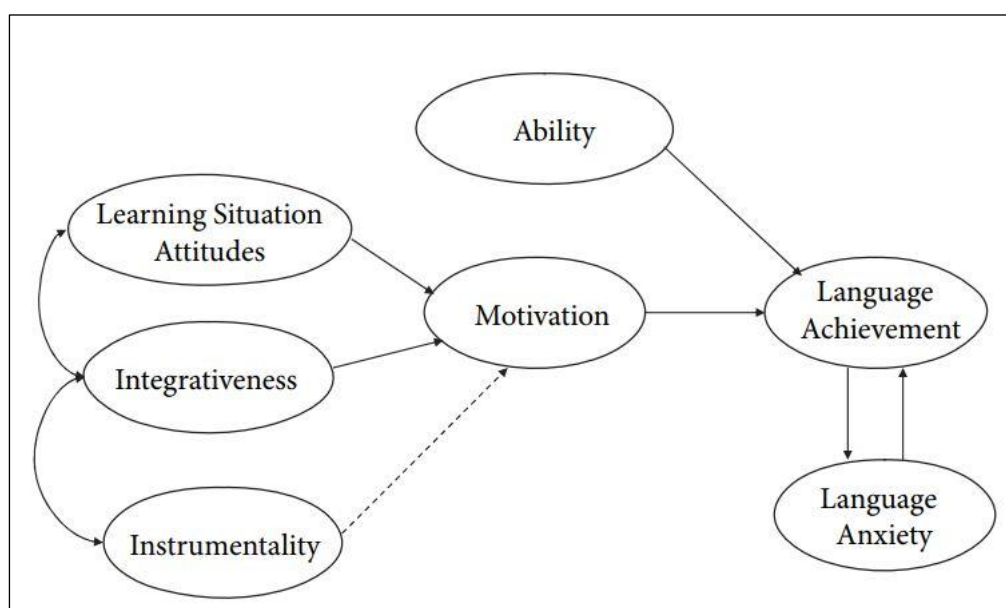
of positive attitudes to the learning situation and high motivation to learn the language are needed for successful achievement in SLA (Taie & Afshari, 2015). The Attitude-Motivation Testing Battery (AMTB) by Gardner (1985) is a widely used tool in the research on attitude and motivation of ESL/ EFL.

There were many other studies on attitude as the major focus around the world.. In the studies by Bartley (1970) (investigated in California), Pierosn et al. (1980) (carried out in Hong Kong), Dickson, Boyce, Lee, Portal, Smith (1987) (investigated in England, Wales and Ireland), Haque (1989) (conducted in Dhaka), Mormori (1993) (done among Greek students), Kuhlemeier, Van den Bergh and Melse (1996) (conducted in Germany), Dodick (1996) (carried out in New York) and all of these

studies found that positive attitudes to the TL or the TLC was beneficial for learning an SL/ FL (as cited in Maniruzzaman, 1999, pp. 69-82).

Brown (1981) tried to distinguish attitude from motivation and identified three types of motivation: global motivation, situation motivation, and task motivation. As Rahman (2005) discusses, the first one indicates to a general orientation to the purpose of learning, the second type depends on the learning situations, and the last one refers to the motivation to perform particular tasks in language learning. But Ellis (1994) finds a strong similarity between the concept of global motivation and Gardner's concept of motivation. Similarly, the task motivation is consistent to Gardner's idea of attitude. But the idea of situational motivation was not found in Gardner's first model (Rahman, 2005). Gardner's Socio-educational model emphasized on integrative motivation which does not go with the South Asian context due to different historical, political, social and cultural context as it was explored in the Canadian context which is dissimilar to the Bangladeshi context.

Lukmani (1972) and Ahmad (2007) found significant correlation between instrumental motivation and success of learning ESL in the outer circle context of India and Bangladesh respectively. However, there is another type of orientation, 'resentment motivation', which has not been investigated so much as the earlier ones. The term indicates to the overwhelming environmental demands that 'coerce or force' action (Rahman, 2005). Agnihotri and Khanna (1998) focused on 'resentment motivation' and 'manipulative motivation' "which concern a further realistic approach in apprehending public attitudes towards the English issue in South Asia. … the power-status issues, related to the acquisition of an SL (which the learner manipulate to others for personal gains) can be understood by the study of manipulative motivation" (as cited in Rahman, 2005, p.11). Rahman (2005)

summarized the studies by Khanna and Agnihotri (1982, 1984, 1985) and supported the importance of instrumental motivation in forms of getting a better job or receive higher education or the like in the South Asian context. The social and cultural needs or context control the type of motivation of SL learner.

In a different attempt to do the categorization of the types of motivational orientations, Deci and Ryan (1985) identified motivation as *intrinsic* or *extrinsic*. The former results in internal feelings of self-determination and competence whereas the latter aims at earning a reward or avoiding a punishment. Whatever type of orientation motivates learners, it is clear that a positive attitude towards the target language and group is crucial for learning a foreign language. As attitudes can be modified by experience, effective language teaching strategies can be implemented to encourage students to be more positive towards the language they are learning (Elyildirim & Sally, 2006).

A particular region, urban or rural, is expected to have its own sociocultural and economic conditions. Language attitude of a person can be influenced not only by the sociocultural setting of the native speakers' community of a particular FL but also by his/her own socio-economic background. Because, attitudes "form a part of one's perception of self, of others, and of the culture in which one is living" (Brown 2000, p.18). An SL learner may be required to impose elements of another culture into one's own life space. On the other hand, learners' attitudes towards the target language, its speakers and their culture are generally taken to be shaped by the social settings of the learners (Ellis 1997, p. 198). The Socio-educational Model suggested by Gardner (1985) also pointed out that "the learners' social and cultural milieu determine the extent to which they wish to identify with the target-language culture (their integrative motivation) and also the extent to which they hold positive attitudes towards the

learning situation. Both contribute to the learners' motivation, influencing both its nature and its strength" (Ellis 1994). Brown (2000) points out, attitudes are cognitive and affective and begin developing early and are influenced by many things, including parents, peers, and interactions with people who have social and cultural differences. Again, Tesser (1993) argued also for hereditary variables which may affect attitudes, but believed that they may do so indirectly (Schwarz and Bohner, 2001).

Through a neurolinguistic perspective, Gabrys-Barker (2010) focused on effectivity and emotions and analysed motivation in terms of the stimulus appraisal system, providing an account for individual variability in SLA from a neuro-biological perspective. In Neurolinguistics, it is suggested that "information entering the brain is received first by the 'emotional brain' (the amygdala) and is filtered through it before reaching the cortical regions where it undergoes rational processing" (Arabski & Wojtaszek, 2010, p. xii). Therefore, he asserts that success in learning foreign languages is all emotionally driven, and it is influenced by motivation in SLA.

Another influential socio-educational model is the Acculturation Model suggested by Schumann (1986) who identified attitude as a social factor. He emphasized on the two sets of factors of *social distance* and *psychological distance* which determine the extent to which a learner acculturates with the target language community (TLC). It does not consider the formal instruction of teaching and learning the SL or FL. He argued for two types of acculturation processes: the first type refers to the learner's social integration with the target language (TL) group whereas the second type takes the TL group as a reference point (Ellis, 2001, p.230). To him, a language learner's positive attitude to the TL or the TLC enhances the success of

language learning (Kappel & Lochtman, 2009, p.22). He examines the biological

basis of motivation in human activity. According to him, there are two innate systems

Table 2.1

Schuman's Taxonomy of Factors Influencing the SLA

Variable	Factors
Social	Dominance, non-dominance; subordinate; preservation; attitude
Affective	Language shock; cultural shock; motivation; ego-permeanility
Personality	Tolerance for ambiguity; Intro/extro-version; self-esteem sensitivity to rejection
Cognitive	Cognitive development; cognitive process; imitation; interference
Biological	Lateralization; transfer
Aptitude	Language aptitude; IQ
Personal	Nesting factors; transition anxiety; choice of learning strategies
Input	Frequency; salience; complexity; typeof interlocutor
Instructional	Goals; teacher; method; text; duration; intensity

operating in the human which regulation that motivate all our actions including

language learning. They are *homeostatic* (bodily/survival) and *sociostatic* (interacting

with others) systems. In addition to these two value mechanisms, there is a third

appraisal system: individual *somatic* value system, which is developed by an

individual through experience in the world, preferences and aversions. An individual

assigns value to current stimuli based on past experience. The three appraisal systems

(homeostatic, sociostatic and somatic) constitute 'emotional memory' which influence

the cognition (perception, attention, memory, and action) that is devoted to learning.

Again, the importance of the social affective variables are regarded to be very important by some other linguists. Dörnyei (1994) suggested that, in the case of learning a foreign language, it may not even be plausible to talk about integrative motivation since the learners have no or little chance of being exposed to the target language culture and values. This particular point of view has been revisited and challenged by some recent research where the definition of 'integrative motivation' has been modified. Dörnyei & Ryan (2015) discussed the arguments by Coetzee-Van Rooy (2006), Lamb (2004) (based on a qualitative study of learners of English in Indonesia), and McClelland (2000) (investigating language learning in Japan) associated 'integrativeness' to the integration with the global community rather than assimilation with native speakers in changed context of World Englishes to highlight a "need to reappraise Gardner's concept of integrativeness to fit a perception of English as an international language" (Dörnyei & Ryan, 2015, p.79). Moreover, it is suggested by a number of studies including Cargile, Giles, Ryan, & Bradac (1994), Derwing (2003), and Jenkins (2007) that social groups may develop particular norms regarding correct or more prestigious linguistic forms which are often based on historical, political and prevailing stereotypes (Galloway, 2011).

There are several other affective individual and social factors related to SLA. Dörnyei and Csizér (2002) found strong effects of the sociocultural changes in Hungary in the 1990s on students' attitudes and motivation towards language learning by collecting data from a population of over eight thousand. The factors of language teacher motivation, classroom anxiety, language curriculum, gender, and status of that TL in the learner's surroundings also play crucial roles in learning SL/ FL (Ellis, 1994; Ahmad, 2010; Ahmad, 2014). In addition, the variables like learner strategies (cognitive strategies, metacognitive strategies, social strategies, affective strategies),

six-factors-model, self-regulated learning, retrospective syllabus, and the role of technology in language teaching have been a matter of discussions by a number of linguistics including Dornyei, Skehan, Oxford, Candlin, Harmer, Davies, Otto, among others (Berns, 2010).

The Complex Dynamic Systems Theory (CDST) is one of the latest theories of SLA by Bot and his associates which is related to Larsen-Freeman's thought of the dynamic system of SLA in which language is seen as a complex system which is dynamic, nonlinear, chaotic, open, self-organizing, unpredictable, adaptive, and feedback sensitive (Larsen-Freeman, 1997). Bot, Lowie, & Vespoor (2007, pp. 51-58)) also analysed language in a similar way:

> Language can be seen as a dynamic system, i.e. a set of variables that interact over time, and that language development can be seen as a dynamic process. Language development shows some of the core characteristics of dynamic systems: sensitive dependence on initial conditions, complete interconnectedness of subsystems, the emergence of attractor states in development over time and variation both in and among individuals.

This theory also indicates to the importance of several social factors that are related to the phenomenon of language. Hence, the acquisition or learning of English as an international language is strongly related to many social and psychological factors.

2.12 Social Constructivism and Language Learning Theories

The idea of Social Constructivism was presented by Soviet psychologist Lev Vygotsky first in his influential book *Mind in Society* in 1930 (Vygotsky, 1978). It refers to the construction of shared knowledge through social interactions which gave rise to the Sociocultural Theory that provides "a sociocultural explanation of L2 use

and acquisition by viewing acquisition as originating in use and involving subsequent processes of internalization" (Tavakoli, 2012, p.64). This is often compared to Piaget's (1936) idea of Computational Theory that focused on individual cognitive psychology alone and Dewey's (1938) concept of social learning which posits that learners learn through sharing the socially gathered experiences in the classroom. The Sociocultural Theory also posits that "acquisition results from L2 learners' conscious manipulation of linguistic units in the zone of proximal development (ZPD), where their learning is supported by interaction with and scaffolding from more proficient interlocutors" (Herschensohn & Young-Scholten, 2013, p.201).

Like the Social Constructivism, communicative competence is related to social interaction (Hymes, 1972, 1980, 2010). Because it is essential to have the ability to communicate to share knowledge with others. This focus on 'the capacity to communicate to others' became a major concept in the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) or Foreign Language Learning (FLL) theories around the world since 1980s. Larsen-Freeman (2011, p. 152) analyses it this way:

> It required Communicative competence (Hymes, 1971) - knowing when and how to say what to whom. It focuses on the components of the ability to communicate through a language". Such observations contributed to a shift in the field in the late 1970s and early 1980s from a linguistic structure-centred approach to the Communicative Approach (Widdowson 1990; Savignon 1997).

Canale and Swain (1980) suggested that the concept of communicative competence includes four types of capacities: "grammatical (ability to create grammatically correct utterances), sociolinguistic (ability to produce sociolinguistically appropriate utterances), discourse (ability to produce coherent and cohesive utterances), and

strategic (ability to solve communication problems as they arise)" (Pateşan, Zechia, & Balagiu, 2015, p. 625).

2.13   Studies on Attitudes to English in Bangladesh

The importance of attitudinal studies in research of language education has led many linguists to carry out researches since Gardner and Lambert's (1959) study, carried out among the Anglophone learners of French in Montreal, Canada, basically dealt with types of motivation rather than attitude. Most of the leading Bangladeshi attitudinal studies incorporated attitude with motivation in the line (Maniruzzaman, 1999; Shahed, 2001; Ahmad, 2007; Rahman, 2005, 2006) who did not focus on the varieties of English language. But the majority of the influential attitudinal studies done outside South Asian countries up to 2010s include attitudes towards varieties of English, such as, particular accent associated to identity or particular social context, dialect, or distinctions between British English and American English (or native English and non-native English) (Galloway, 2009). Rather than that, the Bangladeshi studies covered different social and psychological variables, majorly, attitude and motivation.

Viewing locally, the presence of EFL has been explored in many researches in Bangladesh. Especially, the status of English in the academic contexts has been studied in many studies. Maniruzzaman (1999) carried out a study among 221 undergraduate students of two public universities of Dhaka district to explore the relation between EFL proficiency and attitudes and motivation mainly. The pilot study, done among 78 undergraduate students, found that some of them had the online exposure to the BBC, CNN, Star Movies, etc. According to him, "the activities being executed by the British Council and the USIS have been driving the subjects to be attracted by the English and American culture" (p. 141). The eight hypothesis of the

final quantitative study were focused on the types of motivation and found two-third of the respondents to show integrative motivation.

Shahed (2001) also conducted a study on the attitude and type of motivation among six hundred and thirty-four people in urban contexts who found instrumental motivation to be most important in Bangladesh (cited in Rahman, 2009). In another study, Shahed and Rahman (2007) observed the bilingualism in Bangladesh. The domain analysis showed that, outside academic contexts, English is not used in day-to-day life except for entertainment purpose in Dhaka.

Rahman (2006) carried out a doctoral mixed-method study among two hundred and twenty students in two universities in Dhaka. Most of them had exposure to English media or book. But most of them did not prefer to use English in different situations outside academic contexts. Though around four-fifth of the respondents emphasized on the use of English textbooks, two-third of the students suggested that the teachers should use both Bengali and English. About three-fourth of the participants, showed positive response to the statement that English is a necessity to get social recognition. About one-third of them were found to show resentment motivation. The study also analysed that the socio-educational and socio-economic variables has a significant relation with the informants' performance in English proficiency tests.

Another issue, which is relevant to attitudes to the EFL is bilingualism, which also has been focused on in some studies. The existence of English besides Bengali has been found harmonious in the studies done in the last two decades in Bangladesh. Chowdhury (1986, p. 23) found no conflict between the two languages here and stated, "In Bangladesh, the study of English language and literature can significantly contribute to the growth of both true nationalism and healthy internationalism" (cited

in Maniruzzaman, 1999, p.7). The presence of English is also discussed by Banu and Sussex (2001) who studied code-switching in Bangladesh and found the presence of English in business and commerce in the urban and suburban contexts of the country. As she explored, "There are obvious sociolinguistic implications in the correlation between the socio-economic levels of the suburbs and the selection of language" (p.58). They advocated for functional bilingualism, particularly in administration, education, law, the media, and commerce.

Regarding the status of English as a second or foreign language, Maniruzzaman (1999, p.6) stated, "Despite being a foreign language officially, the English language is indeed enjoying the status of a second language, to a limited extent, in activities of educated people, particularly in the urban areas of Bangladesh" and "there exists hardly any rivalry between Bengali and English". Maniruzzaman's (1999) pilot study analysed that the status of English in Dhaka in the last decade of the twentieth century was more similar to that of a second language than a foreign language as "it has been used in government and non-government offices, law courts and even parliament side by side with Bengali" (p. 141). In the first two decades,

English continued to gain its importance gradually in the country due to the global impact and ever-growing exposure to the international community.

Not only locally, but the existence of and the attitudes to the EFL in a country must be viewed through global lenses also. If the position of the English language in Bangladesh is considered according to the concept of three circles of world Englishes by Kachru (1985), it becomes easier to judge it in the current global context. Because, the model postulates the historical view of the spread of English, the 'sociolinguistically viable interpretations of the status and functions of English' in the countries around the world (Kachru & Nelson, 2011, pp. 27-34) and Bangladesh falls

in the outer circle according to this concept having typical features of English in the outer circle including its roles and importance as a necessary tool of socio-economic development. The changes in the policy shift regarding English in the national curriculum clearly is a result of the current global context (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014).

Figure 2.5

World Englishes by Braj. B. Kachru (1990)
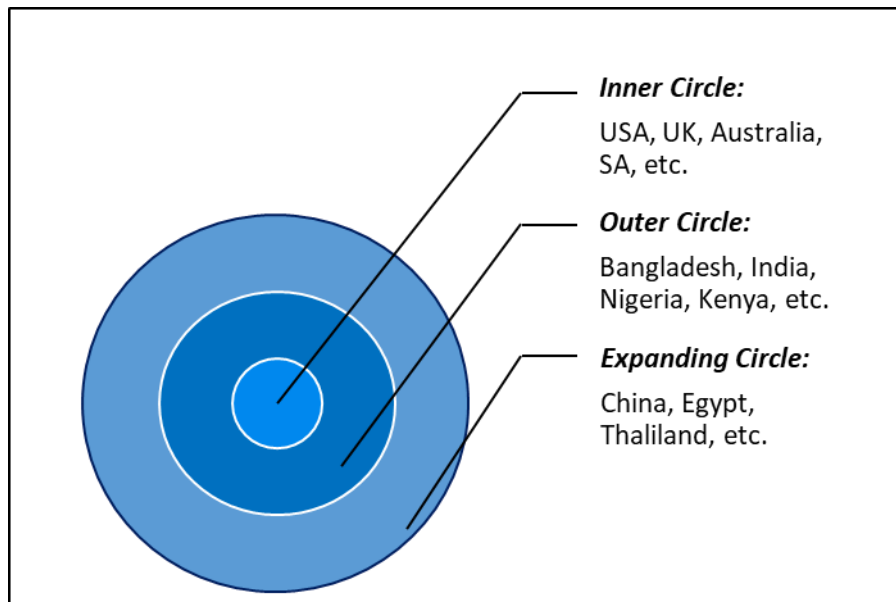
In addition, the attitude to English from a post-colonial perspective in Bangladesh has also been analysed by Rouf (2018) who aptly stated, "The duality in the Bangladeshi situation of a zealous protectiveness of the mother tongue (e.g. the UN promulgation and riots in the past) and of the avid promotion of English education is typical of post-colonial responses to English" as Bangladesh has a colonial legacy as a part of Indian subcontinent (p.19).

2.14 Popular ELT Approaches and Methods in Bangladesh

Communicative Language Teaching and Grammar Translation Method are the two most popular approach and method in the ELT context in Bangladesh. Though the syllabi and textbooks of the compulsory subject of English in the primary, secondary, and higher secondary curriculum are defined as 'communicative' in nature by the concerned government authorities, it is widely reported that the Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach is not adopted in the teaching and learning practices of English language and the teachers still practice the teaching techniques of Grammar Translation (GT) method (Abedin, 2012; Ahmad, 2008; Ali & Walker, 2014; Alam, 2018; Hoque, Karthikeyan, Islam, & Islam, 2021; Hamid & Baldauf, 2008; Rahman & Pandian, 2018; Rasul, 2016; Uddin, 2021). Few studies at home and abroad found relation between the attitudes and beliefs of the learners/ teachers and the CLT approach (Rahman, Johan, Selim, Singh, & Shahed, 2019; Rahman, Singh, & Pandian, 2018; Rezalou, & Yagiz, 2021).

The reason, why the CLT has not been adopted yet, may be related to the attitudes of the learners and teachers towards the presence and roles of the English language in the current society and it can be a worthy topic of investigation.

**2.15   Roles of English in LPP in Recent Research Trends: A Tool of
Development vs. An Instrument of Imperialism**

The development of the major two trends since the Second World War can be observed in the trends of English studies since 1980s. The major trends about the national language policy and planning (LPP), as Spolsky (2012) analyses, were either to use primary language of each country in its the academic and scientific fields or the unintentional legacy of the colonial languages due to the actual demographic

situations. In this case, Spolsky's (2012, p.5) notion of 'ethnography of speech' reflects Hymes' (1974) concept of ethnography of communication and reversing language shift was also found in many states (Fishman, 1990). Philipson's (1992, 2009) linguistic imperialism and the treatment of these two concepts by Widdowson (1997), as an influential figure of the IATEFL and the TESOL, Canagarajah (1999), Pennycook (1994), and Crystal (2003) have already made these issues quite popular in this arena.

Phillipson (2012, p. 218) states that "The English language teaching sector directly earns nearly £1.3 billion for the UK in invisible exports and our other education related exports earn up to £10 billion". More striking analysis is found in Phillipson (2009) as the author mentions an estimate by a popular British newspaper which reports that a particular South Asian ELT scheme will "add a staggering £50billion a year to the UK economy by 2010" (p. 12). He also busts the common ELT fallacies in it. Those fallacies are found to be present in Bangladeshi context also.

Widdowson (1997) argued that English as an international language 'spread', rather that distributed, as a 'virtual language'. Again, many examples and analyses of the major regional varieties of English and the standardization processes of them were discussed by Pennycook (1997). Xiaoqiong & Xianxing (2011) also present the fallacies associated to the status of English in the current world. Despite the changing linguistic and economic scenario resulting a possible weaker dominance of English in the current world, as Crystal (2003) projects, the future of English dominance is still bright and it will remain the most powerful lingua franca in the world.

In contrast to Phillipson's (1992) view, Pennycook (1997) strongly argues for a balanced view of the role of English:

In order to understand ELT in the wider context of the global spread of English, it is essential to understand English in relation to globalization, neoliberalism, exploitation and discrimination, but we also need an understanding of language in relation to power that operates neither with a utopian vision of linguistic diversity, nor with a dystopian assumption of linguistic imperialism. (Preface, x)

In spite of being influenced by Phillipson, Canagarajah (1999) also recommends a balanced view that constitutes English language policy in inclusive and democratic terms. Most of the above researchers also supported the necessity of exploration of the localized English. Some recent researches focused on the uses of English by the non-native users. For example, the syntactic aspects of the Chinese English variety were discussed by Mahboob (2014). Sultana (2012) studied the Bangladeshi young adults' use of English with Bangla in the common parlance. She suggests that the trend of studies should be "shifted to everyday language practices of young adults in their socio-cultural, historical, and geographical context and understand how they reconstruct their languages and identities in their own terms" (p. 59).

2.16 The Gaps in the Existing Literature and the Scopes of the Current Study

A number of points of research-gap suggest the scope of the present study:

Firstly, the literature review has strongly proves the lack of only qualitative or ethnographic is rare in Bangladesh. In spite of the necessity of ethnographic or qualitative studies in Bangladesh on the status of English, very few studies are found. It is so rare that a single study is needed to be the basis of four publications by the internally recognized publishers including Multilingual Matters, English Today, World Englishes, and British Council, London (see Erling, Hamid, & Seargeant, 2013; Erling, Seargeant, & Solly, 2014; Erling, Seargeant, Solly, & Chowdhury, 2012; Seargeant, Erling, Solly, Chowdhury, & Rahman, 2017). As Erling (2017)

reused the findings of that study in several papers and stressed the importance of the attitudinal studies in the fourth research paper elaborately:

> This study provides details of the factors within people's lives that determine values of English. In this study, we found that even in very rural Bangladeshi communities facing quite severe development challenges there were strong perceptions that English would be of value for people in terms of widening their economic and social opportunities. (p. 13)

Erling et.al. (2012) conducted a ten-day-long qualitative research, interviewing 28 respondents, in two rural communities of Bangladesh to explore the status of English and the relation between English language education and socio-economic development (Erling et al., 2013, p.94, 2012, p. 3). It was an internationally funded project to evaluate the justification of internally funded projects like the English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP) (1997-2008) and the English in Action (EIA) (2009-2017) project.

Secondly, very few studies focused on English in the non-academic contexts and the people who are not related to educational institutions in Bangladesh, that is, the perceptions and aspirations of the common people towards English in real life. The whole literature review point out the inadequacy of relevant qualitative data to address these needs. There is a huge gap of literature on the analysis the necessity of English in the non-academic contexts.

Thirdly, there is inadequacy of hard qualitative data on the teachers' and students' perceptions about the implementation of the competence of English language in their daily lives. It is important to locate the lacking in the existing English curricula at the school level on the basis of the socio-economic scenario of Bangladesh.

Fourthly and very importantly, despite the fact that three-fourth population of the country live in the rural areas ("Urbanisation," 2015), there is insufficient literature on the usage or the domain analysis of English in rural Bangladeshi context. Except a few studies, most of the research were done in or 'from' urban locations in the country.

Mahboob (2014) supports Kachru's (1992) point of view regarding the necessity of EFL studies about both the sociocultural and educational contexts and "should be situated within a particular context (or domain or register) and that a description of this context be provided in some detail" (p, 131).

The national education and language policy cannot be successful without knowing the current status of English in the majority part of population of the country. Spolsky also (2014, p.5) finds the concept of language policy to be made up of these three components: the actual language practices by the particular speech community, their beliefs or attitudes about the importance of that language, the planning and management efforts by the authority.

The findings in a doctoral study in the rural area of the country carried out out by Hamid (2009) demands for a study like the current one: "the findings of the study would recommend a critical assessment of the ubiquitous discourses of the benefits of English" (Hamid, 2011, p. 48). Hence, the necessity to collect data about the domain of usage and the actual use of English by the three-fourth part of the population living in the rural areas is crucial for the management and planning about the treatment of English in the national language policy. Without the needs analysis through different approaches of research and the analysis of the comparative findings of different types of data, it is hard to provide a solid data-based design of the national language curricula of different levels. That is why, more ethnographic attitudinal studies are

needed now to fill the gap of existing literature in this field and it is going to be the first long-term ethnographic study about the perception towards English in Bangladesh.

2.17 Conclusion

The chapter has presented the existing literature, important theories on attitudes, and the gaps in the existing literature and theories. There is scarcity of hard sociolinguistic data about the attitudes and presence of the English in the non-academic rural context in Bangladesh. Another very important but missing point in the existing literature is the current information about the absence of those particular things in the national school curricula of Bangladesh which are necessary for the learners to live in the rural area in the age of globalization. The next chapter presents the research designs of the pilot study and the main study. It presents the uniqueness of ethnographic method after a complete discussion of the epistemological basis of this research.

CHAPTER THREE

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The current chapter presents the research process the researcher employed to elicit data. It discusses the underpinning paradigm, summary of the pilot study, methods of data collection, the stages of data analysis process, the ethical issues, and the limitations of the study.

The premier of educational psychology research, Creswell (2009, p. 5), argued

Figure 3.1

Framework for Research Design (Creswell, 2009)
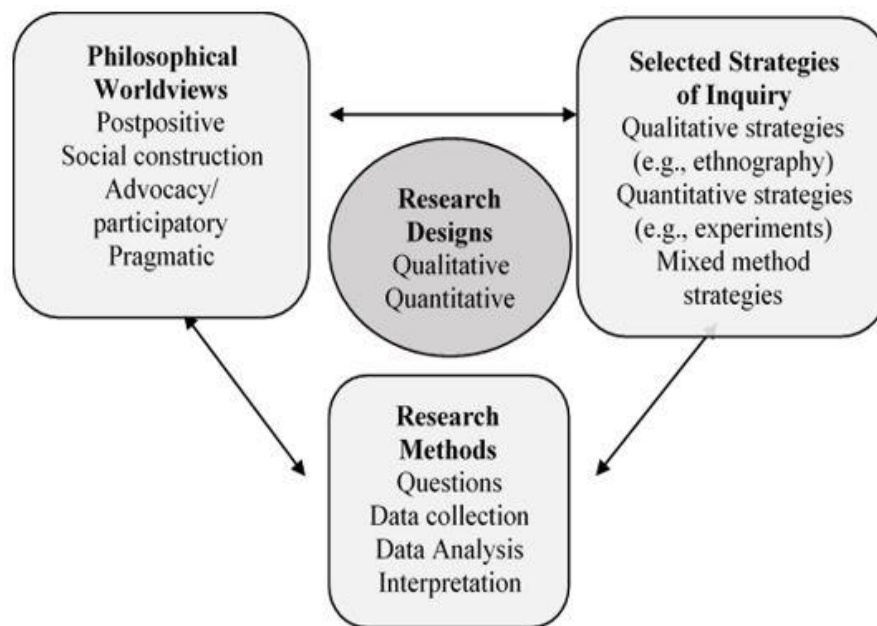
Note: Adapted from *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (3rd ed.), J. W. Creswell, 2009 Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Copyright 2014 Sage publications

that there are three basic components of a research framework: 'the intersection of philosophy, strategies of inquiry, and specific methods'. He presents the Figure 3.1 as a framework for the researchers who need 'to think through the philosophical world view assumptions that they bring to the study, the strategy of inquiry that is related to

this worldview, and the specific methods or procedures of research that translate the approach into practice'. Creswell (2009, p.6) coined the term '*worldview*' to refer to Guba's (1990) 'a basic set of beliefs that guide action', Lincoln and Guba's (2000) '*paradigms',* or Crotty's (1998) '*epistemologies* and *ontologies'* (2009).

This study adopted the framework of research which Creswell (2014, p.18) presented about a particular type of qualitative approach. The three tenets of this type of qualitative approach are the constructivist worldview, the ethnographic design, and the observation of behavior. The current research is ontologically inductive in nature and underpinned by the philosophical worldview of *constructivism* (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It has followed ethnographic approach and deployed qualitative strategies to collect primary data.

Nunan (1992) puts forward Wilson's (1982) identification of ethnographic research this way- "The naturalistic-ecological perspective has, as its central tenet, the belief that the context in which behavior occurs has a significant influence on that behavior". Again, it is suggested that 'ethnography is data in search of a hypothesis' whereas 'psychometry is a hypothesis in search of data'. Spolsky, also, does not advocate questionnaires as the sole method to collect data on factors like attitude or motivation, and he stresses how important it is to supplement them with observation, interviews, and focused conversations to obtain "hard sociolinguistic data and personal statements of second language learners" (Spolsky, 2000, p.157). Hence, ethnographic methodology was used in this study.

To present 'lived experience' of the participants with 'holistic contextualisation' (Miller, 2017), different ethnographic inquiry strategies have been used for collection of the datasets and for the triangulation of findings over time. The

findings have been analysed through coding and categorization to 'construct' themes that are related to the research topic.

3.2 Different Research Paradigms and the Ethnographic Approach

The design or framework of a study may involve philosophical worldviews, selected strategies of inquiry, and research methods. According to Creswell (2009, p. 6): "Quantitative research is a means for testing objective theories by examining the relationship among variables. These variables in turn, can be measured typically on instruments, so that numbered data can be analyzed using statistical procedures" whereas, "Qualitative research is the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem." The researcher collects data from a setting as a participant and analyses it inductively making interpretations of the meaning of the data. Flick (2014, p. 542) claimed that, "Qualitative research interested in analysing subjective meaning or the social production of issues, events, or practices by collecting non-standardised data and analysing texts and images rather than number and statistics. This definition stressed on how people make sense of something in the world" (as cited in Rahman, 2017, p. 103). Most of the time, qualitative researches are inductive in nature whereas quantitative studies are deductive in nature.

As Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2007) differentiates them, "the researcher develops a hypothesis and then designs the research in such a way that he or she tests a theory" in a deductive research whereas in inductive research, "the researcher first collects the data and then, from the data analysis, develops a theory" (Tichenor, 2016, p. 97). The ethnographic research is usually inductive in nature. As Fetterman (2010, p. 32) states, "Using an inductive approach, ethnographers describe the function of each part of a culture to understand better how the culture works as a whole".

3.3 Research Design of Current Study

3.3.1 Philosophical Worldview of Constructivism

Constructivism is a perspective that seeks for the subjective meaning that an individual constructs about a particular phenomenon in a cultural community through the interactions with other individual and sharing experiences of seeing the world. According to Creswell (2013), Mannheim, Berger and Luckmann were the pioneers to put forward the ideas of constructivism in the 1960's followed by Lincoln and Guba's *Naturalistic Inquiry* in 1985.

Table 3.1

Four Philosophical Worldviews

Postpositivism	Constructivism
- Determinism - Reductionism - Empirical observation and measurement - Theory verification	- Understanding - Multiple participant meanings - Social and historical construction - Theory generation
Transformativism	**Pragmatism**
- Political - Power and justice oriented - Collaborative - Change-oriented	- Consequences of actions - Problem-centered - Pluralistic - Real-world practice oriented

Note: Adapted from *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.), J. W. Creswell, 2014, p.35. Copyright 2014 Sage publications.

Furthermore, *constructivism* is also termed as *social constructivism* and often combined with *interpretivism*. Several discussions on constructivism, alternatively mentioned as *constructionism*, are found in Lincoln and Guba (2000), Schwandt (2000), Neuman (2000), and Crotty (1998) also (Creswell, 2014, p.37). It looks for multi-voices in the participants' views of the situation being studied. In

constructivism, as Crotty (1998) observed, "meanings are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting" (as cited in Creswell, 2014, p.37). Creswell (2014, p.30) suggested that:

> Subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically. In other words, they are not simply imprinted on individuals but are formed through interaction with others (hence social constructivism) and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individuals' lives.

The researcher tries to interpret the meanings others have about the world. The inquirers do not start with a theory (as in pragmatism or post-positivism), rather than that, they "generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning" (Creswell, 2014, p.30). LeCompte & Schensul (2010, pp. 62-63) define the term well:

> The constructivists [and other interactionists] believe that reality is a 'social construction'; that is, what people know and believe to be true about the world is constructed or created and reinforced and supported as people interact with one another over time in specific social settings. Different people have different versions of what is true. What we "know," then, is a function of our interpretation of events and the meanings we create to explain those events to others. Reality is, in a sense, "in our heads." Similarly, culture is an abstract "construct" put together or "constructed" as people interact with each other and participate in shared activities.

3.3.2 Ethnography and Qualitative Research

Ethnography is the art and science of describing a group or culture (Fetterman, 2010) and doing fieldwork is the commonest feature of ethnographic work (Wolcott, 1999 in Lambert, Glacken, & McCarron, 2011, p. 18). According to Wilson & Chaddha (2010), "Ethnography examines behavior that takes place within specific social situations, including behavior that is shaped and constrained by these situations,

plus people's understanding and interpretation of their experiences" (p. 1). To LeCompte & Schensul (2010), "Ethnography is a systematic approach to learning about the social and cultural life of communities, institutions, and other settings" (p. 27). It is longitudinal in nature allowing the researcher to observe a phenomenon and record changes over time. However, as LeCompte and Schensul (2010) observes, many contemporary ethnographers make repeated shorter visits to their research sites. He claims that researchers now restrict their studies to a topic "to accomplish high-quality ethnographic data despite relatively brief periods of research time and limited resources" (p. 16).

There is no hypothesis in an ethnographic research. Rather it uses mainly inductive, interactive, and recursive processes to build theories to explain the behavior and beliefs which are relevant to the research topic (Angrosino, 2007; Creswell, 2014; Schensul, Schensul, & LeCompte, 2013). An ethnographic study usually deploys qualitative investigation methods and the data collection often involves observations and interviews and the researcher is an important research tool in data collection (LeCompte and Schensul, 2010; Creswell, 2009; Creswell, 2014; Wolcott, 2008). Both Stake (1995) and Wolcott (1994) find it as a must to "involve a detailed description of the setting or intervals, followed by analysis of the data for themes or issues" in a research of this kind (Creswell, 2009, p. 217).

A special feature of an ethnographic framework, according to LeCompte & Schensul (2010) is, "initial theoretical frameworks can be diagramed or modeled as starting points for unpacking conceptual domains that guide the study and add new domains and new links among domains as the study advances" (p.29).

Ethnographic studies support a qualitative approach, comprising extended participant observation periods and ethnographic interviews (Christensen, 2011;

Creswell, 2013; LeCompte and Schensul, 2010; Creswell, 2009, 2013, 2014; Wolcott, 2008). Denzin and Lincoln (2002), for example, mentioned that qualitative research is an interdisciplinary field which encompasses a wider range of epistemological viewpoints, research methods, and interpretive techniques of understanding human experiences (Rahman, 2017).

> Creswell (2014) mentioned Crotty's (1998) assumptions in this regard:
> Qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the
> participants through visiting this context and gathering information
> personally. They also make an interpretation of what they find, an
> interpretation shaped by the researchers' own experiences and backgrounds
> (p. 37).

Another characteristic of ethnographic studies is that it is flexible and ready to accept immediate surprises as they immerse during the fieldwork. Creswell (2013, p. 17) quotes Lecompte and Schensul (1999) to discuss about ethnographic research process saying that it is 'flexible and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realties encountered in the field setting'. As Li (2017, pp. 48-49) explained, ethnography causes researchers to remain in a state of "waiting for surprise", although they may also prepare research questions. These are just initial directions, they may "know very little about your (their) topic (s)…might not even know who … to talk to … or where to go to… certainly might not know what questions to ask" (O'Reilly, 2005, p. 190).

3.3.3 Ethnographic Study: Micro and Macro-Contexts

Ethnographic studies can be done in a single setting or multiple settings (see Bloommaert and Jie, 2010; Nurani, 2015; Pierides, 2010). It may study multiple settings to present a comparative and contextualized discussion to be analysed and interpreted in a holistic way. The first stage and the next stage can be called as the

'micro-context' and 'macro-context' respectively. Bloommaert & Jie (2010, p. 18) clarified the terms of 'the micro-context' and 'the macro-context' with an example from Zulu community this way that the fact that the people of the community speak Zulu is typically a macro-context and they cannot change it as it is part of their developmental trajectory, [whereas] a micro-context would be the fact that a particular Zulu speaker you meet during fieldwork might be 'particularly articulate a fantastic storyteller and someone who is really good at establishing contacts on your behalf'. These factors are put down nicely this way:

> The micro-contextual factors operate locally: they offer distinctions between Zulu speakers. Macro-contextual factors have wider scope: they offer distinctions between speakers of Zulu and speakers of Xhosa, Ndebele, Swahilli and so forth.(p.18)
>
> As Bloommaert and Jie (2010, pp.18-19) explains it, the contextualization

explains the reasons why an object has particular features and why it lacks others.

3.4 Framework: The Pilot Study and the Main Ethnographic Study

The first phase of the current research was the pilot study to gain ethnographic research experience. In the very first stage, the researcher collected data with both descriptive and comparative views. Because the respondents were living in a village near Dhaka city who presented own conditions and thoughts with the conditions of nearby city in mind. But most of the classic ethnographic studies are not comparative. Rather than that, an ethnographic research is usually exploratory and interpretative in the constructivist philosophical worldview. That is why, in the second phase, the main study was designed according to ethnographic approach focusing only on the rural context.

Table 3.2

Two Phases of the Study

Phases	Methodology	Areas	Duration	Nature
The Pilot Study	Ethnographic Qualitative	Rural	4 months	Descriptive
The Main Study	Ethnographic Qualitative	Rural	6 months	Interpretative

3.5 The Pilot Study

3.5.1 Rationale of the Ethnographic Pilot Study

This ethnographic pilot study was carried out to meet varied goals:

Firstly, it was carried out to check an appropriateness of the research design of the main study.

Secondly, the selection and familiarisation of the data collection tools by the researcher was also felt to be needed before the main study.

Thirdly, the success of an ethnographic research greatly depends on the practical skills, strategies, and experience of the researcher to become part of a new community to collect valid data. That pilot study also contributed to the enrichment of the research ability and experience of this researcher.

Fourthly, doing the data analysis at night after the collection of the data of the whole day contributed to a great extent to assimilate the field notes, photos, and interview-recordings in doing the pattern-coding which was a new data analysis strategy for the researcher as he did his previous studies in mixed method during which the data collection and the data analysis periods were separate.

3.5.2 Objectives of the Pilot Study

The pilot study was carried out in a small scale to explore the attitudes of people in both the academic and the non-academic contexts. Their attitudes towards the English language as a tool of socio-economic development, its usage and the condition of teaching and learning of English in the locality were the three primary points of focus in the pilot

study.

3.5.3 Selection of the Site

The pilot study was carried out in a village near Dhaka city. The area was selected for educational and economic backwardness. The location was suitable for the researcher to commute there many times for data collection. Moreover, a number of familiar relatives of the researcher were living there.

3.5.4 Participants and Sampling

In the small scale study, twenty participants were visited to collect relevant data. Out of them, five were female participants. The list is available in the Appendix E. The participants were selected through purposive sampling. The participants included teachers, students, rickshaw pullers, small businessmen, housewives, farmers, service holder, and unemployed persons.

3.5.5 Data Collection Tools and Procedure of the Pilot Study

The tools to collect data in the first part included semi-structured interviews and discussions to elicit data from twenty participants. Some of the interviews were audio-recorded. A form was used to collect the data on the respondents' social and economic background and their open-ended comments about English as a foreign language and the status of the ELT. A number of photographs and file-notes were collected during the visits of the rural area. An undergraduate student helped as the guide and research assistant in this pilot study.

3.5.6 Data Analysis Procedure of the Pilot Study

The field notes helped a lot while interpreting the data findings. Many of the recordings were transcribed. A four-stage simplified data analysis strategy was chosen on the basis of the basis of the six-stage data analysis procedure suggested by Creswell (2014). Because Nurani (2015, p.107) suggests about this thematic method

of analysis that "a researcher must see the themes or patterns of the data, encode and interpret them" and discusses the four stages of the thematic analysis: a. sensing themes, b. recognizing the '*codable*' moment and encoding it consistently, c. developing codes, and d. interpreting the data and themes in the context of a theory or conceptual framework.

Therefore, these four stages were selected as the data analysis procedure: a) listening to the audio recordings repeatedly and transcribing the recordings, b) finding repetitive codes, c) juxtaposing the field notes and photographs to find a pattern and to identify major themes, and d) interpretation of the findings including the major themes.

3.5.7 The Ethnographic Profile of the Site of the Pilot Study

The selected area of the study was small village with the minimum infrastructural development. There was no well-built road in the area. Like most of the villages of the country, there was no supply of gas or water through line connection in the area.

It was situated on the bank of a river. During the rainy season, much of its land area is flooded every year. There were few small ponds in the village. That is why, fishes were easily available. Different professions related to agriculture were the major sources of income of most of the families two decades ago. This scenario has been changing gradually. A disrespect towards the agricultural professions was found to be prevalent in the study. Though many young people had been trying to join private or public services or do small businesses during the last decade, only a few successful examples were available.

Most of the people, especially the people with agricultural professions, had the habit of waking up right after the sun-rise. According to the respondents, most of the

young people were too much addicted to spend the night after unproductive entertainment, such as, screen-time. Many of them were irregular students or unemployed people. They were found to wake up late for that reason.

The major festivals of the people are *Pohela Boishakh* (Bangla new year celebration) and the religious festivals of Islam and Hindu religions. Many of the elders spend their leisure-hours in the tea-stalls in the afternoon whereas the younger ones like to spend time by playing or watching cricket, enjoying the digital games on the smartphone or in other types of screen time.

3.5.8 *Findings of the Pilot Study*

As an ethnographic research is typically inductive and exploratory in nature, it is not strictly done following particular points and, for this reason, it does not avoid or refuse to collect the inter-related things that come up while carrying out the field study. Accordingly, the findings of the pilot study surpassed its limited objectives about the attitudes of the people towards the socio-economic importance of English, the usage of English, and status of ELT in the selected site.

At first, the semi-structured interviews were analyzed to explore the relation between the English language and the individual socio-economic prospects. It was found that 37 out of 40 respondents had positive attitude to the importance of English to become successful in careers. The amount of monthly income of lower economic class of people was taken to be less than twenty five thousand taka in the research areas on the basis of local speculation. There were 10 out 40 persons who earned more than twenty five thousand taka per month. All of them supported its importance, though in varied ways.

Overall, there was a strong positive attitude towards the importance of competence of English in the village. But few instances were found in individual

discussion and interviews in which individuals achieved economic prosperity by applying English fluency. Because there were few inhabitants in the village who received higher studies in reputable educational institutions.

In spite of the lack of findings pointing to the direct relation between fluency of English and individual economic success, the respondents unequivocally presented the fact that English proficiency had a strong positive impact on the social status of individuals. Accordingly, an English teacher had higher social status than the other school teachers in the rural context only due to prestige-tag associated with the English language.

Secondly, the presence of the English language was found in the academic contexts mainly. But there was a little use of English in non-academic contexts in the selected site. English was found to be used in the printed materials including the banners of telecom operators, the packaging of food products (like bread, biscuits, and cooking oil), medicines, and electric and electronic equipment mostly. In some of those cases, Bangla and English were used side by side.

Thirdly, as an academic subject, English enjoyed extra attention from the students and teachers. The score in English carried more weight than the scores in many other subjects in the exam-oriented education system. The existence of private tuitions of English was more common than the tuitions of other subjects in the community. But very few students and educated persons were found to possess self-confidence about competence and fluency in English. The interpretations of the findings indicated that high scores or proficiency in English associated to the educational achievement of the students.

Fourthly, the factor of 'gender' was found to have a strong impact on the positive attitude to the social cultures in leading English speaking countries. The

analysis of interviews indicate that only 53% male respondents, in contrast to 100% female ones, had positive attitude towards the western cultures of developed English countries like the USA and the UK.

3.5.9 Conclusion of the Pilot Study

The experience of the pilot study helped the researcher gain experience of field work. The pilot study suggested that the researcher should carry out ethnographic study only in a single site. In addition, local people should be available to gain access in the rural area, especially to take interviews of the female participants. In addition, the flexibility given by the ethnographic paradigm to adopt emerging themes into the study suggest that the researcher can explore the site in-depth to gather rich data through the ethnographic data collection tools of different types other than interviews.

3.6   Research Methodology of the Main Study

The main study was carried out in ethnographic qualitative approach. It was exploratory, inductive, and recursive in nature. The ethnographic data collection strategies were adopted flexibly and the goal of data collection was to explore major themes through a constructionist thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 2004)

3.6.1 Selection of the Site

According to LeCompte and Schensul (2010, p.110), "Ethnographies and other forms of case studies always involve a consideration of people and events in their natural habitat." The research settings of the current study was a rural area situated in the eastern part of the country. It was a backward region in respect of the literacy rate. The literacy rate of the selected *union* was 36.6 % (LAS, 2011). The

linguistic ethnicity, the major professions and the economic condition of the area were suitable for this particular study.

In addition, the suggestions by the Upazila Statistics Officer, local college teachers, and students were followed to select the particular village out of the thirty-eight villages of the sub-district under Brahmanbaria. It used to take not less than four hours by public bus and other public transports for the researcher to reach that area from Dhaka, the capital of the small country. It was such an undeveloped area that the researcher could never use even any rickshaw, which is the most accessible transport in the remote areas of the country, in the site during or after the study.

3.6.2 Data Collection Procedure and Duration of the Main Study

The rural setting will be extensively explored to collect qualitative data in the main study. As it is an ethnographic research, the data collection tools, procedures, and strategies should be selected and applied accordingly. But the tools and techniques were chosen and applied flexibly. Because the ethnographic research process is flexible to allow for contingencies and typically evolves contextually in response to the lived realities encountered in the field setting (LeCompte & Schensul 2013, p.199; LeCompte & Schensul 2010, p.116).

Strongly arguing for the flexibility of the ethnographic methodology, Corsaro and Fingerson (2006) stated:

> It is the essence of ethnography that it is a feedback method in which initial questions may change during the course of inquiry. This flexibility in inquiry is accompanied by self-correction when the ethnographer searches for additional support for emerging hypotheses, including negative cases, which can lead to refinements and expansion of initial interpretations. (p. 132)

The fieldwork was done for about four months in total in 2016 and for a shorter span of around two months in 2018. I explored the rural setting on many short and long visits and stayed there as an ethnographic researcher.

3.6.3 Data Collection Tools of the Main Study

Spolsky (2000) does not advocate questionnaires as the sole method to collect data on factors like attitude or motivation, and he stresses how important it is to supplement them with observation, interviews, and focused conversations to obtain "hard sociolinguistic data and personal statements of second language learners" (p. 157). The local guides and the research assistant helped a lot in the data collection.

I have employed the following data collection tools: audio recording of open ended Focus Group Discussions (FGD), individual informal or semi-structured interviews in Bangla and transcriptions, photography, field notes, memos, and video recording. All the tools have been applied simultaneously whenever required. Both the interviews and classroom observations were important tools in the qualitative study (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2018; Denzin, & Lincoln, 2018). A particular questionnaire (Appendix A) with four groups/ sets of questions were used as the checklist in the interviews, and the FGDs.

During the classroom observations, sometimes I used to sit in the last bench of the classroom. In some other cases, I used to observe the classes through the windows of the classrooms. I tried to check the school class schedules and the other official documents though I could not do it in some cases. A checklist (Appendix C) for classroom observation was used as a data collection tool to collect data. Field notes and photography were also used as the data collection tools while visiting the educational institutions. Many photos of the important documents were collected whenever possible.

3.6.3.1 Interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGD).

In an ethnographic study, interviews are not completely structured like the one by a journalist. As Bharwani (2006, p. 82) discusses Ellen's (1984) view in this regard: "the ethnographic interview often can lead to new and unexpected areas of study as a result of "tuning in" to local discourse to discover issues that enable the ethnographer to ask competent questions that will be meaningful to the informant." According to Ellen (1984), both the questions and the answers must be discovered from informants in an ethnographic research.

I took interviews of the participants wherever I found them while exploring the areas in most of the cases, in the rural setting specially. Sometimes I have arranged a formal interview with socially influential or important persons. In the urban setting, it was not an easy access to interact with someone and convince him for the interview as people are busier more careful about mixing with an unfamiliar person.

Table 3.3

Qualitative data collection approaches (adapted from Creswell 2014)

Observations
- Gather field notes by conducting an observation either as a participant or as an observer
- Gather field notes by spending more time as a participant than as an observer
- Gather field notes by spending more time as an observer than as a participant
- Gather field notes first by observing as a "participant-outsider" and then moving into the setting and observing as a "participant- insider."

Interviews

- Conduct an unstructured, open-ended interview and take interview notes

- Conduct an unstructured, open-ended interview; audiotape the interview; and transcribe it

- Conduct a semi-structured interview, audiotape the interview, and transcribe the interview

- Conduct a focus group interview, audiotape the interview, and transcribe it

- Conduct different types of interviews: e-mail or Internet, face-to-face, focus group, online focus group, and telephone interviews

Documents

- Keep a journal during the research study

- Have a participant keep a journal or diary during the research study

- Collect personal letters from participants

- Analyze public documents (e.g., official memos, minutes, records, archival material).

- Examine autobiographies and biographies

- Conduct chart audits

- Review medical records

Audiovisual Materials

- Examine photographs or videotapes

- Have participants take photographs or videotapes (i.e., photo elicitation), and then interview them about the materials

- Examine physical trace evidence

- Videotape or film a social situation or an individual or group

- Examine website main pages

- Collect e-mail messages, discussion board messages (e.g., Facebook), or other forms of social media messages or, cell phone text messages

- Examine possessions or ritual objects

- Collect sounds, smells, tastes, or any stimuli of the senses

Note: Adapted from *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.), J. W. Creswell, 2014, p.243. Copyright 2014 Sage publications.

I have conducted face-to-face interviews with all the participants including a few later talks over phone with those familiar participants. Most of the interviews and discussions were audio-recorded. Numerous notes also were written while recording the interviews. I used mobile phones to record the interviews. While listening to the recorded interviews later on, so many questions came up in my mind and the answers to them became necessary to interpret the data. I had to make phone calls many times to get clarifications about the unclear points of the interviews.

In addition, I had numerous discussions, which were not recorded, but they presented a lot of information about the participants' insights. Because informal talks with them built up rapport quickly and elicits spontaneous responses. The field notes and journals were used to note down the valuable data in those cases. As I have spent a long time in a nearby community in my earlier period of my life, I had no problem to understand and communicate with them which helped me a lot to build up a rapport quickly in most of the cases.

I used to discuss with the local research assistant about the interviewee before taking the interview as a process of familiarization. After the introduction with the interviewee, I used to go for an open-ended discussion or semi-structured interview. The type of the interview depended on the situation, mode of the interviewee or limitations of time. All the interviews were taken in mother language, i.e. Bangla, of the participants.

In some cases, in group discussions, I discussed about the research topic freely to let them respond more freely and to observe the contrastive opinions. As the culture of the communities did not support to let a female to talk alone to a male person, outside blood relation, I had to arrange all the interviews of the adult female participants in presence of some other persons both in the rural and the urban settings.

All the interviews were intended to extract the attitudes to or views about the research questions in mind.

3.6.3.2 Photography, Artefacts, Field Notes, and Memos.

Many observations were recorded by the field notes and photography to capture the complex phenomena. Field notes cannot be considered as the direct records of events or activities took place in the site (O'Reilly, 2009). I have recorded the multidimensional observations of the activities in the research sites in both unstructured and semi-structured ways.

The photos and artefacts were used with importance in the study. Many photos were taken by the researcher which records of the domains of uses of EFL in the settings and the socio-economic profile of the area. Many things were also collected as the artifacts: printed labels and packets, class notes, books, government survey books, reports, ELT materials, such as the textbooks, guidebooks, hand notes, the 'Test Papers' and other documents. To mention the possible types of sources which can be termed as the artifacts, Denzin & Lincoln (2017, p. 559) can be quoted here – "print and digital artifacts such as diaries, social media, e-mail correspondence, television broadcasts, newspaper articles, court proceedings, and historic documents."

The field notes were too important for me to write about what happened everyday while exploring the site to analyze them. Many quick notes reminded me of many facts and ideas that I recorded in written format later on. Without those field notes, the analyses would have been incomplete and appropriate.

Memos were written throughout the stages of the research – while taking interviews, writing codes, or finding patterns. As O'Reilly (2009, p.35) defined it:

The memos are notes by and for the ethnographer expanding on these labels: where they came from, what they might mean, what the ethnographer was thinking when [he] decided to use a given code.

Creswell exemplifies it this way: "While interviews are going on, for example, researchers may be analyzing an interview collected earlier, writing memos that may ultimately be included as a narrative in the final report, and organizing the structure of the final report" (2014, p. 245).

3.6.4 Observation and the Roles of the Ethnographer

The role of the researcher is a very important point in an ethnographic study. The present researcher played the role of an 'observer as participant' in this study as it should be in a typical ethnographic research (Creswell, 2009, 2014). The researcher is an important tool to generate knowledge in the study of current type (Creswell, 2014; LeCompte & Schensul, 2010; Li, 2017). As an outsider, I had to build up a good rapport to participate in the rural daily life as much as possible.

Figure 3.2
Roles of the Ethnographer
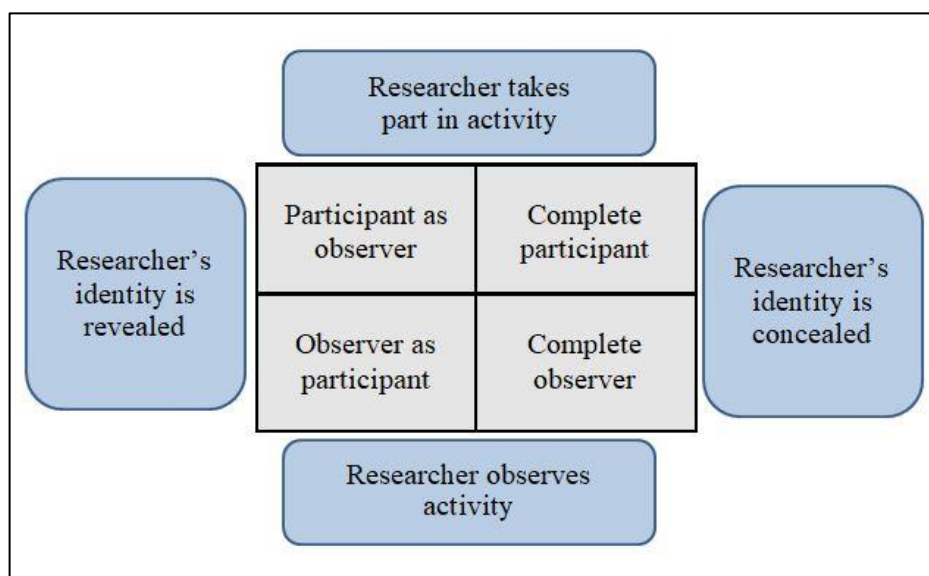
Note: Adapted from *Research methods for business students* (5th Ed), M. Saunders, P. Lewis, & A. Thornhill, 2009, p. 293. Copyright 2009 by Pearson.

The positionality of the researcher as a catalyst is important in a classic ethnographic study. The clear discussion of the positionality of the researcher is important in the discussion of a study of this type. The current study followed both emic (insiders) and etic (outsiders) perspectives. According to Lambert, Glacken, & McCarron, (2011), "Reality is a product of multiple perceptions, including those of the researcher, and is produced by interactions between researcher (etic) and participants (emic)" (p. 22). The inter-coder agreement with the local research assistant, who was an undergraduate student, played an important role here.

That is why, the communicative skills of the ethnographer plays a crucial role in this type of research. Li (2017, p. 61) emphasizes Christensen's (2011) view by saying that "the interpersonal skills and sociability of the researcher to a large extent determine the quality of an ethnography research." The researcher limits the influence of his or her own cultural assumptions while living in the research site. The aim of limiting the influence is "to broach the realm of tacit knowledge and make inferences based on what is said and observed" (Saunders, Lewis & Thornhill, 2009, p. 293).

As Li (2007) supports Berry's (1999) suggestion, "researchers should not aim to be exclusively insiders emic or etic." (p. 62). Though many researchers suggest emic perspective to be appropriate in an ethnographic study with social constructive interpretivist approach which is contrastive to the positivist approach, Wolcott (1999) suggested that, it is not possible for an ethnographer to be wholly an insider: "by definition, the ethnographer was always an outsider for whom virtually everything could be regarded as 'different'" quoted in Li (2017, p. 62). To holistic to understand a target culture, as Li (2017, p. 62) argued, "a single account can include both perspectives" as long as "the etic may be, and frequently is, developed from emic accounts, though emic accounts may be valued in their own right" (Hammond and

Wellington, 2012, p. 72). Rogoff (2003) suggests a "derived" etic approach, which welcomes cross- cultural comparison and contextual interpretations.

Another major characteristic of a typical ethnographic study is the reflexivity of the study. Because, as Creswell (2014, pp. 237-238) put it:

> the experiences may cause researchers to lean towards certain themes, to actively look for evidence to support their positions, and to create favorable or unfavorable conclusions about the sites or participants. Inquirers explicitly identify reflexively their biases, values, and personal background … that shape their interpretations formed during a study.

That is why, the language of this current dissertation is subjective which has been found to be followed in the ethnographic doctoral studies by Nurani (2015) and Li (2017).

3.7 Data Analysis Procedure

The ethnographic data analysis is not a process which is fixed from the beginning until the end. Rather than that, as LeCompte and Schensul (2010) observes, it is a 'recursive or iterative process' which "involves continually raising questions in the field, further and further modifying and clarifying ideas about what has been discovered" (p.160). That is why, according to O'Reilly (2009, p.35), "There is no fixed formula for coding ethnographic data." Thorne (2000) analyses the reasons this way: "It involves sifting and sorting through pieces of data to detect and interpret thematic categorisations, search for inconsistencies and contradictions, and generate conclusions about what is happening and why" (p. 69).

One of the major characteristics of current data collection and analysis procedure is that the data collection and the data analysis were done side-by-side. As Creswell (2014) argued, "the data analysis in qualitative research will proceed hand-

in-hand with other parts of developing the qualitative study, namely, the data collection and the write-up of findings (p. 245)."

Potter (1996) suggested a template consisting of four issues regarding data analysis: a) expectations for findings, b) process of analysis, c) conceptual leverage, and d) generalizability and two approaches: a priori expectations and emerging expectations (Hamid, 2009, p.149). The current study has adopted the second approach which means that I explored the setting with a view to expecting new codes, patterns and themes during the field work within the restricted context of the study.

Another characteristic of this ethnographic qualitative study is to winnow the data. As the dataset in a qualitative research is so "dense and rich" that the researcher needs to "winnow data" because "not all of the information can be used in a qualitative study" which means "a process of focusing in on some of the data and disregarding other parts of it to aggregate data into a small number of themes, something like five to seven themes" (Creswell, 2014, p. 245).

3.8 Interpretations

Watson-Gegeo (1988) identified several key principles of ethnographic research which are centered on the point that ethnography involves interpretation, analysis, and explanation – not just description. I have tried to maintain balanced etic-emic views while making the interpretations of the data. The research assistant helped me throughout the study regarding the reliability of data coding and analysis, which assured the inter-rater reliability of data transcription, coding, and analysis.

3.9 The Ethnographer's Role as Analyst and Interpreter

Nunan (1992) puts forward Wilson's opinion about the role of the researcher suggesting that "the traditional stance of the researcher as 'objective' observer is inadequate, and the procedure of the experimental method of framing hypotheses and

operationalizing constructs before engaging in any data collection or analysis are at best inappropriate and at worst irrelevant" (p. 54). This is why, the 'subjective outsider's role' was adopted to analyse the findings.

3.10 Transcribing the data

The semi-structured and open-ended interviews were taken in Bangla which is the L1 of both the interviewer and the interviewee. The local guides were present during some of the interviews. The interviews were transcribed verbatim in notebooks in Bangla.

3.11 Coding Steps

This ethnographic data analysis was carried out with the research paradigm in mind. As it is already discussed that the philosophy of 'constructionism' as a type of 'interpretivism' was kept in mind in this current ethnographic study and a thematic analysis of the findings was accepted as the most suitable way to contribute to the search for new knowledge in it. To achieve that goal, the procedure of qualitative data analysis, presented by Creswell (2014) and Braun and Clarke (2006), was adopted in the current study. The qualitative data, collected from different sources, was analysed in six major overlapping steps: a. transcribing audio-recorded interviews, b. writing open codes and memos, c. pattern coding/ searching for themes, d. reviewing major themes, e. writing the description of the themes, and f. interpretation of the findings.

Step 1: Transcribing the audio-recorded interviews was the first step of data analysis in this procedure. The researcher did three things at this stage. The audio files were transcribed verbatim on hand written pages. Each page was divided into three vertical parts – the transcription was written on the left side and a less wide space was left empty in the two right columns on the pages.

Step 2: The second thing was writing open codes during the line-by-line search for themes in the handwritten audio transcription and writing and/ or analyzing open memos. This step of writing comments as codes on them in the middle column of the divided page is called open coding. These codes are the labels which are the names or phrases that label phenomenon. These were the labels which were important to find answers to the research questions.

An important part of the step was writing the memos. Though, the open memos were written at different stages of data collection and analysis, most of them were written at this stage of labeling the data. These memos came to a great help while interpreting the whole dataset with the context in mind at the final stage of data analysis.

Step 3: The third step was finding patterns in the codes or pattern coding. The collected qualitative data was sorted and coded into patterns or categories that suit the current study. These patterns were written on the last column in the right hand of the pages. O'Reilly (2009) suggested to be careful in this stage about keeping the context in mind – "Nothing should be chopped up and divorced from its context. In other words, the paragraphs or events should be assigned to a certain category without removing them from the rest of the field notes, interview-transcripts and data that were collected simultaneously" (p. 36). The researcher has used coloured pens in this label of categorization on the multiple copies of the transcribed data as the same chunk of information may confer information about different research questions.

The count-number of the presence of a particular code in the whole dataset is not as important as the overall observation by the researcher who is the tool to measure the degree of importance of one particular category of codes over other. That

is, coding is not simply a content analysis in this type of research. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), the purpose of coding is:

> To review a set of field notes, transcribed or synthesized, and to dissect
> them meaningfully, while keeping the relations between the parts intact, is
> the stuff of analysis. (as cited in O'Reilly, 2009, p. 34)

Step 4: The fourth step is to describe the findings in details with context and to aggregate everything to five to seven themes as the major findings of the ethnographic study. An ethnographic data analysis and interpretation includes thick description of the settings, activities, and whatever seemed to be relevant to the ethnographer to explore a particular research interest. The qualitative researchers "reconstruct how speakers acquire social meaning through the simultaneous processing of verbal sequences and ethnographic surroundings" (Kotthoff, 2011, p. 7) and interpret the findings in the thematic analysis. The thematic analysis, interaction between the researcher, the data, the literature, theoretical ideas that framed the research as well as those that emerge from close analysis of the data, and the researcher's feelings, emotions, experiences, and memory (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 35). In this current study, this step will be done in the chapter on major findings which comes just before the concluding chapter.

Step 5: To convey the findings, narrative passages are written in this step.

Step 6: This is the final step of data analysis. The ethnographer will present his overall interpretation of all the analysis of the whole dataset that includes interviews, photos, field notes, memos, and observations in the final chapter of the dissertation.

3.12 Coding Process

The transcripts were read repeatedly in search of open codes. Many of the codes were found recurrent while a number of emerging codes were detected during

the search for pattern coding, which has been mentioned as the third step in the last section.

Sometimes, I have also listened to the audio recording of the interviews again when I discovered something new and important as a code in the transcripts which revived my visual memory of the situation and arena while taking those particular interviews. The field notes, memos and photographs were used in the same line to find major themes and writing the thick description and narration of the context and interviews (Step 4 and Step 5 as mentioned in the section of Coding Steps).

The translation of the codes and themes from Bangla to English was done by the researcher himself manually.

3.13 Triangulation, Validity, and Reliability

The researcher of a qualitative research must check the validity of the findings. In this study, the researcher has checked the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures. According to Creswell (2014), "validity is one of the strengths of qualitative research and is based on determining whether the findings are accurate from the standpoint of the researcher, the participant, or the readers of an account" (p. 251).

That is why, multiple sources of data, such as, observation, interviews, filed notes, and photographs, were collected and triangulated to ensure the validity in this research following the suggestions by Creswell (2014, pp. 242-243). This makes the approach of current study a reliable one to be applicable in similar contexts as well. The following strategies were applied to strengthen the validity of the data and the interpretations in this ethnographic research:

1. Taking follow-up interview and discussing the previous days' findings with the research assistant.

2. Triangulation of the data of the interviews with the other sources – focus-group discussions, observations, field notes, photographs, and videos.

3. Presenting thick description of the study arena.

It was ensured that each research question was answered by more than one data source. This sort of triangulation as a way to create confirmatory redundancy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

The following things were done to ensure the reliability, as recommended by Creswell (2014, p. 252) and Creswell and Creswell (2018, p. 275):

1. The researcher himself cross checked the transcription carefully. The reading of the transcript and listening of the audio recordings were done repeatedly.

2. The teaching assistant helped the researcher to maintain the inter-coder agreement which ensures the reliability of the data collection and analysis.

3. The unintentional drifts in the coding process were avoided through repeated checking and comparing the data with the codes and by frequent noting down of the memos regarding the selected codes and respective definitions.

3.14 Ethical Concern

The written permission to collect the research was taken from the local public representative. The Form of Informed Consent (see Appendix C) was used while the data collection. The consent of the participants were taken before the audio recordings. Their rights and privacy also were prioritized (Byrman & Bell, 2017). It was more important for this researcher as an ethnographer to gain trust of the participants to elicit genuine responses and information. That is why, ethical considerations were taken care of in the study.

3.15 Conclusion

As the description of the participants and sampling of the main study is heavy

in an ethnographic study, which needs to be beside the analyses of the interviews and focus group discussions, will be presented in the Chapter Seven. This chapter has discussed the philosophical and pragmatic background of the main study. It has also analysed the data collection and analysis procedure to be applied in the research. The next chapter presents the ethnographic profile and positionality of the researcher as the part of the background and data presentation.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ethnographic Profile of the Study Area

4.1 Introduction

The present chapter will present the research site in a typical ethnographic style. This chapter is divided in two main parts: the first part will present positionality of the researcher and the things done to access the site by building good rapport with the local inhabitants and the second part describes the ethnographic profile of the research area. The narration is presented in the first person and the description of the setting is presented in the present tense to depict the profile of the area according to the adopted ethnographic approach.

4.2 Positionality of the Researcher

The previous experiences as a student of a suburban area in the school life and as a student of a renowned college first and then of a university in Dhaka, have given me an ample opportunity to see the contrastive socio-economic contexts of typical Bangladeshi urban and rural area. The urban-rural dichotomy provoked my thoughts as a student more strongly when I mixed with the students with rural background at my university. The educational contexts and the social and the economic backgrounds of the students of the rural and the urban areas seemed to be different to a great extent in the country. It seemed to me that the education system of the country was a tool to empower the common people of the country, three-fourth of which is rural, to survive in the urban life of the towns and cities of Bangladesh. There was an invisible race among the people and the winners in that race would shift from the rural areas to the urban areas and the losers would be left to live an indigent life in the villages. My experiences with the acquainted people with urban and rural backgrounds left an impression on me that, in the rural areas, the measures to address the socio-economic

needs were much less than adequate. Because the voices of the 'losers' (who could not shift to the urban areas) were not heard.

For the above reasons, I felt an urge to try to hear their unheard voices of the huge rural population and to explore and present their 'lived life', perceptions and attitudes in a scientific way. But it is not possible to study all the social, cultural, economic, administrative, and academic factors of a rural community in a single research of this kind, which I learned in my long study at graduate level as a partial requirement for the degree of Master's in English with concentration on Applied Linguistics and ELT. Though it had the weight of a course only, I invested a lot of my efforts and time after that research. In that mixed method study, which was carried out in colleges in three areas – an urban, a semi-urban, and a rural area in 2007, I found a very strong presence of English in the educational context in this country where the English scores were considered by the students and the college authorities as an important markers of the academic achievements.

But, as the by-product of that study and as a research experience, I observed that the people of the rural and urban communities had different family aspirations, social demands, and economic needs, the reflections of which were not found by me in the existing literature of the educational studies in Bangladesh. In our country, I have been learning about different big-budget projects. But it seemed that they were too preoccupied to run the project as the routine works to show that they were doing something in their jobs to contribute 'something' to the national development regardless of the sustainability of the outcome. I have heard the common people as the stakeholders of those projects to criticise the weakness of research design and implementation of those projects. The quantitative alignments to present colorful graphs and charts in the project reports usually miss many crucial and real life

oriented phenomena, such as, the unheard voices, feelings, and attitudes of the rural people, which can be explored in a holistic way in the anthropological studies. As this type of studies require both passion and funding, there was a few ethnographic studies in the field of educational research in Bangladesh. Hence, I focused on the exploration of the phenomenon of English language in the rural context in Bangladesh.

Secondly, the academic subject of English is given much importance in the present national education system of Bangladesh. But the national education curriculum should be based on the needs analysis which should have the base of the findings of 'what type of' and how much English are present in the rural context. Because three-fourth of the country is still rural. (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 2014, p. 25). Without proper needs analysis of the socio-economic context, it is hard to design the objectives of the curriculum and to select and grade the content of the syllabuses accordingly. The national education system should be objectives-based and it must include the vision to empower the people of the nation to meet the basic needs first and then to develop the standard of life. In the present global context, including the South Asian context, the fluency or knowledge of the English language of a particular person is taken to be an indicator of the educational achievement of that person (Amin, 2019; Geide-Stevenson, 2018; Nasirudeen & Xiao, 2020; Stephen, Welman, & Jordaan, 2004). It is also related to the social-prestige tag in this region. That is why, the exploration of the presence of English language in different sectors of rural life seemed to be very interesting.

4.3 The Researcher in the Field: Access to the Community and Establishing Rapport

I traveled to that district, where the site of study is situated, several times during my student life and I had familiarity with the culture and social dialect of that

area. But I never visited that *union* before the research. To select a suitable place, I did two things simultaneously – I tried to contact with an acquainted person of that sub-district who was a college teacher and taking the suggestion of the Upazila Statistics Officer who was unknown to me. I had to travel to the government offices several times in this regard. When I met the officer after several attempts, I spent time first to build a casual relation to that person which is not easy in a government office in the country. This attempt was so fruitful for me in future to select an appropriate site for the study. Then I traced few contacts to find a link of a local person to access the area. The familiar college teacher introduced me with a friendly and helpful person who could be my local gatekeeper. He was an undergraduate student and the owner of the most popular coaching center of that union of seven villages including my selected site. It became easier for me to access the site and build a good rapport with the inhabitants through that local person. Later on, I made a good relation with another local person who also was an undergraduate student. In the primary stage of the study, the popularity and acceptance of the two local gatekeepers did the job of the ice-breaker.

My previous cultural knowledge about the community was a big advantage to access the research field. In addition, the imitation of the local dialect helped me to make a good rapport and to elicit spontaneous responses while interviews and discussions. In less than two weeks, I could develop the rapport with some of the inhabitants to such an extent that I started doing everything comfortably without the help of the two gatekeepers. But the knowledge and experience of these two persons about educational scenario of the area added value to the findings while data analysis and triangulation.

I had to travel several times from my residence to that village before I felt it

suitable to live there for longer span of time and to go to everywhere without the help of the local guide. It used to take more than four hours of journey by four modes of transportation from my residence to reach that area of about one hundred kilometer away.

As a participant observer, it was very important for me to develop the rapport. I had to spend a lot of money for bearing the living expenses there and for spending money in the tea-shops. After around three to four visits to that area, the people started responding to my greetings frankly. Then I started living there for longer periods of time.

I had to collect the permission form the elected public representative to conduct the ethnographic research in that area. In the first few attempts, I failed to reach that person, who was called *member* of that area. People call him *member* because he was elected as the public representative or member of the union council for four years. He was trying to avoid any interview. To get him, I had to go to his residence in early morning without informing him. He welcomed me cordially and we talked for about an hour. I discovered that he already knew my presence as a researcher in the area and he was trying to avoid me due to his low educational qualification. Although he seemed to be very shy of talking about English, he was a sliver-tongued person in Bangla as a political figure. In spite of being a very good orator, he was struggling to write standard Bangla and requested me to write a formal application for the approval of conducting my study in that area. I had already made an influence on him to make him agree to finish all the formalities without any delay on the same table. Without going for a typing of the formal document, I wrote the formal document myself in front of him to avoid further delay in the process and

collected his signature on it. Later on, I took the interview of his father also more than once.

4.4 Demographics of the Area

The selected site was a small village in Brahmanbaria district. For the sake of anonymity, the pseudonym – Khaliura - will be used henceforth. The district of Branmanbaria is close to the eastern border of India. Aminganj (pseudonym) is a sub-district (locally known as 'upazila') of Brahmanbaria district which is close to the

Figure 4.1

The Site of the Study

eastern border of India. Aminganj has a very old and famous river port established in 1898. There are more than five hundred rice mills in the region that meet the demand of about 40% of rice in the country where it is the staple food. Poor people from different parts of the country come to work here in the harvest season of rice. But the selected village, Khaliura, does not have any factory like the other developed areas of Ashuganj. The selected village is an undeveloped place with the minimum infrastructural facilities. The river Meghna has a strong impact on its people.

4.4.1 Physical Features

The village is divided in four parts each of which is known as *para.* The streets are not well built except in the northern *Bhuyan para.* Most of the streets are *kacha* (unpaved) narrow streets. The main streets are uneven streets or dirt-roads with innumerable muddy patches or potholes.

The important places of this village include the buildings of the educational institutions, the mosques, *Eidgah*, (a place to pray in the annual Islamic festivals of Eid) and the bus stops of the village, as it is on a national highway. The Dhaka-Sylhet highway is the north boundary of Khaliura.

There is a gate at the Khaliura bus-stop which welcomes the strangers to the village. That gate is named after a freedom fighter of the area who was martyred in the liberation war of 1971. But the bus stop is so insignificant that the drivers of local small three-wheeler called *tempo* also are sometimes found to be confused about the village in spite of the gate. Because the high school stoppage is used more to commute by the local inhabitants as well as the students who come from different unions.

After entering into the gate, few tea-stalls and grocery shops are found in the Khaliura bazar which is the West para of the village. The shops are built with bamboo and corrugated iron. There are long benches and tables for the customers who sit there for gossiping and taking tea. At the end of the small bazar, the central mosque, the *Eidgah,* and the girls' college (higher secondary school) are located.

Bhuyan para is in the northern part of the village. Most of the buildings are situated in this part. The owners of most of these buildings re rich who live in the cities. The presence of water –tube-well are also found in most of the houses here as the source of drinking water.

One of its special geographical features is the presence of three joined ponds in the *Bhuyan para* of the village. It is a big pond which is leased for fishing. The central mosque of Khaliura is located on the north-west corner of the pond. Different kinds of trees around the pond create a nice ambience at the place. A very small boat at the south-west corner of the pond is often found during the visits. There was a road on two sides of the pond from the south-west corner to north-east corner up to the central mosque.

But the when I reached the eastern part of the village, it seemed to be an opposite scenario. Because most of the people of this part are not as solvent and have not received formal education like those of the northern part. When I entered into the eastern part of the village, local inhabitants seemed to be too curious about me. The houses are built with corrugated iron, bamboo, steel bars, and thin concrete pillars. Most of the houses are small in size. The kitchens and toilets are very poorly built and are not attached to those houses.

Like many other villages of the country, the greenery of Khaliura is eye-catchy. There are green trees everywhere. The paddy fields are stretched more than two kilometres in the Southern part of the village. There is also a big lake in that part of the village.

4.4.2 Linguistic Ethnicity

The ethnicity of the research site is completely Bangla which is the only predominant language in Bangladesh. The social dialect of the Bangla language of the selected community is not the same as the standard Bangla, especially in the phonological aspects. A large portion of the population can read Arabic language as it is language of the Holy scripture of Islamic religion, the Qur'an, they do not understand the meaning. Recitation of the Holy Qur'an is a regular practice among

many villagers.

Hundreds of English words have been borrowed by Bangla language as the result of both the colonial history of around two hundred years and the current global context. Many Bangla words have been replaced by English words which are used by all the people without any exceptions. English is present more in the written forms than in speaking. The usage of the English language is focused on in a research question in the study.

A major portion of the people, especially the young generation understands Hindi language due to the popularity of Indian entertainment media here. The Hindi movie songs are played during the wedding ceremonies and other family celebrations. It seems that Bangla classic songs have been replaced by the Hindi songs as a result of easily available entertainment sources due to the high rate of internet access in the country and the Indian satellite channels.

4.4.3 Education

There is a non-government girl's college, a non-government high school (combined), a government primary school, and two *madrasahs* and three *maktabs* in the village. But the literacy rate is only 36.6% in this rural area (LAS 2011). Some local people argued that this statistics given by the Upazila Statisitics Officer was approximately correct because a large number of people of the area are the illiterate labourers who come from other districts of the country to work in the rice mills of the Aminganj upazila.

The East-para has two *madrasahs*. There was a girls' *Qawmi madrasah*, up to the class of thirteen. It influenced many inhabitants, including the young girls, of the whole village to follow the Islamic codes of life. An old and renowned *hafezia madrasah,* which teaches how to memorize the complete Holy Qur'an only, was also

found there.

I interviewed a security guard at the local girls' college. He lives in the eastern part of the village. According to his observations, there are only three families in that part who have finished education in Bangla medium schools up to secondary school level. Due to the poverty of the families, the male ones have to do some petty jobs to earn livelihood leaving their educational institutions.

Some poor families still sent their children to the *madrasah*. Because it was cheaper to study there. An imam, Habib, informed me while taking the interview that he had to do whatever jobs he got to survive at the age of fourteen years during studying in the *madrasah*. On the off-days, he used to come back to his village from his *madrasah*, which was situated about six kilometres away, to earn a little money by doing the jobs of a farmer or a day labourer when his father could no longer pay for three sons' education any more with a meagre salary of a *madrasah* teacher.

There is a private high school on the inter-district highway which has the largest building of the village. More than six hundred students, who come from different villages, study there. The government primary school is situated in the southern part of the union where more than one hundred students from different villages come to study.

In spite of the presence of a government primary school, a private high school, and a girls' college in and around the village, the literacy rate is 36.6% only in this area. There are several reasons of the very low rate of literacy in the village. Firstly, the students come there from other villages mostly. Secondly, the families of the eastern and southern parts of the village are not interested to send the children to schools. Because more than one hundred and ten students, who have passed the SSC exam in last ten years, are found not to study anymore. They do not want to help their

fathers in farming due to the 'prestige issues' as they find farming to be a disrespectable profession for an educated person. These unemployed people, who just roam around the village, have become a burden on those families. Thirdly, the unavailability of jobs after completion of more than fourteen years of studies have become a common example in the rural areas of that region which strongly discourages the poor families to spent money after the studies of the children.

Although there were not many instances of socio-economic individual development in this village, there were few successful students of the local inhabitants who became successful in government jobs in the eighties in the eighties. As the villagers see, the people of surrounding villages have been enjoying the benefits of the presence of the educational institutions to some extent. But that education could enable only a few people of this particular village to raise their socio-economic level or living standard.

4.4.4 Social and Cultural Life

The typical daily routine of a common dweller of the village starts early in the morning. Most of the adults, who are farmers or involved in agricultural business, wake-up early in the morning. Some of them wake up before the sunrise. As an ethnographer, I have seen many villagers for whom the *Fazar azan* is the wake-up alarm. *Fazar azan* is the Muslim call for prayer that is announced from the mosques to pray half an hour before the sunrise. The Muslim prayer-calls are announced from the mosques by loudspeakers five times a day in Bangladesh.

While observing the common daily-life there right after the sunrise, I used to find small gathering of buyers and sellers of milk produced in the locality to gather in the small Khaliura market. People come to different parts of the village to buy and sell milk there every day. The older free people are found to gather in the tea shops at that

bazaar in the morning. But the middle aged people are usually found to gather there not in the morning, but in the afternoon or evening to watch TV and gossip about local, national and even international issues. In contrast, the teenagers do not like to join there. Rather they prefer spending time in roaming and playing. A very strong tendency has grown recently among the youngsters to spend time online or in the games on the smartphones. Having a smartphone by any means, regardless of solvency of their own families, has become the prime attraction of many teenagers. The need for accumulating the amount to buy a smartphone has inspired many of them to search for petty jobs. After having that long desired device, they become addicted in online games, social media, and entertainment. If they cannot afford the internet, then they love to pass time in playing games on it.

The interrelationships have also been changed in the rural community according to the very old villages. As they recall the old memories and compares them with the present time, the teenagers do not listen to the elders of the families any more, especially in the poor families. A negative attitude towards agricultural profession as a 'low-class profession' has grown among the young people which has changed the interrelationships of the family members as well. Most of the families do not have any clear idea about the future of the young family members who do not like to participate in the agricultural economic activities after passing the SSC examination. For this reason, the agricultural land cannot be cultivated without the help of the young members of the poor families who have no other better way to earn money. It has caused the decrease of income and imbalanced interrelations among the family members. Most of the teenagers' families cannot afford higher education for all of them. They are neither students nor earners at around after the teenage.

All those factors have contributed to the unemployment problem and the

recklessness of the younger generation in the community. The teenagers also are found by the middle aged villagers to be over-matured than the young age. The access to the global culture through internet has reshaped the ties among the family members, the chain of command of the elders and the traditional values to show respect towards the elders in the village as few respondents expressed their observations.

The two Muslim annual festivals of *Eid* are the major occasions of celebrations in the village as there is only few people of other religions in it. During the Eid festivals, the village life feels the vibration of the city dwellers. The families who have shifted to the cities usually come to the village during the national holidays of *Eid* or *Durga Puja*. There are four old-aged doctors from the village who are rich and have settled in the cities. In addition, there are also some other educated families who are living in the cities and doing good jobs there. They visit the village once or twice a year, especially on the occasions of Eid festivals. All the villagers then get a chance to seek free health suggestions or consultations from them. The prospective people including the students also get career guidelines and the poor expect financial assistant from them. The visitors also try to lead the development plans of the village. The establishment of the two schools and the girls in the small village are considered to be the results of the plans. In a nutshell, the village life rejuvenates with their presence in the village during the annual festivals.

Many local traditions have died away with the touch of the globalisation and other economic factors. Another change of the cultural life in the village is that the *Pohela Boishakhi* (Bangla New Year) and the *Nabanna* (the harvest celebration) are not celebrated in the village nowadays at all which were parts of the common tradition of the rural social rituals of Bangladesh. It seems to the ethnographer that the presence

of these two important rituals of Bengali culture is more celebrated in the cities than in the villages.

Rather than that, the common people of the areagather on the occasions on the local political elections, Muslim preachers' speeches, and in the marriages ceremonies in the village of Khaliura. The village is flooded with posters containing the photos and slogans of the candidates for the positions of *union chairman* and *members* during the political election campaigns. Other than the elections, the loud speakers and processions are also found to stire the quite environment of the village during the *waj* (public gatherings to preach Islam by the renowned Muslim speakers). This type of programs are usually held at the open field of *Eidgah.* Another occasion of the use of the loud speakers is the events of marriage ceremonies in this village. Popular Hindi and Bangla songs are played on that occasion. It is also an influence of the culture of the neighbouring big country of the India which has spread through entertainment media and it has become very popular in this region.

The girls usually wear *salowar kamiz* and ladies wear *saree*. The men wear shirts and trousers or *lungi* or *panjabi* and *payjama* whereas the boys wear T-shirt, shirt and trousers. The dress-up has been going through a change during the last two decades, as the older people observes, as young educated people wear *punjabi* in different occasions including weekly prayers, marriage ceremonies, and *Eid*.

More changes have been noticed in the last four years in the dress-up of young girls. The influence of local girls' *madrasah* on the psyche and dress up of the young girls and ladies in recent years is noticeable. The life style and dress up of women have been influenced by the teachings of the madrasah. The ladies have started practicing Islamic rituals and prayers. The young girls have recently been found to wear Islamic veil, locally called as *borkha* (all over dress of covering whole body

except face and palms). Even many students of the local girls' college of higher secondary level are also seen to wear *borkha* on their way to and from the college.

As the local participants analyse, one of the reasons might be the higher acceptance of a young lady as a bride if she wears *borkha* which is associated with Muslim religious values by the villagers.

4.4.5 Economic Life

A major portion of the total population was constituted by the labor force that works in the rice processing '*chatal*' and rice boiler in the village and the rice mills outside the village.

Most of the inhabitants of the village were found to be involved in different agricultural professions. Some of the older generations were involved in farming, especially in rice production. As most of the families have cows at home, selling milk is also a source of income for them.

The attitude towards working physically in farming was shifting from positive to negative direction. Because it was taken to be a profession of lower social status and of the poorer section of the community. That is why, the younger generations, especially the teenagers, were found to have a strong negative attitude towards direct involvement in farming. Some of the solvent farmers, who used to do the farming themselves a decade ago, were found to employ day laborers to do it. Many of the solvent farmers preferred to use the land of farming on special contract of lease which is called '*barga*' in which the owner gets a portion of the produced paddy from the cultivator. But the cultivators also were found to be demotivated to go for that type of contract in the last few years there. Because the price-hike of the necessary materials including fertilizer and pesticides and the climate disaster caused huge loss on the part of the cultivators who used to work so hard for producing the rice.

A very important economic tendency in the selected community, as it was explored by the ethnographer in this study, was that the villagers do not want to wait and spend more after the education of the young family members who reach higher secondary level (class twelve) of education. The rural families want those young family members to earn some money with the elders. The most important reasons include the unemployment problem even after finishing fifteen years of study and the poverty of those families.

As a result, around one hundred and ten students were found not to continue their studies anymore after the S.S.C. (class ten) or the H.S.C. (class twelve) levels. Most of them were unemployed, some of them were trying to open small grocery shops, and few others were looking for petty jobs. But they are unwilling to do farming like their forefathers. Four young persons, who could not study even up to class ten due to poverty, were found to be involved in vocational and technical jobs without having any relevant academic education or vocational training. Only two persons of more than thirty years of age were found to invest in poultry.

Some of the few students, who are continuing education of undergraduate level, were found to focus on earning money in the form of giving private tuitions, or temporary jobs, or small businesses besides doing their studies irregularly. This trend of starting earning some money after class twelve and continuing the education by the earned money had become popular in the village. The investment after education of

Figure 4.2

A Rural Market

the young generations after class ten was considered by many poor villagers as 'loss

projects'. I have found two brothers one of which was studying in the undergraduate

level and the other at class six. The illness of their father due to over work forced

them to run a small restaurant. The younger one had to stop going to school and the

elder one want to attend the exams just to get the certificates.

Most of the inhabitants are involved in farming or agriculture related business.

Some of the villagers sell local vegetables, egg, and milk in the small local market.

Some of them sell fishes while other in the businesses related to rice-production.

4.5 Limitations of the Study

It is not possible for a single research to focus on all the things and sectors of a

community or all the dimensions of a phenomena of society. Hence, this ethnographic

study also had limitations like every research endeavor. Some of them were the scope

of the process, the lack of funding, and the time limitation disposal as a researcher.

Though it is the longest ethnographic study on English in Bangladesh, the three

months' duration of the study was just enough to explore the small rural community. But the cordial acceptance of my researcher-identity by the inhabitants made the exploration easy for me.

4.6 Conclusion

The selected site of research is a typical rural area though each community has unique features. But the inhabitants of that rural area commute to a nearby famous town of Bangladesh and, for this reason, they can compare the socio-economic and educational conditions of that rural to the conditions of an urban area.

The present chapter has presented the ethnographic details of the selected study area which is necessary for the in-depth analysis and interpretations in association with the interviews and other sources of data. The next three chapters are going to present those research findings in details and the over-all interpretivist analysis of all the findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

Research Findings and Analysis of the FGDs

5.1 Introduction

The conceptual framework of the study includes the implementation of Vygotsky's Social Constructivism into the qualitative ethnographic exploration of the selected phenomena. The data collected from the academic and non-academic contexts will be presented and interpreted with the social constructivist theory in mind.

Figure 5.1

Conceptual Framework for the Study
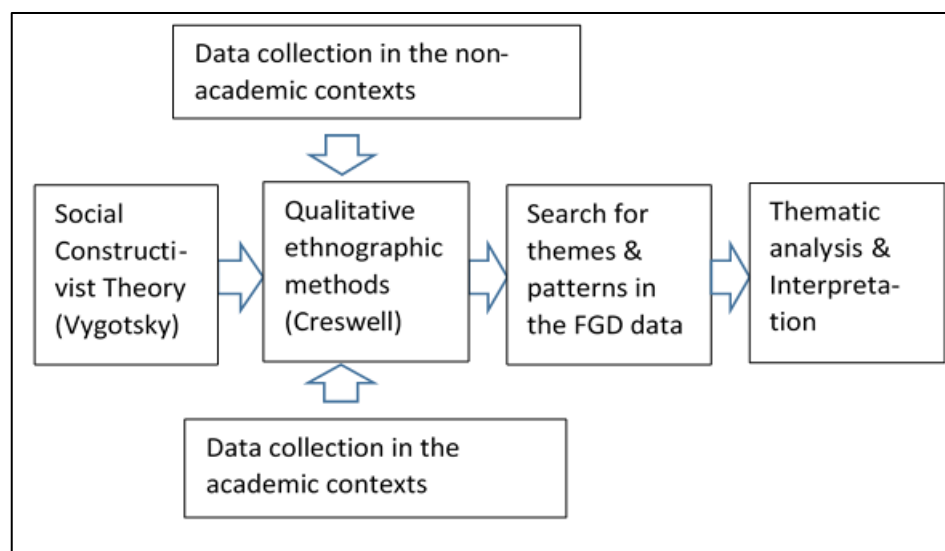
5.2 Presentation of Research Findings and Analysis in Three Sections

The findings of the study are presented in three parts – in this and the next two chapters. The first part of the analysis is presented in this chapter with a thick description of the research setting with 'positionality' of the researcher and the presentation of the Focus Group Discussions (FGD). To explore major patterns and themes, the major extracts of the FGD are presented and analysed in this chapter. The next two chapters are designed to present a holistic analysis of the collected data of

multipliable sources. The next chapter will present the themes of non-academic contexts that are related to first two research questions. After that, the following chapter is designed to present the findings about the third research question which focuses on the academic context.

As the explored constructs were both individual and socially interrelated according to the existing theory, I searched for recurrent themes in the focus group discussions, interviews, field notes, photos, memos, and direct observations of the phenomena and interpreted the themes through the triangulation of the multiple data-sources to maintain the validity and reliability of the analysis.

5.3 The Positionality of the Researcher and the Ethnographic Thick Description of the Context

In an ethnographic study, the ethnographer needs to explore the setting, by not following the hypothesis, but by adding whatever comes up as relevant themes. That is why, LeCompte and Schensul (1999) described ethnography as one type of nonexperimental research that is "designed for discovery" (p. 2).

Ethnography applies interactive and recursive processes. It identifies specific and concrete data bits and aggregates them into taxonomies and structures. There is no hypothesis at the beginning of a typical ethnographic research (Lambert, Glacken, & McCarron, 2011, pp. 17-23). Rather than that, there can be broad research questions to explore relevant patterns and themes to answer those questions in a typical qualitative ethnographic study like the current study. It has followed a Top-Down approach leading to a constructivist thematic analysis (TA) (Braun & Clarke, 2019, p. 593). This study also has three broad research questions.

Interpretive or constructivist thematic analysis of ethnographic data should search for the common themes. LeCompte & Schensul (2010) states that

"Traditionally, ethnographers were required to synthesize observations, interviews, written texts, and other data into a single story—an interpretation or theory of the culture in question" (E-book "Ethnography Emphasizes Participant Perspectives and Meanings" section/ para. 2).

Following the ethnographic tradition, I shall try to synthesize the data that was collected through multiple sources in the study to find unitary patterns and major themes within the context of the study in data analysis. It does not mean that a single or the dominant voices of the respondents will be raised to cover the less hard voices. Rather than that, multiple voices are going to be recognized in the narration of this ethnographic text in the thick description of the context. According to Potter (1996), two approaches could be followed in a qualitative research: a priori expectations or emerging expectations (as cited in Hamid, 2009, p. 149). The second approach, the emerging expectations, has been chosen in the current study.

5.4 Participants

The total number of participants in the study was sixty-three. Among them, nineteen participants were female and the rest were male who represented different economic classes and professions. The purposive sampling was found to be effective to elicit data. Many of the research participants were contacted several times.

The economic condition has been marked as upper middle class and lower middle class according to the demand-needs basis. If a participant was found to earn sufficient money to live and has scopes of savings and helping others from the surplus income, that person was chosen to be in 'upper middle class' group. A child of that kind of family was also marked to be in the upper middle class group. In many cases, the participants of this group were found to own a brick-built building to live in. In contrast, any respondent with poorer economic conditions than the upper middle class

was grouped in the 'lower middle class'. Those respondents who showed very poor conditions the respondents through their statements and who struggled for food and medicine were put in the category of lower economic class. On the other hand, the respondents, who were found to possess abundant amount of wealth, were marked as 'rich' persons.

Table 5.1

Profiles of the Research Participants (Main Study)

Par. No	Pseudonym*	Age	Gender	Profession	Socio-Economic Background
1	Alam	40	M	Expatriate	Upper middle class
2	Arafat	23	M	Private tutor & businessman	Lower middle class
3	Jannat	10	F	Primary school student	Upper middle class
4	Rami	10	F	Primary school student	Lower middle class
5	Ruqaia	11	F	Primary school student	Lower middle class
6	Rafiq	45	M	High school English teacher	Upper middle class
7	Jamal	50	M	High school English teacher	Upper middle class
8	Sharif	53	M	High school Head Teacher	Upper middle class
9	Sunny	15	M	High school student	Upper middle class
10	Mahfuj	16	M	High school student	Lower middle class
11	Alamin	16	M	High school student	Upper middle class
12	Robij	25	M	Private service & undergraduate student	Lower middle class
13	Zia	26	M	Farmer & agri-businessman	Lower middle class
14	Mainud-din	25	M	Businessman (agri.)	Lower middle class
15	Azad	40	M	Government officer	Upper middle class

16	Hanif	47	M	Political leader (member)	Upper middle class
17	Shahida	50	F	Primary school Head Teacher	Upper middle class
18	Talha	25	M	Owner of a coaching center & undergrad student	Upper middle class
19	Fahima	35	F	Librarian	Upper middle class
20	Jarina	45	F	Laborer	Lower middle class
21	Vutto	50	M	Laborer	Lower middle class
22	Joinal	64	M	Farmer	Lower middle class
23	Akkas	60	M	Farmer	Lower middle class
24	Shaheb	62	M	Farmer & businessman (agri.)	Lower middle class
25	Khalil	65	M	Political leader & farmer	Lower middle class
26	Abdul	19	M	Private service	Lower middle class
27	Alim	28	M	Mosque cleaner	Lower class
28	Shahalam	55	M	Labor-supervisor & driver	Lower class
29	Rabea	36	F	Day labour	Lower class
30	Hasan	52	M	Day labour	Lower class
31	Johra	17	F	Intermediate college student	Upper middle class
32	Fatema	18	F	Intermediate college student	Lower middle class
33	Ruby	17	F	Intermediate college student	Lower middle class
34	Shahed	71	M	Founder of local girls' college	Rich
35	Halima	50	F	Housewife	Lower middle class
35	Ryme	15	M	Primary school student	Lower middle class
36	Helal	55	M	Expatriate/ electrician	Lower middle class
37	Saiful	30	M	Imam & maktab teacher	Lower middle class
38	Habib	25	M	Imam & maktab teacher	Lower middle class
39	Rony	21	M	Undergraduate student (abroad)	Rich

40	Nazrul	80	M	Retired govt. officer	Upper middle class
41	Salahuddin	24	M	Undergraduate student & private tutor	Upper middle class
42	Billal	47	M	High school English teacher	Upper middle class
43	Noman	26	M	M.Sc. student (agriculture)	Upper middle class
44	Monir	46	M	Businessman (cement-dealer)	Rich
45	Tania	34	F	Primary school teacher	Lower middle class
46	Bilqis	38	F	Govt. primary English teacher	Lower middle class
47	Farida	55	F	Govt. primary school teacher	Upper middle class
48	Ridoy	29	M	Electrical engineer	Upper middle class
49	Faiza	35	F	House wife	Upper middle class
50	Jashim	20	M	Mechanic	Lower class
51	Nusrat	18	F	Intermediate college student	Upper middle class
52	Johir	65	M	Fisherman	Lower middle class
53	Rasheda	40	F	College employee	Lower middle class
54	Jahangir	45	M	Guard	Lower class
55	Afzal	68	M	Farmer/ politician	Upper middle class
56	Kalim	14	M	Primary school student	Lower middle class
57	Tanna	40	F	College Teacher	Upper middle class
58	Taijul	71	M	Chairman, governing body of local govt. primary school	Upper middle class
59	Joynab	41	F	Housewife	Lower class
60	Atif	23	M	Restaurant business & undergraduate student	Lower class
61	Khalid	11	M	Hotel boy	Lower class
62	Kalu	64	M	Unemployed	Lower class
63	Jewel	34	M	Rickshaw puller	Lower class

* All the names are pseudonyms

5.5 Focus-points of Exploration

As an ethnographer, I observed people from different professions and economic classes of the selected area and interviewed them both individually and in groups. I visited the households of many participants. I also explored the working places of most of the participants. In addition, I stayed at different houses in the area to observe their daily routines and colloquial usages of English and Bangla languages. I sought for the most important domains of usage of English in the area. That is why, the places of social gatherings, such as, shops, markets, schools, college, madrasahs, mosques, were visited hundreds of times during this study.

5.6 Focus Group Discussions

The extracts of the five group interviews have been presented here with short analyses. The search for the relevant themes in the focus group discussions will be used in the thematic analysis.

5.6.1 Focus Group Discussion -1: SSC Students

Table 5.2

FGD 1 Participants (Students)

Name	Age	Gender	Profession	Socio-economic status
P1 Sunny	15	M	Student	Upper middle class
P2 Mahfuj	16	M	Student	Lower middle class
P3 Alamin	16	M	Student	Upper middle class

The first Focus Group had three students of class ten from the local high school. I met them outside the school in the village. In addition, the first participant was contacted individually several times over three years to get clarifications while doing the analysis of the transcribed data. The major extracts of the FGD 1:

P1: The teachers try to teach the EFL to the students. However, the students have a phobia towards English. They are not interested to study English. They can't recover from that phobia. There are also some other learners who like the English language. English is my favorite subject. I like it both as a subject and as a language. But it is not needed in the daily life of this rural area except the academic context because there is no big institutions or industries here. Most of the people here are illiterate as it is a village. People have to change themselves to cope up with the time and the whole standard of life will improve with the knowledge of English. Especially, if they know English, it will help them to go and work abroad.

P2: My father is involved in the small business of rice-husk. I am the first person of my family or among my relatives to study up to class ten.

P3: My father is an expatriate. He is not illiterate; he studied up to S.S.C. level. Many of the labourers who work in the rice-boilers in this area are outsiders and illiterate. The English language is not needed in their work.

Analysis:

The first participant seemed to be inspired by the success of his brother who was a graduating student of BBA of a leading public university. His economic solvency boosted his confidence to study. For him, the success in learning the English language is associated with the educational achievement.

The second participant was found to be confused of his future of studies due to the poverty of his family.

The third participant did not have any successful inspiration in his own family like the first participant. In spite of that, his economic solvency catered his zeal for pursuing higher education. For him, even the low educational qualification of S.S.C.

of his father was a point of pride, which enabled him to work abroad. But he does not

see the presence of English around him in the area.

5.6.2 Focus Group Discussion -2: Fajlu Sir's Family

Table 5.3

FGD 2 Participants (Fajlu Sir's Family)

Name	Age	Gender	Profession	Socio-economic status
P1 Farida	55	F	Govt. primary teacher	Upper middle class
P2 Rhidoy	29	M	Engineer	Upper middle class
P3 Faiza	35	F	Housewife	Upper middle class

Fajlu sir was a retired government primary school teacher. He was paralyzed

and could not talk. His family was recognized as the ideal example of educational

success in the area because he had three children out of whom the first daughter was

an economics graduate, the only son was an electrical engineer, and the youngest

daughter finished her M.B.B.S. studies. The first participant was the mother of the

other two participants and this interview was taken at their home.

P2: I had a private job; but I am unemployed now for 3 years. It is more

beneficial to start earning at an early age rather than taking higher education for

many poor families in the village.

There is a difference in quality of ELT between the rural and the urban

schools. The good students try to fill up the gap made by the poor quality of teaching

by taking private tuitions at the Upazila town. However, the most important fact is

that the quantity of students has increased, but the quality of learning has not

improved. That is why, the unemployment rate is so high. Some of my friends, who

have completed Bachelors or Master's degrees, are in miserable condition. In contrast, those friends are earning well who started doing income or business after leaving studies after higher secondary school level.

P1: My husband studied at a primary school in the adjacent village. Then he studied at different schools around this union. This area was a low land at that time. The main road was not paved at that time and he used to go to the upazila town market and change his dress. He had to cross the river to go the B. A. (pseudonym) College to study the Bachelors. My husband was a teacher at the local government primary school. He married me when I was S.S.C. candidate. He helped me to finish my S.S.C. examination. I am now a teacher of that primary school. But the total salary of my husband and me was only eighteen thousand taka when I used to spend twenty thousand taka for my two children's education in Dhaka. We have some agricultural sources of income.

Some parents of my students do not find education to be productive economically. Many others are also very poor to afford the educational expenses. But I have educated my kids by the grace of Allah. All my colleagues praise that my kids are doctor, engineer, or economics gradate.

I have to control one hundred and thirty students in a single class. But the new teachers, who are university-graduates and attend the teacher-trainings, are not dedicated to their jobs.

P3: The teachers are not dutiful and do not implement the trainings in teaching.

Analysis:

Out of the three participants, the first participant had been teaching at the local government primary school for about three decades. Her educational qualification was S.S.C. only. She participated in several teacher-training programs. She spent all her earning after the educational expenses of her three children. She felt proud of this achievement of her life-long struggle though she was suffering economically at present time. About the quality of English teaching and learning, she expressed her concern about the lack of performance by her colleagues who had graduation degrees and teacher-training certificates.

The second participant graduated from a leading private university of Dhaka with Bachelor's degree in Electrical and Electronics Engineer about three years ago. Though he worked at an institution for few months in the last three years, he is unemployed now and regrets for the money and time spent after his studies. Because he wanted to go abroad after higher secondary education to earn livelihood like some of his friends of the village who were in good socio-economic positions at the time of interview in the area. Even some other friends, who could not go abroad and failed to continue their studies after school, were earning regular and sufficient income to run own families by doing small businesses, as the unemployed Engineer regretted.

The eldest daughter, the economics graduate, of the family was the third participant of the group discussion. Though she did a job for some time in an N.G.O., she was unemployed at the time of the interview. She had been living with her parents with her child separately from her husband, the cost of which became a burden on that family. Anyways, regarding the quality of education, she expressed her concern about the negligence of duty by the teachers of English and other subjects and the poor quality of Education at the primary school level.

5.6.3 *Focus Group Discussion -3: Young Earning Generation*

The participants of the FGD were the rising young people of that site of study. All of them were earning for their families in the context of high unemployment rate of young people of that area. They participated in it with an open-minded attitude expressing their valuable insights about different aspects and the status of English there.

Table 5.4

FGD 3 Participants (Young Earning Generation)

Name	Age	Gender	Profession	Socio-economic status
P1 Robij	25	M	Service holder & student	Lower middle class
P2 Zia	26	M	Farmer & Businessman (Agri.)	Lower middle class
P3 Mainuddin	25	M	Businessman (Agri.)	Lower middle class

Q. What is your attitude towards English language?

P1: The officers in my working place are foreigners mainly. They use English for communication. I have to try to use English because I work in a natural gas field in Sylhet. Beside doing the job, I have been studying at the undergraduate level. I find it hard to learn English.

Q: Where do you have to use English in your daily life?

P1: In my working place, I use Microsoft Office Word and Excel in English.

Q: What about your family members? How many of them know English?

P1: All of the five members are educated and know English to some extent. ... I need it to use the smartphone all the time.

Q: Where do you find the use of English in this village apart from education?

P1: In social programs, when a big shot joins the social program, they try to speak English, which increases his social status or prestige. In addition, English is

used in the social media like Facebook. To talk smartly and to increase social status, people try to speak English. Moreover, English is used on the smartphone.

There are not so many people in our village to read the English dailies. There was a person who used to search for the English dailies - late Humayun sir who was a Head Teacher of a local school.

The electricity company office generates the monthly customer bills in English only which are distributed among the customers of the area. Most of the inhabitants of this community do not understand the bills completely. In addition, whenever we need to go to the private banks in the nearby town, English is used in the banking documents.

Q: Is it possible to become solvent or successful in life without the use of English in the current context?

P1: It is possible because different people earn through different professions. But it is better to know English as it helps a lot in some cases. As you see, these guys also [indicating to the other two participants] do not need it in their businesses.

P2: The English language is needed when the big companies hire the foreigners. The owners of big companies or factories need to know English.

Q: How many schools or colleges provide good Education in English in this upazila?

P1: There are two or three out of about twenty schools and colleges in this upazila that are good in that respect. Otherwise, the quality of English teaching is very bad in rural Bangladesh. The lack of monitoring from the authority is an important reason why the teachers do not teach seriously.

The guardians of the students as well as the school authority do not take care of the students in the villages. Those who could achieve better results in the

examination, had private tuitions in the other institutions. A local person has been

recruited for a government first-class job recently through the BCS examination

mostly because of own efforts.

Q: Which class' syllabus did you find to be the best in your life?

P1: The high school syllabuses from six to ten was very important. The S.S.C.

syllabus is also OK. But I did not even see the syllabus at the H.S.C. level as I studied

the CH guidebook only. At the undergraduate level, I did not attend the classes at all.

Q: Where have you used English during last whole week?

P2: We use many English words with Bangla while talking.

P1: Those words are used as Bangla words now (code-switching).

Analysis:

The instances of the presence of the EFL are found in this FGD. The domains

of the usage include the computer and smartphones and the utility bills printed by the

computer. The villagers need to know that language when they go to the banks,

which are situated at the nearest *upazila* town. However, Bangla language is used in

the oral communication everywhere in the village and in that town. Only the mother

language of Bangla is used in all types of oral business communication. Those

villagers, who work in big offices in important positions or in any multinational

company outside the village, need English with Bangla side by side.

The participants showed their awareness about the English as a global

language. They did not find any domain of business and commerce of that locality in

which it is used widely except the marketing or packaging of the products that are

produced outside the village and are distributed to the shops by the distributors of the

companies. The villagers had a special attraction to the use of English on the packets

of daily products though they never read what are printed in English as the necessary information are written in Bangla on the packets.

In the psyche of those participants, there was an honor for those who have the command of English. In the social gatherings, it was a matter of honor to be able to speak English partially. One of the participants repeatedly mentioned that the use of English, the form of transliteration, is common phenomenon in the rural community as well.

But the participants presented a very frustrating picture of the condition of the English language teaching (ELT). There was almost no presence of the practice of speaking and listening skills in the classroom activities in the schools as the whole system is heavily exam-oriented. On top of that, the government monitoring system for the educational institutions and the performances by the teachers were very poor in that area. It seemed that the practice of private tuition was the only effective source of learning the EFL in the rural context.

The third participant mentioned two important characteristics of the ELT in the locality. He analysed the goal of the English teaching practices, which was prevalent in and around that rural community. The teachers used to try to make the students memorize the grammatical rules and compositions with the goal to pass the tests in the schools and college. As a result, the learners memorized the paragraphs even without understanding the meanings of the words in them.

5.6.4 *Focus Group Discussion -4: Labourers*

The participants of the FGD 4 included labourers of a rice boiler. I met a group of around fourteen of them together. But I have kept only major extracts of the group discussion here.

There were six persons present in the FGD at a rice-boiler factory, which was situated on the national highway. Around fifty labourers worked in it who come from mostly other districts of the country. Many of them came to work in

Table 5.5

FGD 4 Participants (Labourers)

Name	Age	Gender	Profession	Socio-economic status
P1 Shahalam	55	M	Labour-supervisor & driver	Lower class
P2 Rabea	36	F	Labour	Lower class
P3 Hasan	52	M	Labour	Lower class

the rice boilers and rice mills of this sub-district from Northern part of Bangladesh during the harvesting season of rice. No labourers, except only a few, had the scope of receiving academic education. The main participant worked as the labour-supervisor cum driver there. I could record his long interview, but missed the recording of the other labourers who responded very briefly. The labour supervisor, who was from a remote Southern district of Bangladesh, had a formal school education for few years in the childhood and had been working in this area for about thirty years. He knew a lot about the poor people for this reason.

P3: English is needed or not present in this factory. During the labour-management, only Bangla language is needed here. The labourers do not know the EFL. It is not used anywhere in this mill.

The English language is used in the educational institutions and banks only. But there is no presence of English in the other areas. In the bank-receipts

(government bank), both Bangla and English are found; we use Bangla in that case. But I do not have any idea about the N.G.O's.

P1: If someone knows English, but another person – the interlocutor -does not know English, this language cannot be used. If somebody knows the EFL, it is better for that person to communicate with the foreigners in some jobs. If I knew English, I could have the scope to talk to a foreigner. But we do not need it in our working place.

Although English is often found on the packets of daily products in the grocery shops, Bangla is also available beside English and we read only the information in Bangla on the packets.

P2: We do not have the education to read English. We are very poor. That is why, we did not have the opportunity to study in the schools. But we try to send our children to the schools for education.

Analysis:

The labour-supervisor's family lives away - in his own district. All of the children of his own and his brothers are educated. He seems to be proud of his three children who are good students.

The labourers' daily life was far away from the dealings in English who are busy to meet the basic needs to survive. They belong to such marginalized communities that even the ability to read the Bangla language seem to be a matter of pride for them.

5.6.5   *Focus Group Discussion -5: Teachers*

The first two interviewees were experienced teachers of the local old high school. Although they did not have Bachelor's degree in English, I found them to be the most famous English teachers in the area.

Like the other Head Teachers, this Head Teacher of the renowned high school also did not prefer the recording of his interview. But it was possible to record

Table 5.6

FGD 5 Participants (Teachers)

Name	Age	Gender	Profession	Socio-economic status
P1 Rafiq	45	M	High school English teacher	Upper middle class
P2 Jamal	50	M	High school English teacher	Upper middle class
P3 Sharif	53	M	High school Head Teacher	Upper middle class

the interviews of the two English teachers in the school campus. The English teachers talked freely about many issues, especially about the experiences about major national and internationally funded large ELT training projects of the Bangladesh, the prevalent government structures and system of teacher training and the gap between them and the real scenario of ELT in the rural area.

P1: There are few examples of the socio-economic development among the people of this area due to the competence of the EFL. The competence and skills in the EFL has helped some people to pursue Bachelor's programs at the universities and to compete in the Bangladesh Civil Service (B.C.S.) examination. It is needed to go abroad also.

English is related to the education sector mainly. It is used almost no where outside educational here. Sometimes we talk to the foreigners who come to the Aminganj Power Station (pseudonym).

P2: Outside the educational context, the English language is needed in a very few cases. Whenever the foreign groups of the Tablig Jamat, who preach Islam, come here, we talk to them in English.

P1: The rural learners do not like that we talk to them in English. They do not want to communicate in English in the classes as well. But all the ELT projects including the English in Action (EIA) emphasize on the fact that we should communicate only in English in the classes. In 2014, we received the first three-day training in Sylhet where the trainers came from Dhaka. After that, two local master trainers arranged monthly cluster trainings for sixteen days. But the best one of all the teacher-training programs attended by me in my whole life was the English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP). That twenty-one-day training program was arranged by the British Council in Cumilla in 2006. All the training programs tell us to use English in the classes. I try to talk only in English in all of my classes. But I have to use Bangla also when the students do not understand the topic. But they do not have the environment to talk English at home or in the village. You know that it is important to use the EFL outside the classroom context also to learn it well.

The government will not listen to us about the syllabus. The National Curriculum Textbook Board (NCTB) designed the current syllabus in 2010 and it was adopted in 2012. The quality of the current English curricula and textbooks are good at the school level.

But the testing system can be developed. All the class tests, monthly tests, and the other internal tests should be counted while preparing the final merit list. The continuous evaluation of speaking & listening skills should be included in the language testing system. There is a mismatch between the curriculum and the current scenario of the ELT.

P2: The teachers do not implement the trainings in the classroom settings. Again, the policy suggests that a class should have around forty students. But the

number of students vary from ninety to two hundred. It is so large that we cannot

implement the teaching techniques in the classes.

P1: No, we can form groups in the classes and this very method is called the

communicative English teaching.

Few years ago, we used to give private tuitions to the students at the home.

But I do not do it so much now. As the authority has forbidden the practice of private

tuition, we take special classes that are arranged by the Head Teacher during the

holidays during the month of Ramadan (a month in the lunar/ Arabic calendar). The

teachers of English and Mathematics are trained to follow the new 'creative

syllabus'.

P3: The literacy rate is about 40% in this area according to the government

statistics. But it should be more than 60%. In comparison to the other villages, this

village is better, because seven or eight students pass in the SSC examination in this

village every year. The temporary inhabitants, who work in the rice boilers and rice

mills, come from outside and are illiterate. It can contribute to that low figure of

literacy rate.

Analysis:

The first participant analysed English as an academic subject rather than as a

language to learn. He participated in several English teacher-training programs in his

long career. According to his observation, the English teachers were disinclined to

implement their trainings in their practical teaching activities. Though the minimum

qualification to be an English teacher at the school level was a three years' Bachelor's

degree with three English courses, many of them were appointed long time ago with

only a very low qualification of S.S.C. Later on, few of them somehow managed to

get the HSC (classes eleven and twelve) to save their jobs.

There was no English teacher at the schools in or around the area having four-year Bachelor's (Honors) degree in English. According to the first participant, there was an acute shortage of qualified English teachers in the rural areas of the country as he has seen in the training programs.

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings in the five Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). The five groups of family male and female participants that included a role model rural family, young and educated earning villagers, labourers, students, and teachers. In the group talks, the opinions can be compared and the major themes can be located. This description and analyses of the FGD data has guided the researcher to explore important patterns in the collected data.

Many interesting and directly topic-related themes emerged while doing the data analysis. But I also found so many themes that are not directly related to the topic of the research which were carefully handled before skipping them in the analysis. The thematic and interpretive analyses of the findings, which are related to the first and second research questions and non-academic contexts are designed to be delineated in the sixth chapter that will be followed by the thematic analysis of the findings of the third research questions and the academic context in chapter seven.

CHAPTER SIX

The Attitudes of the Common People towards English in the Rural Area in Bangladesh

6.1 Introduction

The findings of the present study demand that the uniqueness of the presence of the English as an L2 and the usage and roles of the L2 in the rural should be addressed in a particular chapter separately from the data that are related to the English language teaching and learning which will be discussed in the next chapter. That is why, this chapter will thematically present the findings that are related to the first two research questions (RQ's):

RQ1: What are the attitudes of Bangladeshi people towards the usage of English in rural areas?

RQ 2: What are the prevalent beliefs among the Bangladeshis about the relationship between English as an L2 and the socio-economic development in the rural context?

6.1.1 Language and Authority in the Ethnographic Discussion and Analysis

I have documented the thematic interpretivist analysis of the relevant themes in this chapter. As per the APA 7 (2019) rules, the present perfect tense can be used in the discussion or analysis section. The present tense is used in the research papers much more in the ethnographic studies than the other types of studies. In the ethnographic tradition of research, both the present tense and the past tense can be used in writing in the results and discussion (Allen, 2017; Creswell, 2014; Sinclair, 1993). Because the 'results' of a qualitative ethnographic study, unlike quantitative studies, is not numerical, but narration or description of the phenomena in many cases. Sinclair (1993) justified the use of the present tense in ethnographic scientific writing

which is found in application in the US doctoral ethnographic study by Blaise (2013) as well.

As O'Reilly (2009) argues, "[the ethnographers traditionally] draw authority simply from the fact of the author 'being there'" and "a piece of ethnographic work written in the present tense, for example, carries much more authority than the past tense would evoke" (pp. 189-190). Allen (2017) also supports this view: "present tense is used to report the significance of the findings and to present authors' interpretations" (p. 1185).   That is why, as it is often done in ethnographic studies for better readability of the ethnographic findings, I have used both the present tense and the past tense in the discussion and interpretation of the findings.

6.2   Thematic Analysis of the Findings About the Usage of English

The first research question sought for the attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of the people of the rural people towards the presence and usage of the English language. I have presented the thematic analysis of those findings here that are related to the Research Question 1: What are the attitudes of Bangladeshi people towards the usage of English in rural areas?

6.2.1   The Attitude Towards the English language

The presence of the English language is more dominant as an academic subject than a foreign language in the rural area. Surprisingly, this view is more dominant in the academic context than the non-academic context. Unlike the learners and teachers of English at the school and college in that area, most of the villagers, who could not afford academic studies due to poverty, see English a foreign language. Most of them think that the English language is a hard language to learn. Even in the academic setting, it is seen as a hard language. But it is studies more than other subjects, as a

female English teacher at the local primary school states, due to its global dominance as an international language: "As a foreign language, it is very hard to learn English. But as an international language, it is needed to be learnt all over the world."

Due to online access to the international media by many villagers, there was a myth about that English is widely used in all the countries in the world. They did not have the knowledge about the fact that although it is the most important international language or a lingua franca, it is not found everywhere in the societies of the countries like China, Korea, Japan, Russia, Germany, or France.

6.2.2 Attitudes Towards English Studies

The positive attitude to the importance of English as an academic subject is very strong among the villagers. It is one of the most important academic subjects for which the students crave to have private tuitions. According to the respondents, without any exception, the scores in this subject is considered one of the parameters of being a prospective student in Bangladesh. The ability to write and speak correct English was often associated with the academic excellence or a respectable position in the society by the respondents in different words.

6.2.3 Presence of English in Different Domains along With Bangla

Although the presence of English was found majorly in the academic context in the site of the study, it was found in several other domains as well. The other domains of usage of English include the medicine-labels, doctors' prescriptions, the utility bills, banking documents, and the manuals of different types of digital electrical and electronic instruments.

In spite of the poor literacy rate of around 40% of this union struggle to follow medical prescriptions. Most of the pharmaceutical companies use both Bangla and

English languages on the labels. But there are some medicines produced in

Bangladesh, the labels of which are printed in English only. English is used in the

government electricity bill and private banks in the country including its rural areas.

An expatriate finds the ever increasing use of English in several domains whenever he

comes to Bangladesh from the Middle-east on annual vacations:

> The medical documents like the doctors' prescriptions also are written in
> the English language mostly. The use of the English language is found on
> the labels of the medicine also. The English language is used in bills and
> banks also.

It is present widely in the commercial packaging and marketing, the labeling of

medicines in pharmacy and other instances of medical treatment though the villagers

read them in Bangla.

Figure 6.1

Use of both Bangla and English

An important domain of the usage of the EFL is the Information and

Communication Technology (ICT) sector. Many people use smartphones and access

internet even in this remote and underdeveloped rural area. In Bangladesh, the

operating systems of the smartphones are usually in English in which the push

notifications pop up in English. In addition, the use of English for the internet access

was a common practice among villagers. Because Bangladesh has achieved a remarkable progress regarding the tele-density, coverage area and availability of internet so far. According to the Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission, there were more than one hundred million subscribers of internet access in June 2020 in this country of total population of about one hundred and sixty million (BTRC, 2020). The users of the smartphones are usually the young people and the students, many of whom invest all their efforts to manage the money to buy a smartphone despite their lack of solvency. It has turned into an addiction among many school-going students of the area.

The fast growth of the IT infrastructure in Bangladesh has made the use of the social platforms like Facebook to be common medium of interaction even in the rural area. A family member of an expatriate says that "we feel ourselves disconnected from our family members who live in Saudi Arabia if we cannot talk to them using IMO daily. It has become an integral part of our daily life to use smartphones and make video calls". Moreover, many people use English in writing or transliteration in the phone messages or social media even in the rural area. Facebook is a very popular social media among the young people of that area. They use either Bangla typing or English transliteration to chat with or send messages to others online.

The Windows-based computers' and Android-based smartphones' operating systems are used mostly in the English language in Bangladesh including this rural area. In that rural site, there were not many computer users. But the common computer operating system is in English in the country due to which many aspirant job seekers need to know English as common skill to be mentioned in the CV for most of the standard jobs. That is why, the use of English words or transliteration in the messages, chats, or browsing online is a common practice in Bangladesh.

In the rural home environment, it is not expected to use English except some widely used English loanwords. The college students of only two families, with parents in the professions of army and college teaching, are found to use English in the daily life to some extent.

Figure 6.2

The Presence of English in the Rural Context
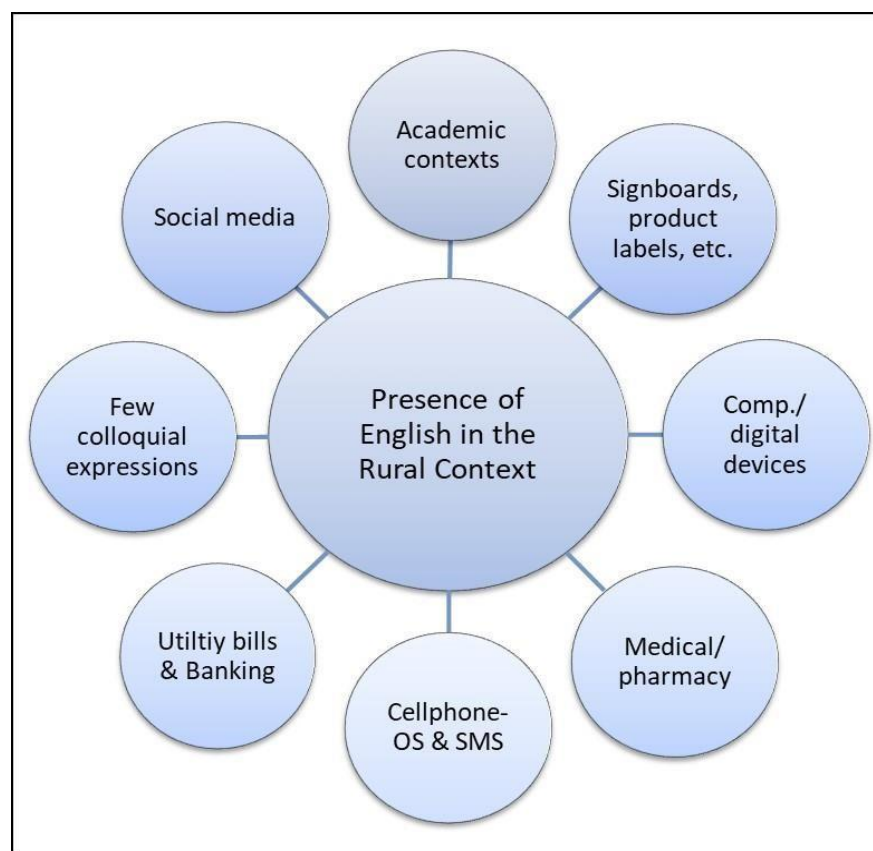
In the domain of the local business and commerce, English was found to be used with Bangla widely on the signboards, packaging and labels in the rural site. In the grocery shops, both the languages were found on the packets of almost all of the daily products including biscuits, breads, mosquito killers, soaps, pens, or matchboxes. There was a strong acceptance of the idea among the rural consumers of the site that the use of English would increase the brand value of the products as a part of the

marketing strategies. The English language was used mainly due to the decorative purposes; because most of the necessary information about the regular products were available in Bangla on the packets. It is an example of a sort of bilingualism in this case.

In the big factories of rice producing, cement or electricity generation companies, which were situated in a few kilometres away from that village, English was used by the officers for different purposes. But nobody was found in the village who worked in any of those positions.

Most surprisingly, no electric or electronic product was found which had its name carved or embossed in Bangla on the plastic or metal body of the product. Though the names of those types of products were found to be printed on the cartons, packets or boxes in both English and Bangla or only English, only English letters were used in the printing dices of the carved names on the product- body. The manuals of almost all the electric or electronic products were in English though some of them included the instructions in the Chinese language additionally.

6.2.4 Association of English to the Elite Class or 'Higher Standard of Commodity'

The most fascinating findings of the current study included the presence of the English language in the daily conversions and printed materials. The culture of the selected rural site is so naive to accept the image of a phenomenon presented by the media as it is. The English language is associated to the 'upper social class' or 'elite class' by the common people in the rural area. The analysis of the whole data strongly suggests that the mythical 'posh image' of the English language. As a young service holder-cum- undergraduate student observes, the attitude towards the use of English in public or social gatherings bear a prestige-tag:

Apart from the academic studies in the school or college, English is used in social gatherings. Though all the people used Bangla only in the social gatherings, the socially influential persons preferred to use English in a social gathering which indicates to their status. It is used in social media as well.

This attitude towards English has become deep-rooted in the social psychology there. The strongest proof in support of this fact is the presence of English in almost all the daily commodities. The 'higher standard of commodity' is associated to the use of English on the labels of the daily products though none of the respondents stated that they read the product information in English. They read the product information in Bangla on the packets or signboards. The villagers were asked the necessity of the use of English on the packets of local sweetmeat which was sold in that locality only. Interestingly, the villagers think that the use of English words on the labels raises its market value, which was supported even by an old farmer & businessman in straightforward language, "English increases the standard of the product."

6.2.5 *Attitude Towards the Use of English in Daily Conversation*

The code-switching between the Bangla language and the English language is a common phenomenon among the school or college students. Especially, the young generations use few English colloquial expressions, such as, hi, bye, sorry, or the like to impress others. A middle-aged villager observes:

> It is seen nowadays that some young people use English words, such as, 'OK', 'sorry', 'thank you', etc. while speaking Bangla in daily life to show smartness.

6.2.6 The Role of English Education: A Development Tool Rather than a Colonial Hegemony

The current study did not find any response from the respondents which shows it as a colonial or neo-colonial tool of the west. Rather than that, a common perception about the impact of globalization on the local context was found in the data analysis. Though there was not enough strong link to proof direct contribution of English education to socioeconomic development, there is a mythical image of the English language as a tool of individual economic development.

6.2.7 Relation Between the Learning of English and the Islamic Values

An important respondent was a young popular Islamic religious leader of the area. He praised a high government official for studying Islamic books regularly and patronizing Islamic causes benevolently in the village despite the fact that that officer did not study in any Islamic or *madrasah* stream of education of the country. That *maktab* teacher, Habib, who was the *Imam* (who leads prayers) of the central mosque, does not find any conflict between learning English language and following Islamic values and norms:

> There is no conflict between the Islamic values and English. Only due to
> bad deeds of few people, the languages cannot be blamed. According to
> the 'Hadith' of Prophet Muhammad (SA), everyone should have good
> competence in own mother language and the God has said in the Qur'an
> that He has created different languages to identify difference nations.

6.2.8 Relation Between the Learning of English and the Local Values

Another side the language attitude attached to the culture of its native speaking countries. Though different people may have different attitudes to the cultures of the USA or the UK, the attitude towards the English language was not related to it. When the participants were asked if there were any conflict between the local values and the

learning of English, most of them opined that they found no such conflict. They did not think that learning or knowing English language has any conflict with local culture or Islamic beliefs.

Two elderly villagers (Khalil, age 65, Male, Political leader & farmer, Lower Middle class and Nazrul, 80, Male, Retired govt. officer, Upper middle class) found the Bangladeshi cultural norms to wane gradually. But they did not find the spread of English to be responsible for that. Rather than that, they expressed their concern about the impact of globalization through Hindi entertainment media of the neighboring country and the learning of English was not related to that issue. But they shared their reminiscences of the Bangladeshi local festivals, such as *Pohela Boishakh* (celebration of the Bangla new year) and *Nobanno* (harvest festival), which were not arranged anymore in that area and its surroundings. The Bangladeshi cultural festivals are celebrated by the rich people in Dhaka and other big cities, as the research participants opined.

6.3 *Thematic Analysis About the Findings About the Relation Between the English Language and the Macro and Micro Socio-Economic Development*

The second research question addresses the relation between the relation between the English language and the macro and micro socio-economic development: *What are the prevalent beliefs among the Bangladeshis about the relationship between English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and the socio-economic development in the rural context?* The thematic analysis of those findings, which are related to the Research Question 2, have been presented here.

The following quotations of interviews are related to the relationship between the EFL and the social or economic development of the inhabitants of the site of the study. The myth about the crucial role of the EFL as a crucial gateway for individual

career or economic betterment was found to be wrong in the study. The findings show that there were not many evidences about the major contribution of the fluency or knowledge of the EFL to individual career or economic development. It is one of the several criteria to apply for a standard job; but not the most important one. The qualities, such as, perseverance, patience, the ability to work hard in diverse conditions and financial support are more important to survive and excel in the underprivileged rural context.

6.3.1 Common Beliefs Versus the Reality About the Necessity of English in Real Life in the Village

Based on the explored fact, it can be strongly stated that the common people have a mythical perception about the role of English to change the standard of life. Because only a few people in the villages were found to get direct economic or social benefit of knowing English. Though most of the respondents see knowledge or skills of the English language to be necessary in the 'big' positions of the highly educated persons who work with the foreigners, it is not necessary for their 'lived life' (which is the ethnographic focus) in the village.

When the participants were asked if they knew any villager who had improved their socio-economic conditions by utilizing the English language skills, they could not memorize more than a few villagers of that type. Only two respondents, an expatriate and an undergraduate student of a university abroad, were found who utilized their knowledge or skills of English outside Bangladesh. The most interesting fact is that those expatriates, who worked as unskilled workers abroad, did not have the minimum ability to check their flight-tickets even after studying English for ten years and passing the Secondary School Certificate (S.S.C.) examinations.

After thinking deeply about the reality during the discussions some participants realized that the common perception about the urgency of English is not any common belief based on facts or examples. They pondered upon the necessity of other practical skills, such as, discipline, hard-working capacity, ICT skills, etc. in the work places. A young service holder & undergraduate student, who worked in different places including multinational companies, projects on the basis of his personal job experiences:

> Of course, the importance of English to get a good job is beyond question in our country. But the other [communicative and IT] skills, apart from English fluency, are also required for the national socio-economic development.

6.3.2 English is a Prerequisite to Get a Good Job Outside the Rural Area

As most of the jobs in the rural site is physical labour-based, English does not play any important role in getting the job here. As a middle-aged female participant states, "The English language is not directly related to the social or economic development of individuals in the rural area. It is not practically used in this rural area".

Though English is not required to earn in the rural area, it is a prerequisite to get a standard job in the city and towns. An important young participant of the study, who was both businessman and a popular private tutor, states clearly about the important of English in getting a standard job:

> But the fluency of the English language is helpful to get a good job. It is a rare case that someone gets a handsome job without competence in the English language in the towns and cities.

6.3.3 Importance of English to Work Abroad

The common beliefs about the importance of English to work abroad is very strong. In fact, all the expatriates, except two persons from the village, went abroad to do the jobs of very low pay or standard. Those expatriates were doing their jobs in the Middle-East Asia and the Southeast Asia. Only one villager was a teacher and another one was a student in foreign universities. But most of the research participants express similar views like the following two young businessmen:

> Knowing English is important to work abroad as it is used in all the countries of the world. How can I understand an air-ticket or cross the airports without knowing English?

> I could not learn English well. If I had known English, I could have expressed my opinions in English. It is needed for overseas employment as it is an important international language.

6.3.4 Females have Stronger Attitudes Towards Learning English and Instances of Success

According to three female participants, it is generally found in the villages that the females have stronger attitudes towards learning English than the males. When they were asked for the basis for their assumptions, they gave the instances of better English scores achieved by the female students than the male counterparts. In addition, they were excited to mention about the successful female villagers:

> There are several former female students of the local institutions of the area who are doing good jobs now in different sectors including health sector, teaching, police job, NGOs, and so on.

6.4   English as a 'Barrier' Rather than a 'Ladder' For the Under-Privileged Villagers

Many of the research participants associated English fluency to educational achievement and found English as a 'barrier' than a 'ladder' in the

rural context due to the gap between the standard of education in the urban and the rural areas. Because the available resources to learn English in the village are not sufficient for the learners to learn the language and the English knowledge and skills of the majority of the under privileged villagers cannot enable them to break the cycle of poverty. Rather than minimizing the equity and social justice, the present status of the English language in the country is contributing to widen the gap between the rich and the poor or the rural and the urban unlike its positive role in this area few generations ago.

Though the rate of literacy has improved, but the quality of education has fallen behind in the race with the urban counterpart resulting in the failure of the students of the rural educational institutions to compete in the job market that require diverse skills including English skills. Nowadays, the privileged urban people receive better English education than the rural learners do. This gap of quality education contributes to the social injustice in wider scales.

The number of people who have studied in the local schools and managed to do well paid jobs is less than a dozen in comparison to the thousands of students who passed out from the educational institutions.

Arafat was an important research participant who was both a small businessman and a popular private tutor in that area. He presented reasons after the reluctance of many poor villagers to spend money after their young family members:

Many families are not careful about the studies of the children. As the higher studies cannot ensure a job nowadays and the students study only to get jobs after graduation, the students are not inspired to study attentively.

The perceptions and opinions of the participants can be interpreted this way: English is a 'ladder' for the very few privileged people in the village who can pay for the English private tuition and can afford higher studies in some particular fields. Otherwise, it is a 'barrier' for the common villagers as they fall behind in the race to earn a valuable degree and remain in the cycle of poverty. According to many participants of the village, it has become a common case among the rural students nowadays that they remain unemployed after studying for ten years in school and their earned knowledge in English during the school life does not help them to change their socio-economic status. But the English knowledge and skills will be turned into a ladder only if the villagers can receive better English education in an objective based education system at the local institutions that will enable them to compete in the service-jobs, online freelancing or other professions.

I found four undergraduate students in the area, all of whom were studying in different colleges outside that area but in the same district. They were irregular students who attended mainly the terminal examinations to get the certificates with a little studies. They focused mainly on earning money as private tutors, small businessman, or service holder. Beside the other research participants, they provided a lot of information and speculations about the status of ELT in the government primary schools, and the non-government high school, girls' higher secondary school (known as *intermediate college* in Bangladesh), the girls' *madrasah* (schools with 'Islamic' curricula). All of them preferred earning money than studying attentively. One of the most important reasons behind it was the possibility of unemployment after graduation.

6.5 Emerging Issues

It is a unique feature of an ethnographic study that it explores many finds many important relevant but not directly related facts as the by-products of the in-depth exploration of a phenomena (Pottery, 1996). The present ethnographic study explored a significant attitude of the rural people towards the materialistic value of education and the importance of the direct output of the investment after the education of the family members, and the deteriorating family bonding in the rural area. The suitability of the qualitative research instruments can be justified when it becomes hard to draw a complete picture of a particular social phenomena in isolation from other interrelated social, cultural, and economic factors and by counting the quantitative data. Many factors of the social life in a rural area like this are intertwined, hence, the study demands a holistic approach of analysis. That is why, many emerging issues came up in the data collection and analysis.

6.5.1 Poverty, the Unemployment Problem and the Success of the Madrasah Students in Contrast to the School Students

It was an astonishing fact that the *madrasah* students, who were taught religious and spiritual things more than the materialistic subjects, were found to be capable to earn faster than the students of the main stream Bangla-medium education system. I found the information of five *madrasah* students who studied for more than 8 years in different *madrasah* and started to earn money, though not in large amount. In contrast, there were about seventy high school and college students in the area, only a few of whom were found to start earning money at similar ages. Though the numbers and the economic background of those students were not confirmed by any quantitative data, it was so evident and clear to many research participants that none of those villagers, whom I asked productivity-related question, disagreed with the above mentioned fact.

While doing the exploration of an ethnographic site, some issues become so evident and clear that the ethnographer must add it to the findings-section as an emerging fact and this issue of less productive aspects of the main stream education system cannot be avoided. The ever increasing unemployment rate and objective-less education system of the country calls for an urgent step to bring a drastic change in the whole mainstream Bangla-medium education system.

Most of the leading or earning members in the families of the selected rural area did not study up to the higher secondary school level. The inhabitants became very much eager during last few decades about pushing the younger family members to start earning due to poverty. They were found to be more calculative about the instrumental value of the school education. In addition to that, unlike the *madrasah* students, the decline in moral values has become common among the school-going students. As the participants expressed their griefs, most of the school-going students were found to be reluctant to take care of their poor parents compared to the *madrasah*-going students. An old aged farmer-cum-agricultural businessman depicts the internal socio-economic scenario of a typical rural family with personal reflections:

> I cannot meet the increasing demand of the young family members anymore with my poor income. We cannot afford their education in better schools. As a result, they do not listen to us. We are losing control over them. They have become too greedy but lazy. After passing the SSC examination, they must start extending their hands to contribute to the total earning of the family rather than demanding for more money for higher education. Otherwise, they will ruin both their and our lives due to their moral debasement caused by their deep frustration.

Two young participants revealed the demand of their families to start earning at younger age, one of whom was a restaurant businessman-cum-student and the other a mechanic. That student of undergraduate level was running a small hotel with his 10-year old younger brother. When the researcher asked him the reason for forcing the small boy to work at their hotel during the school-hours, he said that they did not have any other option due to poverty. He and his younger brother tries heart and soul only to attend the terminal examinations of their school and college only to pass and get the certificates. As they strongly stated, most of the villagers were poorer than their own families to afford the higher education of own family members in the mainstream Bangla medium education system which is costlier than the *madrasah* education system. The mechanic had to leave high school due to poverty, as there was no one in his family to bear his educational expenses.

One of the surprising facts about the product of the *madrasah* education system was that all those local students, who studied at least for eight years in different *Qawmi madrasah*s in and around the site of the study during the last decade, were found to earn money through more than one sources of income simultaneously unlike the majority of the students who studied in the Bangla medium education systems for the same period of time. The majority of the children who studied for ten to twelve years in the mainstream Bangla education system were unemployed and frustrated about the output of their studies. The underprivileged villagers count the earliest possible output of their investment after the children's education in the form of an earning member of the family. Rather than being ambitious about the future of the children, they do not want to spend money for a longer period as they cannot afford it.

As it was claimed by two young *madrasah* teachers, the most important reason behind the productivity of *madrasah* education system was that it built up an

obligatory sense of responsibility in the students of *Qawmi madrasah*s towards the family members as it was the order of Allah, the Supreme Being. All the *madrasah* students came from the poor families and it might be another reason which pushed them to earn livelihood, although most of the school going students were also from similar poor families. The ex-*madrasah* students were much more industrious and early earners than those Bangla medium students. Though the amount of earned money by any of the *madrasah* graduates was not high, the villagers were not serious about it. They had a negative attitudes towards an education system that requires more than ten years of investment.

The comments about the job-prospects by at least eleven important young respondents of the study also justify this fact. Those respondents included an unemployed B.Sc. Electrical Engineer, a female economics graduate, a male undergraduate irregular student who had been a petty job-holder in the city, an undergraduate student who was both an agricultural entrepreneur and private-tutor, two undergraduate students who were earning money by giving private tuitions to the local school students, one undergraduate student who was running one of the two restaurants of the village, a mechanic, and three *madrasah* teachers.

The top example of the socio-economic problem was the teacher-parents' family in the village. The unemployment problem jeopardized even that iconic family. The villagers recognised this family as the most successful one in educating its children. It was exemplary for this poor family to make a daughter an economics graduate, a son an engineer, and another daughter a doctor. The uncertainty of career after graduation was justified by the son who was found unemployed even three years after completing graduation in electrical engineering from a famous private university in Dhaka. The eldest married daughter was living with them with her daughter. She was unemployed

and become a burden for the family. On top of the educational expenses of the son and the youngest daughter drained the family economically. The son spent a lot of money after his engineering studies at a private university in Dhaka. The unemployed son was spending money for job applications without earning a single penny. Only the youngest daughter, the doctor, started earning some money very recently. The engineer's statement on his frustration about higher education is a symbol of the burning problem of unemployment:

> However, the most important fact is that the quantity of students has increased, but the quality of learning has not improved. That is why, the unemployment rate is so high. Some of my friends, who have completed Bachelors or Master's degrees, are in miserable condition. In contrast, those friends are earning well who started doing income or business after leaving studies after higher secondary school level.

While I was exploring the village, I found many young teenagers who go to the school irregularly and drop academic sessions due to reluctance of the family members to spend any money after them.

It is not a matter of good education what they crave for. They do not worry about the excellence of the quality of education of English or Mathematics. Rather they want their kids to live a minimum standard of life. Jewel, a rickshaw puller, utter the harsh truth of life in the village:

> I do not think about English education. Rather I want my kids not to die of diseases or by drowning. During the last year's flood, one of my three children was drowned in the floodwater. I just want to save the lives of my family members from diseases and so many other problems.

The cycle of poverty does not seem to end in many families in the rural area. They do not bother about the quality of education. The definition of the basic needs is different in the lives of many poor people there. For the above reasons, the *madrasah* education was found to gain more popularity than the mainstream Bangla medium education system in the villages of that area. The study findings strongly suggest that the school Bangla medium curricula should be objective-based and the vocational training or education system is more suitable for many of the rural people.

6.6 Conclusion

The chapter has presented the findings about the attitudes towards the English language, its roles and usage in the rural area, and other emerging issues through an interpretive analysis. The domains of the usage of English in different non-academic areas of society, economics, the ICT, etc. have been described with interpretivist analysis in this chapter. A strong perception about the importance of English fluency, despite the absence of enough real instances, were found in the in the study. The findings show that the status of the English language is that of a foreign language (FL) rather than of a second language (SL) in the rural area because mass people do not use it there in daily life.

The condition of the ELT in the local academic institutions will be portrayed in the next chapter. The analysis of the findings will attempt to match those linguistic domains of the English language that are needed in the rural life to the existing ELT curriculum.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Perceptions of the Mass People about English Language Teaching and Learning in the Rural Area: A Thematic Analysis

7.1 Introduction

As the English language is used mainly in the academic arena in the rural area, it would be an incomplete exploration if the context of ELT in the area is not discussed and analysed in connection to the attitudes, perceptions, and beliefs of the local people towards it. The phenomenon of the status of ELT has been explored in the selected rural setting in search of not only the unique features but also some common features that might be present in other rural contexts of Bangladesh. The following discussion presents relevant interview extracts and analyses the themes or factors that contribute to the current status of ELT in that particular rural area of the study with the third research question in focus: What is the present status of English Language Teaching (ELT) in the Bangladeshi rural context?

The educational institutions of the area were of three types basically: the general Bangla medium school and college, the kindergarten, and the madrasah. There was a non-government high school, a government primary school, a girls' college (Class XI and Class XII), a kindergarten, two *madrasahs,* and two *maktabs* in that single village. The students from different villages around that particular setting study in those institutions. The schools and college were well-established ones. But the kindergarten was struggling to get students for several years. All these institutions followed the National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) Bengali curriculum that was locally known as the 'Bangla-version syllabus'. On the other hand, the *madrasahs* and *maktab* focused much more on the Islamic studies than general

studies. The *madrasahs* included a girls *madrasah* of up to the class of *Dawrae*

Hadith that was equivalent to graduation in the country, a *Hafezi* madrasah that is

dedicated to enable the students memorize the whole Holy Quran, and the *maktabs* to

teach the basics of Islamic studies to the kids.

Though there were few solvent inhabitants in the rural site, there was no

student of English medium or English version. Because there was no educational

institution of that type in or around the site of the study. That is why, the present and

former students and teachers of the mainstream Bangla medium schools and college

and the madrasahs, the guardians of those students, and the governing body members

of the educational institutions were the respondents to provide necessary data

regarding the ELT in the rural area. Few undergraduate students, who were private

tutors or service holders at the same time, presented rich data as they had the

knowledge of conditions of the ELT both in the cities and town and in that particular

rural area to identify the differences in different areas to measure the standard of ELT

of that study area.

7.2 Classroom Observations

I visited the educational institutions several times to collect data. To

triangulate the data of classroom observation, I arranged Focus Group Discussions

and interviews with the students to cross check the reality of the observed class. I used

the checklist (Appendix C), field notes, and photography as the data collection tools

in the 9 class-observations at 2 schools, 1 college, and 2 madrasahs. Besides, I used

the field notes to record many newly found important points. I had to take the help of

the local guides to build up a rapport with some of them and, in the lunch periods of

the institutions, I went alone and got introduced for the permission to collect

information for the study. Some of the teachers were suspicious about my role and

mistook me as an employee of some government evaluation projects at the beginning. But I clarified my role of researcher by showing the request-paper from my supervisor and promised not to reveal their identity on the ethical terms. Then they provided me with the necessary data.

The best of the teaching and learning practices were found in the girls' college which was founded by a retired Navy Captain in memory of his dead daughter. That Captain Shahed was the principle of that college himself at the initial stage. Later on, he appointed a female Principal to run it. He used to visit the college regularly from Chattogram district, a far off place from the research area. He welcomed me and gave me the permission to visit the classes. It was a Class of XI with around thirty students. The female teacher was discussing a chapter of the textbook in hand. The students were following the lecture attentively. Some of them were taking notes. But there was no question-answer or group or pair activities except lecturing. The students were passive learners and the teacher was trying to make them understand the story of the book by translating it into Bangla. The teacher was using the board and textbook as the most important equipment. But I saw few students to bring a popular English guidebook also to the class. The major focuses of the lecture included new vocabulary, grammar items, and possible examination questions. Being aware of my presence, the teacher was trying to speak English more than she usually used to do, as the students informed me later. The students took her as a good teacher who made things easier to them to prepare them to achieve good results in the examinations. Later on, the teacher allowed me to interview few students at the library with the presence of the librarian, Fahima. The librarian of the college was a wife of an army officer. The students joined a group discussion there in which they expressed their

dreams of learning English well and of utilising it to achieve success in the higher studies.

In contrast, the local government primary school was in a chaotic situation when I reached there for the first time. The kids were playing in the classroom as the teachers were absent in the classes. There were two teachers in the staffroom. The Head Miss (Head Teacher) was not in the school at that time though she turned at around 1 PM. Only one female teacher, Bilqis, was found in the classroom. She was teaching English to the kids. I introduced myself to her and asked her permission to stay beside the window of the classroom and watch the teaching-learning activities of Class Four. I was able to note down a lot of things in that situations. It seemed that the teacher had already discussed a lesson to the students. She was asking questions to the students in Bangla and they were trying to answer those questions. The students were wearing in different dresses. The teacher was a member of a solvent family and had received no raining o teaching on ELT. I found the presence of no special teaching technique other than the traditional role of the language teacher as the translator of the English lesson into native Bangla language in that class. Most of the students were using the textbooks.

The high school was the oldest educational institution of that village. When I approached the Head Teacher, he asked the two teachers to come to the Office for interviews though he avoided his own interview. In that school, those teachers were not appointed to teach English only. But they used to teach different subjects besides English. Jamal was one of the three teachers who teach English at the school. He had the educational qualification of HSC only. He joined the school at the initial stage after its establishment. But he attended a short teacher training workshop on ELT long time ago. The other teacher was more qualified and had a 'reputation' to give private

tuitions for English subject to the students at his home although the concerned government authorities in Bangladesh forbade the practice of such kind. It was a matter of prestige for him to get the recognition of an English teacher in the rural area.

I observed a class of Class Nine for a short period in which I saw that the class size was too big enough to implement CLT techniques. There were more than seventy students present in the class. But the attendance sheet showed the total number of students of that class to cross ninety. The teacher was teaching the students of three sections together: science, commerce, and arts. The backbenchers were able to understand a few things pronounced by the teacher. There were few students standing in the last row as the classroom did not have sufficient number of benches for them. The teacher was asking questions to few good students in the class. The students were happy to get the chance to answer the questions. The female students were responding more than male students. The teacher was using the Blackboard frequently and the good students were writing down the notes on the answers to particular questions in the textbook.

The teachers tried to give the class more seriously in the presence of the researcher. After the class, I asked the students similarities and dissimilarities between the particular observed class and the common class given the teacher. I interviewed the students outside the school in groups several times. They pointed out that the English teachers were very eager to get more students in the batches of private tuitions to earn more money. Some students expressed their frustration for not being able to afford to take the tuition. There was a new teacher in the school who used to speak more English in the classes and they liked him for that reason. But that good teacher did not get the English class due to internal competition among the teachers to get more students in the batches of the private tuition.

Although the teachers of the local girls' madrasah could not allow me to observe the class. They voided comments about the English classes. When I asked them for more information, they somehow managed to find the English and Bangla textbooks used in the madrasah. The books were published by the same authority that publishes books for the schools, the NCTB. Two of the books seemed to be newer than the Bangla textbook although half of the academic session was over by that time. There was no particular teacher to teach English there like the schools. But the condition was worse in the madrasah as the only teacher, who was teaching English and Mathematics, left the institution few months ago after which they did not get any new teacher. But the madrasah was becoming more popular day by day in the area due to two reasons. First, it was easier to get bridegroom for a good female student of madrasah as they practiced Islamic morals and manners very well. Second, there was a chance for the poor girls to study in safe and eve-teasing free environment up to level of *Dawrae Hadith* that was equivalent to graduation and they could apply for the teaching positions at different madrasahs with the certificate.

The *Hafezi madrasah* taught only the Holy Qur'an and the other Islamic books focusing primarily on students' memorization of the whole Holy Qur'an. The only kindergarten was found closed due to the lack of funding. The teachers, who were usually the *imam* (who leads the prayers) or *muajjin* (who calls to prayers) of the mosques, two *maktabs* used to teach how to read, recite, and memorise the holy book's smaller sections, which were called *sura*, and its verses and Islamic rules and regulations of prayers. As the students said, the teachers also taught them Bengali alphabets sometimes. But English or any other subject were not taught there.

7.3 English Teachers' Perceptions of English as a Course and Knowledge about the CLT Approach

Although the respondents were well aware of the fact of the importance of English in the global context, it was treated more as an academic subject than an important part of the communicative skills in the educational institutions. There is no doubt that English, as the compulsory subject and a very important part of the national curriculum, enjoys special attention of the authorities of the educational institutions except the *madrasah*s. It was observed in the interviews with the teachers that they did not have clear perception of the theoretical concepts and objectives of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach. They have a misconception that the Communicative Approach focuses on speaking skill and it does not focus not writing skill largely. According to them, the wrong focus on speaking skill, which is not required in the rural setting, cause the students to become weak in English grammar due to overemphasis on speaking skill in current English curriculum. In addition, they do not have the clear concept of how to integrate all the language skills while teaching English.

That is why, Bilqis, the most qualified and trained female English teacher in the local government primary school stated the uselessness of practicing English skills in the school:

> If I teach 'How are you?' to the students in the class, they do not apply it in the real life. They do not use this expression to anyone at home or elsewhere. There is no scope to practice or use the speaking skills in this rural area**.**

That was a spontaneous and honest response on the part of the teacher unlike few other teachers who seemed to be afraid to state the realities to an interviewer at a typical rural institution. This statement not only points to the common perspective of

the English teachers about the necessity of dealing English as a skill rather than as a subject of the curriculum, it is also related to the other factors, such as, the perception of an English teacher about the CLT approach, the necessity of choosing communicative teaching techniques, the failure of the teacher training programs to motivate and train up the teachers, etc.

However, the positive side of the present status is that the fear towards the English as an academic subject has been reduced due to several factors including the increase of the passing rate in English in the SSC examination. It has motivated the students to try to speak short English daily expressions, such as, greetings, in the classes. The teachers' perceptions about the CLT were similar to each other. Three senior teachers were interviewed in the study who had the experience of teaching both the current communicative English syllabus and the previous syllabus as per the grammar translation method. According to all of them, the current students were more confident to speak English than the old students who studied the previous syllabus. The most experienced High School English teacher, Jamal, expressed the positive outcome this way:

> The current students can understand at least something while listening to someone speaking in English. They can speak a little English in comparison to the old students who could neither speak nor understand English at all. Because the previous English syllabus was based on memorization-techniques whereas the present syllabus is based on the communicative approach.

7.4 Inadequate Focus on Language Skills by the Teachers in the Classroom Activities

The most common focus of the classroom activities in the English classes at the school level was to 'touch' as many chapters of the EFT as possible during the

academic year. The English teachers were found to prefer reading the passages in the textbooks than applying any teaching technique to improve the English language skills of the students. An SSC student, who had strong motivation to learn English, expressed his dissatisfaction regarding the teachers' focus on the skills: "There were very few classes in which we practiced speaking English. There was no regular speaking and listening test at all."

Salahuddin, a local private tutor & undergraduate student also strongly supports the lack of focus on language skills in the English classes at the local schools:

> There is very little speaking-listening activities done in the English classes here. Nusrat [a female student, who has passed from the local girls' college and is studying at a college in Dhaka now] has taken admission in a coaching center to develop the English speaking skill recently. But there is no practice of English speaking or listening or any type of listening-speaking test in the high school or the college here.

7.5 Deterioration of the Students' Reading and Writing Skills

But all of the experienced English teachers stressed on the point that the old students were better than the new students in respect of the acquired reading and writing skills of the L2. The reading and writing skills are much more important than speaking and listening in the reality in Bangladeshi. But the focus on the CLT shifted the earlier focus on writing skill according to the GT (Grammar Translation) method. A regular student of Class X, Sunny, expressed her disappointment, "The teachers used to give pressure on us to memorize now words and the grammar rules in the classes mostly. But they even did not try to teach us the reading techniques." The teachers, who teach English courses from Class IX to Class XII, skip the literature portion in the textbooks largely. The students do not usually practice reading English

in the classes. No students, as per the findings, has even heard of the topic of the discussion of reading techniques in the English classes.

7.6 Overemphasis on Memorization

The teachers find the memorization technique to be the easiest one to be followed in the classroom activities. They guide students to memorize vocabulary, particular sentences, short passages, and grammar rules in the classes and take the students' feedback regularly in the English classes about how much they have memorized according to the directions given in the previous class. Mainuddin, a former student of the local high school evaluated the common practices in the English classes in the local schools this way:

> The students even do not understand the meanings of many important English words in the textbook and the teachers ask them to try to memorize the answer to particular short questions and grammar rules. The students cannot remember them for long, as they do not comprehend the things. This is why, the quality of our education system is not up to the mark and the learning is not effective in the real life.

7.7 Syllabus and Major ELT Materials: The Textbooks, Guidebooks and Hand Notes

The school and college English teachers usually follow few common guidebooks in the rural areas. In addition to that, the private tutors provide loads of sheets or hand notes to their students who have to memorize those sheets. The private tutors, who prepare and follow their own hand notes or sheets for the memorization, are considered as the best English teachers in the rural area. Mainuddin, a former student of the local high school stated about the wrong teaching practices in that area:

> The school and college teachers prepare the suggestion and sheets copying from the common guidebooks or sets of question bank that are available in the bookstores. The teachers stress on memorization of those sheets rather

than making the students comprehend the content and understand the grammar rules.

For this reason, the young academic EFL learners used to prefer few particular ELT materials. They used to study the lecture sheets given by the private tutors and guidebooks with the model questions of the SSC and HSC examinations more than the textbooks. Though the English teachers were found to use the English textbooks in the classrooms, according to the respondents, they usually followed few common guidebooks and some 'question-banks' to prepare the English question papers. The students also studied a particular popular guidebook suggested by the English teacher of his or her class to prepare for the examinations, as they knew that the teachers would copy most of the questions from those guidebooks while preparing the tests. Some students of the higher secondary level even reported that they had never seen the HSC syllabus in the whole college life.

The English syllabuses at the school and colleges are of English for Academic Purpose (EAP) type. The existing textbooks have limitations as the core books of Communicative English Courses. The findings support the suggestions by Uddin (2021) that the textbooks were not standard enough in respect of incorporating the content, language skills and communicative tasks. The content of the EFT textbooks present local themes. But it should add more economy related themes, such as, poultry business, fisheries, cottage industries, home crafts, forming online shops or cooperative society to sell the local products in the citites, and other small business ideas for the villagers.

I have found major errors in a primary English textbook regarding the English colloquial expressions that strongly refer to the lacking of the experts, who wrote or edited that textbook, in knowledge about English communicative skills. In another

primary English textbook, I have found several wrong uses of vocabulary. Rather than the correct English names, the names of some common vegetables and objects were written in transliterated English words in that textbook that teach wrong English to the learners, which suggest the lacking of English competence of the textbook writer/s.

Both the syllabus and the textbooks should be modified to suite the local learner needs and socio-economic demand of the society. Especially the English textbooks of the madrasahs should be changed a lot. The National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) publish the textbook named *English for Today* (EFT) for all the levels up to Class XII and a teachers' book. When the researcher asked the teachers whether they follow the guidelines given in that teachers' book for them, they claimed the book to be a bad one for containing less discussions on grammar.

7.8 Heavily Exam-Oriented Education System

The test-scores in English were taken as the markers of the educational success and the villagers suggested it as an important requirement to get a good job. Hence, the instrumental motivation was much more dominant than the integrative motivation in the rural context. The mainstream of the Bangladeshi education system is heavily controlled by the theoretical examination practices. It was found in the study that the students of primary, high school, and intermediate (Class XI-XII) colleges were expected by their teachers and parents to study solely to achieve higher scores in the examinations, especially in the subject of English. The teachers, who teach the English courses from Class IX to Class XII, follow guidebooks more than the English teachers of other classes do. Because the two most important public examinations titled SSC and HSC are held in Bangladesh after Class X and Class XII respectively. The guardians of the rural students focus on the results of the English course in these two examinations that are considered important for higher studies and

to get good jobs later on. The school and college authorities also want the English teachers to prepare the students for better performances in those tests. The teachers completely focus on the pattern of those examinations and want to ensure that more number of students pass in those examinations from respective school or college.

The researcher observed that the people of the village strongly considered the grade or score in English is an important marker of academic achievement of a school or college student. There is a competition among the institutions to show better performance of the students. Neither the teachers nor students can think of sparing part of the English classes for the improvement of the language skills. Though the pattern of the questions in the two papers of English have changed two decades ago, still the focus in the rural area is to make the students answer those questions the answers of which can be memorized partially in the SSC and HSC examinations. The percentage of the candidates who passed the subject of English in the SSC examination in 2016 was about 55% in the local high school in contrast to the national percentage of 88% and the low rate of success in the examination is considered the marker of the standard of ELT in the study area. That is why, the teachers remain busy with teaching the examination-questions based materials available in the guidebooks to the students. The picture becomes evident in the statement by Robij who was an undergraduate student-cum-service holder:

> Though the teachers use the textbooks in the classes in the school, they follow the Guidebook of Advanced English (pseudonym) to prepare the question papers for the examinations. That is why, the students buy and study the guidebooks.

A research participant, Atif, who passed the SSC examination in 2015 from the local high school, stated that he never had the opportunity of any type of English speaking or listening practice or tests in the school life.

7.9   Private Tuition and Coaching Centre

All the research-participants, who talked about the private tuition, mentioned it as an indispensable part of the ELT practices in the area. The practice of receiving private tuition was recognized as the most effective way to learn English or achieve high score in it by the respondents in this study. Robij, an undergraduate student, stated it clearly this way:

> The guardians of the students as well as the school authority do not take care of the students in the villages. Whoever has achieved better results in the examination, they had private tuitions in the other institutions. One of our older brothers of this area has been recruited for the most prestigious government first-class job recently through the BCS examination and he advices to received private tuitions in English by going to the nearby town.

The only teacher of that area with a graduation degree in English was found at the girls' college who occasionally comes to the college from a town far away from that locality. She lives there to earn more money from the practice of giving private tuitions in the town.

The government authorities marked the practice of giving private tuitions by the English teachers as an important cause behind the poor English classes in the school and college and banned it in the country. But a respondent, who was a student of Class X, Ryme, indicated to the reason for the failure of the government initiatives to stop the practice:

Though the government failed to stop the practice of private. We also need private tutors. Almost all of the top performing students are usually found to have received private tuition for the good results in English. Our senior brothers also advise us to take private tuitions at least before the SSC examination.

That is why, the undergraduate students also get the chance of earning money by giving private tuitions. An undergraduate student, Talha, was found to run a popular coaching centre in the rural area and earn more than the salary of a high school teacher regularly.

One of the reasons behind the practice of private tuition and coaching centre is the large number of students in each class. More than one sections attend the English class together. Because there is a lack of sufficient number of English teachers in the educational institutions. At least six participants including teachers, school students, and guardians provided strong opinion with their support for this practice due to fact of the large size of English classes in the local schools. An undergraduate student-cum-small businessman asked, "How can a teacher teach communicative English in a class of around one hundred school students?"

Another reason behind this practice is the poor salary of the school and college teachers. The teachers do not get sufficient amount of salary to maintain a decent living standard. That is why, they provide private tuitions to the students who can afford it. Though there is a ban on this practice from the government, the teachers consider it as an important way to increase their income. Three to six students take the tuition in small groups five or six days a week usually. The monthly payment rate for the private tuition usually varies from two hundred to five hundred taka per head. If the teacher is a present English teacher at an educational institutions, a student pays him more than the tutor who is an undergraduate student. As the respondents

discussed, the good English teachers do not live in the village both to earn more money and to do the banned practice outside the area in which his or her school is situated.

7.10 Reasons for the Lacking in Qualification in the English Teachers

The researcher found the lacking in both the theoretical knowledge and the practical training in the English teachers. The analysis of the interviews show that the most experienced English teacher of the village also considered English as a subject of the curriculum rather than a foreign language which needed to be taught with a focus on the four language skills. Sometimes, the researcher became surprised to see that some teachers did not even perceive the meaning of the widely used term of 'communicative English' that has been followed in the current national English curriculum at the school level for about two decades.

Firstly, qualified English graduates do not join the rural educational institutions due to poor salary and less scope earning money by doing private tuitions. The teaching quality of the English teachers varied to a great extent as some of them were teaching English without any graduation degree. There was only one teacher there with a graduation in English who was a lecturer in the girls' college. The most popular English teacher of the village was found to have a Bachelor's degree in commerce. Besides those school teachers and college teachers of English, two local undergraduate students of Social Sciences were found to teach English through private tuitions in that area.

Secondly, the teacher recruitment policy is not standard in rural educational institutions largely. Though the authorities claim that the rural schools cannot afford qualified English teachers, some respondents pointed to the faulty recruitment procedure as the reason for poor standard of ELT there. According to some

respondents, the recruitment procedure in the rural educational institutions are constrained by several local power-influences. The selection of the candidates is not fair in many cases. There was no circular for the recruitments in some cases, especially in the small schools or madrasahs. At least the government school could have appointed English graduates as the English teachers due to availability of English graduates and high demand of the government school jobs in the job market of the country. Evan the chief of the governing body of the school, Taijul, accepted it: "The school does not have qualified teachers to follow the new 'creative curriculum' in the school."

Thirdly, the quality of the pre-service and in-service teacher-training programs was not up to the mark to bring changes in the ELT scenario by filling the gap in linguistic and communicative knowledge and skills of the English teachers.

Fourthly, the teachers are not sincere in the duties and the concerned authorities do not monitor the performance of the teachers. Robij, an ungraduated student, commented:

> The government is responsible as the monitoring is not good. The teachers are not serious about their professional duties. All the government primary school teachers are female. Most of them are not dutiful as they remain busy with own families. Another reason for their lack of seriousness about the duty is that their performances are not monitored by the authorities properly. The condition is the same at the secondary level as well.

There is a routine work of checking the performance of the schools from a concerned officer at the upazila level.

7.11 Absence of Standard Performance Monitoring System for the Teachers

Two local guardians, Monir and Zia, who were businessmen, complained that most of the teachers of the government primary school were not dutiful as they remain

busy with own families even during the office hours as their performances are not

monitored by concerned authorities. Evan the Chairman of the governing body of that

school, Taijul, expressed his frustration this way:

> Everything [training programs and education inspection officer] is there,
> but there is no evaluation of the output performances or implementation of
> the trainings. There is a lacking of integrity among the teachers, partly

Figure 7.1

The Scenario of the ELT in the Rural Area
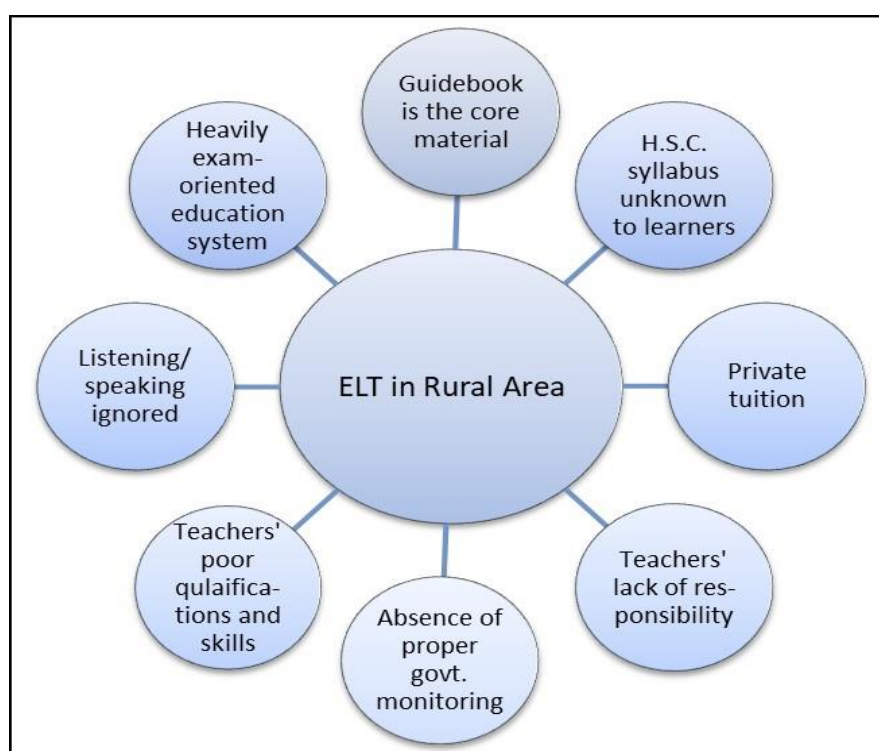
because of the low pay scale and the absence of proper monitoring.

To the Head teachers, the present class monitoring system means only the presence of

the teacher in the classes. But the quality of the lessons, the implementation of

suggested teaching techniques and the learning output were not found in the regular

monitoring practices to control the teachers' performance. Though there were certain

printed forms of teacher-evaluation, but that evaluation was just a practice of

'formality'. Another Head Teacher, Sharif, said about the concerned person in respective government office:

> There is a *Shikhha Officer* [Assistant Secondary Education Officer] in our sub-district who pays a visit as a part of his duty once in one or two years. He mainly checks the problems of the schools like shortage of teachers. There are so many things to check in a school and we have so many problems. How many things can he deal with alone?

7.12   The Output of the ELT Training Programs and Projects

The schoolteachers have the scope to attend course or training programs like the certificate course at the Primary Training Institutes (PTI) or Bachelor of Education (B Ed) course at the Teachers' Training Colleges (TTC). But the college teachers of higher secondary level have hardly any scope to take a long term leave for training because of the shortage of English teachers in the colleges up to higher secondary or HSC level. It is a very strange fact that they usually find the scope to attend only daylong workshops to understand and adopt new teaching approaches and techniques for example to shift from Grammar Translation method to Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) approach.

The English schoolteachers attended several ELT training programs that were organized by the government, such as, the English Language Teaching Improvement Project (ELTIP), the English in Action, and other annual short training projects. In spite of these efforts from the national and international quarters, they did not change their focus from grammar to language skills in the English classes.

Billal, a popular English teacher, analysed the ELT training programs on the basis of his personal experiences:

> I learnt a few things from the short training programs. Many of the things taught there which are be applicable completely in the educational

institutions here due to several reasons including the pressure on us to finish the annual syllabus. The most useful one was the earliest ELTIP project. I have attended several other short training programs including the projects by under the government Teaching Quality Improvement (TQI) projects and English in Action But I think many of those projects were designed as if there was a push from the higher authority to spend the budget and to show that they had done 'some job' in the annual report.

Another teacher, Kamal, raised the issue of monitoring and follow-up by the concerned government authorities:

Many things are told by the trainers in the training projects. The teachers attend the trainings as a part of job-requirement and that's all. Who cares if the instructions of the trainings are not applied in real classroom situations? Nobody checks if the teachers follow those things or not. This is the harsh reality.

The responses of the participants, which were collected in the interviews, matched with the campus visits and classroom observations: the English teachers were not found to implement the suggestions of the teacher-training programs and the concerned government bodies in the actual classroom activities. Farida was an experienced female primary school of other subjects who had the academic qualification of HSC only. She also said it clearly:

I have to control one hundred and thirty students in a single class. But the new teachers, who are university-graduates and attend the teacher-trainings, are not dedicated to their jobs.

Faiza, an unemployed graduate of economics, also supported it:

The teachers are not dutiful in the jobs. They also do not implement the trainings in teaching practices. Some female teachers often remain busy with family affairs during their class time.

The teachers presented the excuses of the pressure from the school authority on them to finish the syllabus. But none of them could claim it clearly that they followed the directions of the NCTB teacher-guidelines according to the CLT approach or the ELT trainings while teaching English in the classes.

7.13 Conditions of ELT in the Madrasahs

As the facts were explored in the rural madrasahs of the area, the first priority was found to be given to the memorisation of the Qur'an and the Hadith; the second priority was given to the Arabic and the Bangla languages; and then the other textbooks on science, mathematics and English were taught as the third priority.

The condition of the ELT was horrible in the three *Qawmi madrasahs* of the area. Out of those three *madrasahs*, only one general *madrasah* followed the syllabus approved by the government while other two specialized *madrasahs* focused on the memorization of the Holy Qur'an which is locally known as the *Hafezi Madrasah* (where 'hafezi' means memorization).

The *Qawmi Madrasah* system, which was founded in the 19th century in India with an anti-British-colonial spirit, rely on the public funding now, follow the Indian *Deobandi* curricula and reject state funding and authority. (Roy, Huq & Rob, 2020; Masum & Shaon, 2018). The Arabic word in the name, 'Qawmi', means 'public' due to its public funding. Unlike another popular Islamic education stream, the *Alia Madrasah* system (controlled by the state), it focuses on the Islamic education with a minimum focus on the subjects of Bangla, English, or science. After finishing the complete memorization, the students usually take admission in the general *madrasahs*.

The only general *madrasah* of that area was a purely girls' madrasah. Its curriculum included English courses and textbooks published by the government. The

research found most of two textbooks untouched by the teachers even after several months of academic year. According to the *madrasah* teachers who participated in the research, there was only one female teacher who used to teach the 'general subjects' (i.e. non-Arabic subjects) including English at the primary school level. But there was no extra teacher to teach only English in that madrasah, as stated by a madrasah teacher, to teach the "tough English textbooks" of the high school level.

There is a prevalent fear towards English as a tough 'subject' in the madrasah arena. Most of the madrasahs face fund crisis which causes qualified English teachers not to even think of applying for a position there.

The primary English textbooks of the madrasah system are provided by the government free of cost though different local guidebooks on English grammar and composition are chosen by the madrasah authorities individually.

The evaluation system focuses more on testing the memorization of particular sets of vocabulary and grammatical items than the English language skills. There is an absence of frequent and regular tests on the subjects of the third priority like English or science in the madrasahs.

7.14   Summary of the Findings

Most of the English teachers have negative attitudes towards the use of CLT approach in the classroom. The factors regarding the poor condition of the ELT and the failure of the teacher training programs in the rural area can be summarized this way:

1. Two major reasons behind the present poor condition of ELT are inappropriate policy to recruit English teachers at the school level and lack of sufficient number of English teachers.

2. Absence of special pay-scales for English teachers to attract more talented English graduates to the teaching profession is a major reason behind the poor condition of ELT.

3. The prevalent testing system discourages the skill based English teaching practices. The ultimate aim of the EFL learners is to achieve high scores in English. Both the teachers and the students are driven by that goal alike.

4. The standard of English studies is horrible in the madrasah system. There is no particular regulatory body in the country to develop or monitor the condition of ELT in different types of madrasahs most of which do not have any English teacher at all. The current findings match with few other studies as well (Three of four madrasa students, 2018; Roy, Huq & Rob, 2020; Masum & Shaon, 2018). The new findings of this study include that though the madrasahs have specially designed textbooks published by the government, the madrasahs could not appoint any English teachers due to the shortage of fund. The madrasah authorities did not have any negative attitude towards teaching English there.

5. The teachers' cognition and perceptions about the ELT are pre-occupied with the traditional teaching techniques without the comprehension of theoretical reason or contextual result that support their selection of teaching techniques or practices.

6. The necessary number of qualified teacher-trainers were not trained before running the projects. The study found that the school teachers were in some ELT projects by local trainers who are not qualified enough to run the short training programs.

7. To spend the budget of the financial aids, the projects emphasize on the logic of 'something is better than nothing' in some cases. Here, the quality has often been compromised for the sake of the completion of the projects. The trainees are eager to attend the training programs to use them as a recognition of being English

teachers because most of them are unofficial English teachers having no degree in English at all.

8. The performances by the teachers and the implementation of the trainings are not monitored and awarded in a systematic way.

9. The most popular materials are the guidebooks published by different private publishers. These books are so popular among the teachers that they cannot come out of it to follow the strategies taught in the training projects. There is a typical aversion towards any new material among many teachers of the schools and colleges in the country.

10. The ELT projects were not evaluated by the government bodies independently, carefully and regularly to ensure the effectiveness of the projects.

7.15 Conclusion

The present chapter and the previous two chapters have presented the findings and the interpretivist analysis of the findings. The next chapter is going to wrap up the dissertation with a brief summary of the overall findings to present recommendations on the basis of them.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Implications and Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

The crucial questions about the influence of English as the international language on the attitudes of the common people towards it and the issue of equity regarding the social and economic development in the rural and underprivileged people in Bangladesh were addressed in the current research. The current poor scenario of the ELT in the rural area despite the developmental national and international efforts also was explored in it. These issues are crucial for the language policy-makers of Bangladesh as one of the largest countries to use EFL widely.

8.2 Major Findings and Observations in Brief

The research findings in the non-academic contexts in the rural area clearly indicate that there is a popular myth or fallacy about paramount importance of the knowledge of the English language as an important socio-economic development tool in Bangladesh. The huge investment of the government and other quarters after the English education at the secondary and higher secondary school during several decades did not produce the desired outcome. The English language has not become a tool of the socio-economic development to improve relevant capacities of the rural work force yet as it was found in the previous studies (Erling, Seargeant & Solly, 2014, p. 15).

But the contribution of the current study is that it has located the possible socio-economic fields in the rural context where the English language skills can contribute to the national capacity building, which the previous chapters have presented elaborately. These points are briefly presented again in the following discussion on the implications of the study.

The special contribution of the current study is that it has explored the usage of English in the rural Bangladeshi context elaborately through a pain-staking ethnographic research method unlike previous numerous mere questionnaire-based and formal interview-based academic studies on ELT. The findings suggest that the attitudes of the rural people towards the English language are multidimensional and they are related to different domains of usage that include the academic studies, marketing, mobile phone, and utility bills in the rural area.

The most common usage in the non-academic contexts of the selected community was the presence of English as an important part of marketing. The common people think that the use of English increases the marketing value of the products. The use of English beside Bangla in the packaging and the labels of the packets, boxes, or cartons of the daily commodities, such as, the grocery items, medicines, library items, and the electric and electronic products is very common in the rural area and this type of usages attracts the buyers to purchase the products.

Another new thing, which was not found in the previous studies, is that many people, with less than HSC academic studies and from the economic background of lower class or lower middle class, have different perceptions from many school and college students, who are current EFL learners, about the role of English in their lives. Unlike the current students of local schools and colleges, who have never focused on the effectiveness of current national school curriculum of the mainstream Bangla medium education system in the real social and economic development in their own rural context, these less educated people seemed to ponder more on the practical outcome of both academic education and English education in the form earning capacity.

The education sector in that rural community is the most important field where English is used. According to the current research findings, there is a strong relation between the negative attitude of the English teachers towards the CLT approach and their teaching practices. Both the students and the teachers treat English as a part of the school curriculum rather than a foreign or second language. Because it is an important compulsory subject of the national curricula of the school and college levels. Rather than focusing on the development of language skills, the teachers mostly focus on the examination-oriented techniques of teaching English.

Another new finding of the present investigation, that was not found in the existing literature, was the use of English language by the young generation to access the internet. The combined effect of globalization and digitalization was strongly present among the young generation who try to use English to observe the world through social media and other online platforms or apps like YouTube.

8.3   Implications of the Study

The findings of the current research have important implications for different aspects of the socio-economic development, EFL education and the national policy and planning in Bangladesh and other developing countries and similar contexts.

8.3.1 Implications for the Socio-economic Development Contexts

United, multidimensional, and research and evidence based efforts should be implemented by the government and other bodies to turn the English language into a development tool in Bangladesh. The following measures are suggested in the current Bangladeshi context to turn the English language into socially productive (contributing to the social life-style), economically beneficial and pedagogically effective tools so that not only the class toppers but the average students also can gain

something in their lives by applying the academically acquired English skills and knowledge.

1. There is a huge prospect of turning the English language from mere an academic subject to a tool of rural socio-economic development in Bangladesh due to the availability of internet network even in the remote rural areas. Different government bodies can run mass education projects to enable the people with primary academic studies or above to use the integrated skills of the English language and the digital or Information and Communication Technology (ICT) skills to improve both the economic capacity and the social awareness in the rural areas of Bangladesh. This way the English language will be turned into a social, economic and educational development tool that will enable the under-privileged people of the backward regions to utilize the online available resources, such as YouTube, Google, Facebook or different apps, in their regular socio-economic efforts. Through the practical use of the knowledge of English language on the internet, the rural people may follow the practical knowledge and skills of the successful people in the fields of education, health-awareness, agriculture, new business ideas, job prospect home and abroad, and basic English communicative skills that are required even in the grass-root-level jobs to enhance the job prospects of the Bangladeshi expatriates etc.

2. The essential vocabulary and topics of the above mentioned areas should be available in the content of the SSC and HSC English textbooks and curricula to remove or reduce the glaring discrepancies between the needs of English linguistic elements by the common people in the 'lived rural life' and the existing English curricula of the secondary school and higher secondary college levels. The NCTB has tried to present local context in the content to some extent. But the EFT books show the lacking of the needs analysis of common people according to the practical life

style and necessities of certain English vocabulary and content which have been

explored in this ethnographic study. Hence, the English textbooks should be aligned

with the most common fields of the usage of English in the rural societies. It will

make the education more life-oriented and outcome-based. In addition, different ESP

courses with focuses on ICT, agriculture, local business, cooperative, pharmacy and

primary health awareness should be offered at the vocational training institutes.

8.3.2 *Implications for the ELT Policy and Practices*

Although the current government English curriculum at the school level

shifted theoretically to the communicative approach from the Grammar Translation

method in the early 2010's suggesting a focus on practicing the basic English

language skills in an integrated way, it is not done in the reality due to several factors.

1. The achievements and failures of the already finished and running national

ELT projects should be evaluated again by local experts and stakeholders, being

funded by the government only, to gather guidelines for the success of the running

and next projects and to design and implement a clear and effective national English-

in-education policy and planning.

2. The findings strongly suggest that English language in Bangladesh is an FL,

rather than an SL, in Bangladesh, which should be clearly stated in the English-in-

education policy of the country in order to turn it into a development tool. It is the

demand of many stakeholders to turn it into an official SL by necessary government

recognition and initiatives.

3. The English teachers should be trained in the same alignment. Moreover,

effective short and goal-oriented local ELT training projects should be organized on a

regular basis. The local teacher-trainers should be trained on how to apply the

pedagogical theories and implement the ELT approaches and techniques according to

the local contexts and needs and with available resources. Moreover, the implementation of inductive approach in the classroom teaching activities to explore the grammatical elements in the texts should be ensured by the concerned monitoring authorities. It will make the English courses more enjoyable and productive in respect of the language skills.

4. The change of the status of English from an academic subject to a necessary skill should be projected in the curricula at the higher secondary level. The curriculum, instruction and assessment of the SSC and HSC curriculum are to be redesigned in the same line with the ongoing efforts to adopt the Outcome Based Education (OBE) curricula at the universities that was proposed by the University Grants Commission in Bangladesh.

5. Without a special pay-scale for the English teachers, the better English graduates cannot be hired for the rural schools and higher secondary colleges. It is a common practice in the government and multinational job sectors of the world now to pay extra salary to the employees with certain certificates of high market value. The Bangladeshi government may consider the policies of other developing nations in the implementation of this common policy.

6. The National Academy for Educational Management (NAEM) should develop an 'English teacher performance evaluation scale' on the basis of which the promotion and the financial facilities including salary-increment and extra bonuses should be awarded. It must be performance based, not according to the seniority of the teachers. The performances by the English teachers should be monitored by the concerned government officials. The Annual Confidential Reports (ACR) by the heads of the schools and higher secondary colleges can also be considered in this regard. The concerned government authority must train the Upazila Education

Officers (UEO) and Assistant Secondary Education Officers at the sub-district level and Assistant UEO's how to monitor the performance of the English teachers. The implementation of the suggested classroom teaching practices and techniques to develop reading and listening skills should be monitored by them.

7. The current assessment system in English at the school and college levels should be more communicative skills-based and must include speaking and listening and OBE tests from Class VIII up to Class XII.

8. A special attention must be given to improve the long-neglected and impoverished condition of ELT in the rural madrasahs by the concerned government authority as at least four million of the students of the country study in different types of madrasahs.

9. A new central research and survey division should be established under the Prime Minister's Office as a hub to conduct research and surveys on education and other national policy and planning and do the coordination among different government and non-government bodies that are related to education, such as, the University Grants Commission (UGC), Ministry of Primary and Mass Education, the Secondary and Higher Education Division (SHED), the Technical and Madrasah Education Division (TMED), the NAEM, the NCTB, and the TTC. These bodies should have strong collaborations to design short-term and long-term goals and strategies under the guidance of the proposed new central research and survey division. This proposed institution should be equipped with adequate number of skilled, experienced, and permanent local personnel with international trainings or similar job experience and, most importantly, these officers should enjoy with a higher pay-scale and other special government facilities.

As revealed in the current research, the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE) is a very important player in the education scenario of the country, especially in the rural institutions. The government instructions by this authority, which is mentioned by the teachers frequently as the 'DG', are given high priority and are taken seriously by the school and college authorities. This directorate also should be strengthened by recruiting educational researchers and ELT experts.

8.4 Further Research Directions

This research was carried out in a particular rural context. More studies should be carried out both in the rural and sub-urban locations to accumulate sufficient primary data about the needs of the learners and the proper set of objectives of education for greater social and economic equity. Analysing the slight progress in the quality of ELT during last few decades in our country and the huge investment that has been spent after it, it seems that the change of the whole education system, including English and vocational education, towards an Objective Based Education system should be one of the primary goals of the national development plans to reduce the poverty and unemployment problems in the rural areas of Bangladesh. That is why, large-scale studies are necessary to guide the policy makers and stakeholders in that direction. The national policies must be formed on the basis of the data-driven, evidence-based, and more ethnographic studies to get clearer picture of the local contexts to supply 'real' data. The real studies in social sciences and humanities must be encouraged by proper funding and concrete guidelines. Bangladesh badly needs a long-term goal to build up an awarded research tradition and environments.

8.5 Conclusion

The phenomenon/ entity of 'the attitudes towards English' was measured and explored through direct and indirect approaches to form a proposition about the socially constructed and shared meaning of the entity in this research because Social Constructivism (Vygotsky, 1978) was its theoretical underpinning. The attitudes of the participants were compared with the observed socio-economic lifestyle in the research site, which brought to light the discrepancy between 'the myth' and 'the reality' about English in the rural setting. At the initial stage of the interviews, most of the participants stated about that the importance of English for socio-economic prospect (i.e. indirect observation), which was a 'myth', and it was dissimilar to the existing realities (explored through direct observation) in the uses and instances of English in the socio-economic activities in the area. Later on, the participants, including two unemployed university graduates, perceived the realities in the FGDs. The realities show that English could not play a crucial role in a significant number of rural residents' socio-economic achievements. A significant number of participants lived in the urban areas of the country as well. The general perceived reality was the necessity of several soft skills, including the English language skills, for the socio-economic development in the country.

The English-competence is widely considered as a marker of the total educational achievement by many people in the rural community. According to the current findings indicate, the negative attitude towards the communicative language teaching and learning practices in the rural context hampers the quality of English education there. As the quality ELT practices are absent in the rural area, the role of English as the 'gatekeeper' is a barrier that stops the poor rural students to compete in the competitive examinations with the privileged students of the urban areas. To

reduce the ever-increasing social inequity, the rural people must get quality education to build a sustainable national economy.

Before the strong positive attitude of the common people towards English turns into a negative attitude due to the reflections of the high un-employability rate of educated people, the trace of which has been explored already in this research, the recommendations of the current study should be implemented both with short-term and long-term national goals. The attraction of the rural people towards English as an international language can be used as a big plus point by the national policy makers and educationists to help the common villagers learn how to apply the combined skills of the English language skills and the ICT knowledge in online outsourcing, local agriculture, business, and different other rural sectors.

Hence, the current research puts forward the theoretical proposition that the needs and realities of the Bangladeshi rural people should be addressed through the integration of the ICT content into the skills-based ELT materials and the teaching/ learning activities at the high school level in Bangladesh.

To turn English into a tool of socio-economic development, the concerned authorities should take more research-based national policies to identify and address the prospect of the English language in the less developed rural areas of the country. In addition, some solid data-based and adequately funded short and long term projects should implement a farsighted language planning and policy with more emphasis on English language skills, which can reduce the social injustice and inequality, change the lives of the millions people living in the Bangladeshi rural societies, and empower them to participate in a more sustainable rural development.

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Appendices

Appendix A
Questionnaire

The sample of general questions used in the interviews and the FGDs: (Asked in

Bangla)

Group 1

1.   What is your attitude to English as a Foreign Language (EFL)?

2.   Where do you use English in your daily life?

3.   Where do you see English to be used in your area?

Group 2

4.   What are the professions and activities in your area which require the

knowledge or skills of English?

5.   In the light of your experience as an inhabitant of this area, could you tell me

about any instance of individual or collective socio-economic development in

your area which was attained through the knowledge or skills of English?

Group 3

6.   What is your evaluation of the scenario of teaching and learning of English in

the educational institutions in your locality?

7.   What is your attitude towards the use of internet and technology in English

language learning (ELL)?

8.   What are the reasons for the success or the failure of TESOL projects?

9.   Do you have any comment on the comparative evaluation of the conditions

of English language learning (ELL) in the rural and the urban communities in

the country?

10. What are your suggestions to improve conditions of English language

     learning (ELL)?

Others

11. What is the total family income?

12. How many members are there in your family?

13. What are their professions?

14. How many of them have passed the SSC/ HSC exams?

Appendix B

Request for Consent to Undertake the Research

আধুনিক ভাষা ইনস্টিটিউট
ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়
ঢাকা-১০০০, বাংলাদেশ
টেলিফোন ঃ ৯৬৬১৯০০ (অপারেটরের সাহায্যে)
৯৬৬১৯২০-৭৩ (সরাসরি), এক্সটেনশন ঃ ৮৫২০
ফ্যাক্স ঃ ৮৮০-২-৮৬১৫৫৮৩
ই-মেইল ঃ duregstr@bangla.net

INSTITUTE OF MODERN LANGUAGES
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23 June 2016

To whom it may concern

Subject: Request for providing assistance to PhD scholar Saleh Ahmad in Applied Linguistics and English Language to conduct ethnographic research.

Dear Sir/ Madam,

I would like to inform you that Mr. Saleh Ahmad is a PhD scholar (2012-2013) at the Department of English Language, the Institute of Modern Languages, and University of Dhaka. He has been carrying out research on '*An ethnographic study of attitude to English in Bangladesh*'. For this he has to interview respondents and observe the area of his study to find out the attitude to English in the community.

I would appreciate if you extend your cooperation to Mr. Ahmad and his research assistant.

With warm regards,

Dr. Sayeedur Rahman
Associate Professor and PhD Supervisor
Department of English Language
Institute of Modern Languages
University of Dhaka

Appendix C

Classroom Observation Checklist

Class Observation No. : **Date:** **Research code no.:**

<table>
<tr><td>Teacher's Name
& Educational Qualification</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Name of Institution:</td><td>Location:</td><td colspan="2">Level:
Primary
Secondary
Tertiary</td><td>Type:
School
College
Madrasah</td></tr>
<tr><td>Level of Class
(Elementary/ Pre-Intermediate/
Intermediate /Advanced</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Students' Information</td><td>Average Age</td><td>No. of students</td><td colspan="2">Number of years of study of English</td></tr>
<tr><td>Further relevant information about the classroom</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Lesson Objective:</td><td colspan="2">Objective :</td><td colspan="2">Objective Declared:
Yes/No
Objective: clear?</td></tr>
</table>

1. Personal Qualities of Teacher	Comments
Personality	
Rapport building	
Pedantic or Cooperative	

2. Command of English Language	Comments
Fluency	
Accuracy	
Communicative	
Generally understood by learners or not	
Careful about the level of the learners	

3. Preparation for Lesson	Comments
Lesson Plan: Balance & Variety of Activities; Timing	
Connected to Lesson Objective	
Materials suitable for level & type of class	

4. Classroom Methodology	Comments
Class management techniques	

Materials	
Time management	
Progress through the lesson	
Classroom teaching techniques	
Engaging the learners or not	
Error correction	
Taking learners' feedback or not	
Achievement of lesson objective	
Ability to adapt and extemporize (if necessary) outside lesson plan	

Understanding & handling of Learners'
   a. Grammar
   b. Vocabulary
   c. Pronunciation	

5. Real-life orientation Is the Textbook Chapter/ Lesson related to (put tick if yes):	a. Academic studies, b. **Non-academic topic**, c. Moral values, d. National history and culture, e. **Career dev.**, f. **Social life,** g. Current world, h. Others:

6. Summarising Comments:

7. Overall Assessment:	Excellent / V. Good /Good/ Satisfactory/ Poor / Any other

Appendix D
Form of Informed Consent

Date:

Institute of Modern Languages

University of Dhaka

Subject: Request to obtain consent for participation in the research

Dear Cohort

      This is Saleh Ahmad, a PhD research Fellow at the Institute of Modern Languages, University of Dhaka. I am conducting a research on the English language the title of which is "An Ethnographic Study of Attitude to English in Bangladesh".

      I would like to ask you to participate in the study to elicit data about English language teaching and learning. It includes open ended discussions and the recording of semi-structured interviews. I also like to observe the classes to note down about the teaching-learning practices.

      All your responses and records will remain confidential and your identity will be kept hidden in the records.

      The study is expected to be beneficial for the education system of the country. Hence, your participation in this research will be highly appreciated.

      Thanks for your cooperation.

Please sign below, if you agree to participate in the study.

Name and Signature

Contact:

Appendix E

List of the Participants in the Pilot Study

Par. No	Pseudo-nym*	Age	Gen-der	Profession	Socio-Economic Background
1	Solaiman	40	M	Businessman	Middle class
2	Kashem	35	M	Rickshaw pullers	Poor
3	Hanif	16	M	High School student	Poor
4	Jamila	12	F	Primary school student	poor
5	Latifa	15	F	High school student	Poor
6	Tipu	45	M	School teacher	Middle class
7	Khaleda	35	F	School teacher	Middle class
8	Amina	45	F	Housewife	Middle class
9	Raqib	20	M	College student	middle class
10	Ronju	24	M	College st. and businessman	Poor
11	Faruq	17	M	High school student	Middle class
12	Shankar	25	M	Service holder	Middle class
13	Manik	45	M	Farmer	Poor
14	Roees	50	M	Farmer	Middle class
15	Jalal	40	M	Farmer/ Laborer	Poor
16	Shawrnali	30	F	School teacher	Poor
17	Masum	23	M	Unemployed	Poor
18	Jashim	23	M	Unemployed	Middle class
19	Habib	22	M	College student	Poor
20	Alam	45	M	Farmer	Poor